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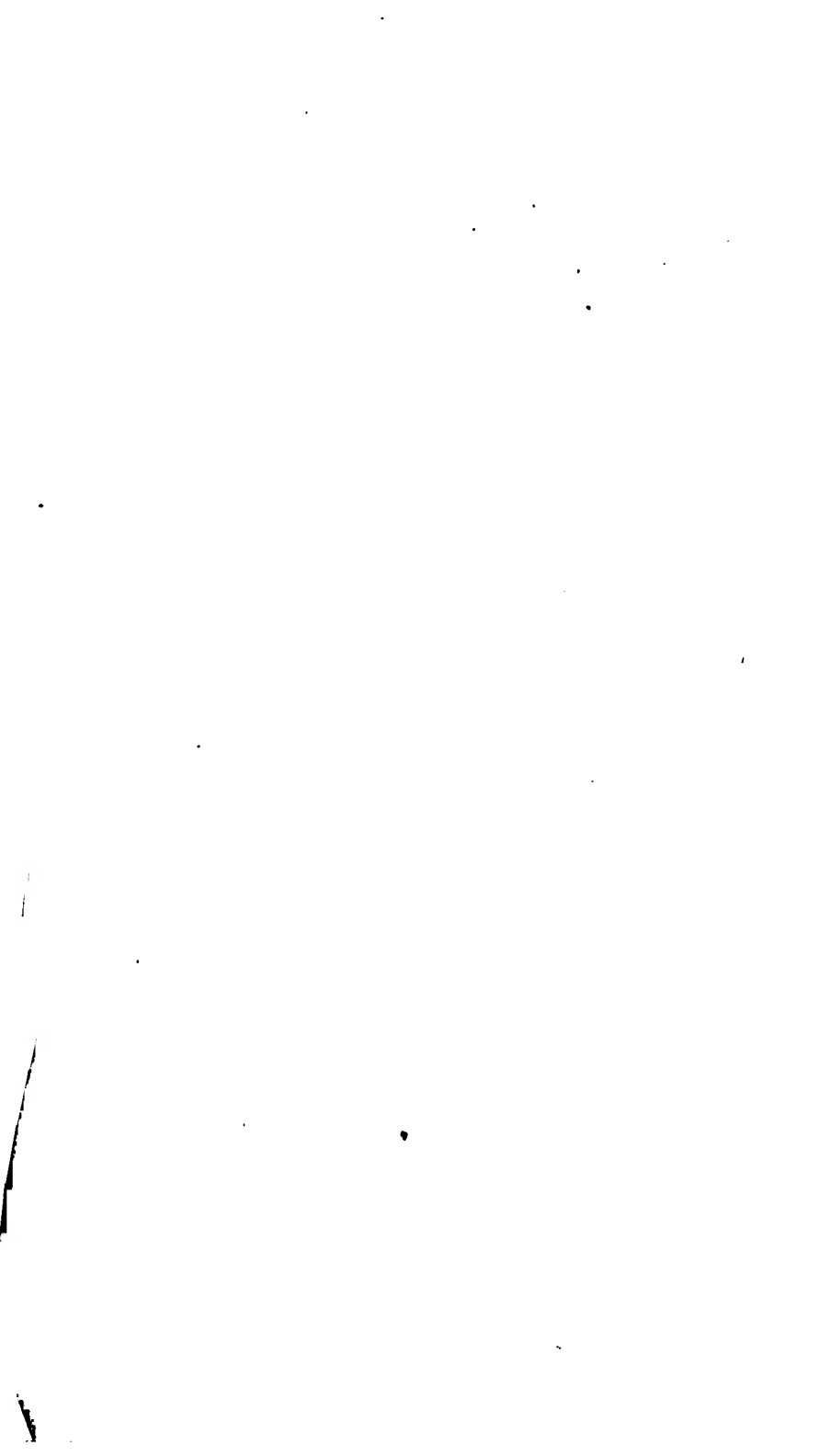
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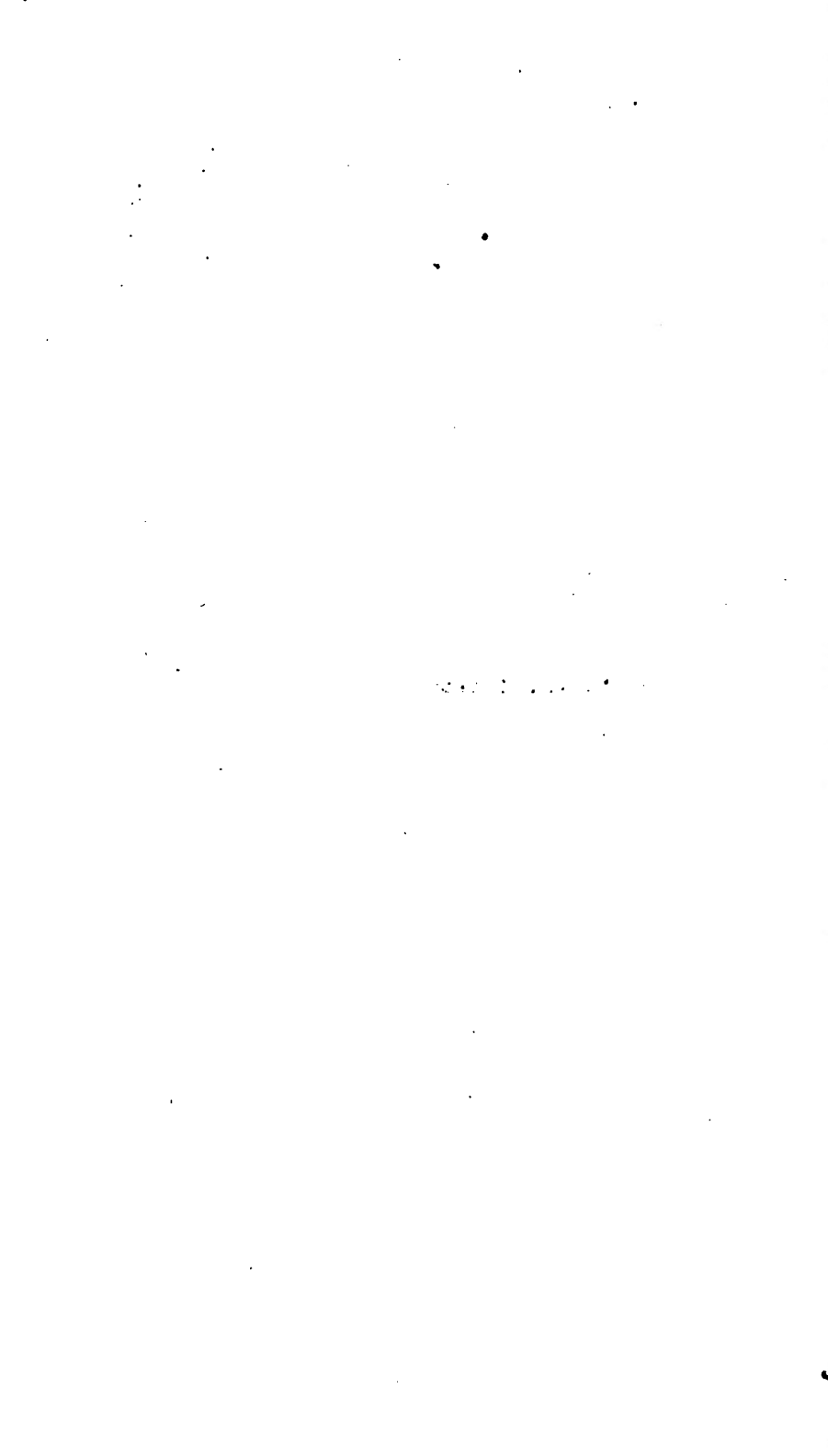
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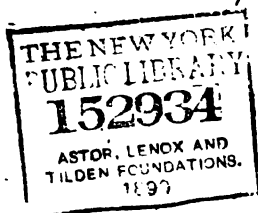
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, TASTE, and
SCIENCE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of GEORGE III.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM STOCKDALE,
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1816.



NEW YORK
JAN 14
1897

P R E F A C E.

IN the Preface to the volume of The New Annual Register for the year 1814, we anticipated a long and uninterrupted continuance of that tranquillity with which Europe had at length been blessed, and the opportunity which would thus be afforded us of directing our inquiries and observations to topics connected with the internal state of our own and other countries. In this anticipation we have been disappointed, by an event without parallel even in the momentous and extraordinary history of the French revolution, whether we regard its progress or its consequences. With respect to this event, therefore, we have endeavoured to give the most accurate, impartial, and full information; though we must confess, with regard to that part of it which respects the causes and motives of Bonaparte's return from Elba, and the means of his rapid success in regaining the throne of France, probability and conjecture must too much occupy the place of ascertained truth. Of the event which blasted his prospects, and, we trust, has sealed his fate, our information is more complete and undoubted; and we cannot suppose that any one of our readers will censure us for dwelling long and minutely on that battle which placed the moral and physical courage of Britons unquestionably on the highest eminence of fame.

The proceedings of the monarch, a second time seated on the throne of his ancestors, by the success of his allies against his own subjects, we have detailed with considerable fullness, and canvassed

P R E F A C E.

with an earnestness arising from the conviction that the tranquillity of Europe mainly depends on his conduct.

These are interesting and important topics ; but they are perhaps equalled in interest and importance by the circumstances of the situation in which Britain is left at the termination of the great struggle, through which, her resources, her perseverance, and the superior moral character of her sons, have safely conducted the other nations of Europe. Those circumstances, as they respect her agriculture, her manufactures, trade, and commerce,—her finances,—and the measures in train for meliorating the condition of the less favoured portion of her inhabitants, we have canvassed at considerable length. We are aware of their difficulty, and have, therefore, in a great measure contented ourselves with endeavouring to approximate towards the real causes and consequences of her present embarrassed situation.

In the course of the year 1815, France and Britain are the only two countries which present topics of a highly important nature. The other subjects on which we have touched in our present volume are the treaty of Vienna, by which the continent of Europe has been weighed and parcelled out, in the hope of adjusting a real balance of power ;—the conduct of Ferdinand of Spain,—which, even after the atrocities of the French revolution, must excite indignation ;—the subordinate transactions of Sweden, Prussia, and Wurtemberg ;—and the situation and views of the American States.

LONDON, May 1, 1816.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,
TASTE, AND SCIENCE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

[Continued from the last Volume.]

IN connexion with the labours of Sir Humphry Davy as a Great discoverer in the science of Chemistry, concerning which we spoke at large in the "History of Knowledge" prefixed to the last volume, we shall now give some description of what is denominated, by that philosopher, Chlorine; we shall also select the most curious facts relating to a newly discovered simple substance, known by the name of Iodine, and then conclude the subject of Chemistry with brief notices of the lives and labours of Mr. Smithson Tennant, and Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.

Chlorine, or oxymuriatic gas, is an elastic substance, and was discovered by Scheele so long ago as the year 1774. It may be procured in the hydro-pneumatic apparatus, by the well-known process adopted to procure oxygen gas. The best proportions to be used, according to Sir Humphry Davy, are, three parts by weight of common salt, one part of manganese finely powdered, and two parts of sulphuric acid.

Chlorine is of a yellowish-green colour, and from this property the name was suggested to the philosopher whose name has been just mentioned. Its odour is extremely disagreeable. It is not capable of being respired, and even when

when mixed in very small quantities with common air, it renders the air extremely pernicious to the lungs. Its specific gravity is such, that 100 cubical inches of it will weigh about 76 or 77 grains. It is absorbable in water, to which fluid it gives a strong acrid taste and a disagreeable smell. When an inflamed taper is introduced into a phial filled with it, the light continues, but it is of a dull red colour, and a dark smoke rises from the flame.

Many of the metals introduced into it in thin filaments, or leaves, or powder, take fire, and burn spontaneously; such as copper, tin, arsenic, zinc, antimony, and the alkaline metals. Phosphorus burns in it spontaneously, with a pale white light, producing a white volatile powder.

Sulphur melted or sublimed in it does not burn, but forms with it a volatile red liquor. When freed from vapour by muriate of lime, the gas does not act upon perfectly dry substances tinged with vegetable colours; but when moisture is present in the gas or the coloured bodies, their colours are speedily destroyed, they are rendered white, or brought to a dull yellow, and this last tint is almost the only one not changed by the combined action of water and chlorine.

Chlorine and oxygen are capable of existing in combination, and they form a peculiar gaseous substance. They do not unite when mixed together, but when existing in certain solids they may be detached in union.

The compound of chlorine and oxygen was discovered by Sir H. Davy in 1811, who gave it the name of *Euchlorine* from its bright yellow-green colour. Its tint is much more lively than that of chlorine, and more inclined to the yellow tint. It is not respirable. It is soluble in water, to which it gives a lemon-colour: water takes up 8 or 10 times its volume. In examining its properties, it must be collected with great care, and only in small quantities at a time: a very gentle heat causes it to explode, and its elements separate from each other with great violence, producing light. The ease with which *euchlorine* is decomposed, renders it difficult to ascertain the action of combustible bodies upon it. None of the metals that burn in chlorine act upon this gas at common temperatures; but when the oxygen is separated, they then inflame in the *euchlorine*.

Chlorine

Chlorine is rapidly absorbed by mercury; euchlorine has no action upon it; and chlorine may be separated from euchlorine by agitation over mercury, and the last obtained in a state of purity. When phosphorus is introduced into euchlorine it is instantly decomposed, and the phosphorus burns as it would do in a mixture of two parts in volume of chlorine, and one of oxygen.

An inflamed taper, and inflamed sulphur instantly decompose it, and exhibit the same phænomena as in a mixture of two parts of chlorine and one of oxygen. When euchlorine freed from water is made to act upon dry vegetable colours, it gradually destroys them, but first gives to the blues a tint of red; from which, and its absorbability by water, and the taste of its solution which approaches to a sour, it may be considered as approximating to an acid in its nature.

Chlorine was formerly considered as an elementary body, but Lavoisier and Berthollet asserted that it was a compound of muriatic-acid gas and oxygen. Sir Humphry Davy, however, has not been able to detect any oxygen in it: he says, none of its compounds, with inflammable bodies or metals will afford this principle: charcoal, intensely ignited in it, undergoes no change, nor is it altered by the strongest powers of electricity; and he adds, "should oxygen ever be procured from it, some other form of matter, possibly a new one, will at the same time be discovered as entering into its constitution, and till it is decomposed it must be regarded, according to the just logic of chemistry, as an elementary substance."

We shall now, although the discovery was not made by our countrymen, give an account of a new simple supporter of combustion, capable, like oxygen, of combining with almost all the combustible bodies, and of forming various acids and genera of salts hitherto unknown. Since this substance constitutes a very important addition to the science of chemistry, and has excited the attention of many of our most celebrated chemists, we shall give a cursory view of it, chiefly selected from a French work entitled "*Mémoire sur l'Iode*, par M. Gay-Lussac, lu à l'Institut," and from the *Philosophical Journals* published in this country.

Iodine was accidentally discovered in 1812 by M. Courtois, a saltpetre manufacturer of Paris, by observing the metallic vessels in which the solutions of kelp were evaporated very much corroded. At first he concealed the fact, meaning to investigate its properties himself; but, not finding leisure for a course of experiments, he communicated the secret to M. Clement, who also was too much engaged in other projects, and who gave it up to M. Gay-Lussac. This celebrated chemist undertook the investigation with great alacrity.

Iodine has hitherto been obtained only from kelp, and the French kelp contains a greater proportion of iodine than the British. This substance is thus obtained: When all the soda has been separated by crystallization from a solution, to procure the iodine from the residuary liquor, concentrated sulphuric acid is to be poured upon it in a retort furnished with a receiver. The iodine passes into the receiver, in the form of beautiful violet vapours, which are condensed into crystalline plates, having the aspect of plumbago. To purify it from the redundant acid that comes over with it, the iodine may be re-distilled from water containing a small quantity of potash, and afterwards dried by pressing between the folds of paper.—*For an account of Garden's and Accum's methods of obtaining this substance, see Monthly Mag. for May 1814.*

Iodine is a solid at the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere: often in the form of scales, resembling those of micaceous iron-ore. Its colour is blueish-black: its lustre is metallic: it is soft, friable, and may easily be rubbed to a fine powder. It has a very acrid taste, and is sparingly soluble in water, which does not take up more than the 7000th part of its weight. Its specific gravity at 62° Fahrenheit is nearly 4,928. Dr. Henry makes it 4,946 at the temperature of 60°, but Clement says it is only four times heavier than water. Iodine is a non-conductor of electricity, and possesses in a considerable degree the electrical properties of oxygen and chlorine, being determined to the positive pole of a galvanic arrangement. When applied to the skin, it produces a yellow stain, which disappears as the iodine evaporates. Iodine is fusible at 225° of Fahrenheit, and under

der the common pressure of the atmosphere is volatilized at 350°. The colour of the vapour is a beautiful violet: hence its name *ιωδης*, *violaceus*.

Iodine is a supporter of combustion; but a much more imperfect one than any of the other supporters. Potassium, when placed in contact with it, or surrounded by its vapour, burns with a pale-blue flame. The substance produced is white, fusible at a red heat, and soluble in water. It has a peculiar acrid taste.

Iodine is regarded as a simple substance, all attempts to decompose it having failed: and as it unites like oxygen with combustible bodies, and during this union combustion in certain cases takes place, it must be considered as a supporter of combustion. The compounds which oxygen forms with the simple combustibles have received the name of oxydes; hence the name of *iodydes* is given to the compounds which iodine forms with the same bodies.

Iodine undergoes no change by being heated in contact with oxygen gas, or with hyperoxymuriate of potash; but, by the intervention of euchlorine, it may be combined with oxygen, and then it furnishes a peculiar acid with that body.

The affinity of iodine for hydrogen is very strong, and it absorbs that basis from hydrogen-gas, and detaches it from its several combinations, affording a distinct acid, which is named by Sir H. Davy *hydrionic acid*, but by Gay-Lussac *hydriodic acid*.

Hydriodic acid-gas is plentifully absorbed by water, and the solution is fuming. The liquid acid is slowly decomposed by contact with air, the hydrogen being attracted by the oxygen of the atmosphere, and a portion of the iodine liberated. Concentrate sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and chlorine, decompose it, and separate the iodine. With solutions of lead it gives a fine orange-coloured precipitate; with a solution of per-oxyde of mercury, a red one; and with silver, a white precipitate. When submitted to the action of a galvanic battery, the liquid hydriodic acid is rapidly decomposed, iodine appears at the positive, and hydrogen at the negative pole. It dissolves zinc and iron, with a disengagement of hydrogen-gas, which proceeds from the water.

It is decomposed by those oxydes which hold their oxygen loosely, and combines with the rest, forming neutral salts, called *hydriodates*. These salts, in general, are readily soluble in water.

Charcoal does not combine with iodine, but it does with sulphur, at a gentle heat; and a black radiated compound is formed, resembling sulphuret of antimony.

Phosphorus combines with iodine at the common temperature of the atmosphere, evolving much heat, but no light; the result is a phosphuret of iodine, of a reddish-brown colour.

When iodine in a state of vapour is passed over ignited hydrate of potash, oxygen is disengaged, and a compound formed precisely similar to that which results from the combination of iodine and potassium. Hence the affinity of iodine for potassium exceeds that of oxygen, and the same may be said of several of the metals, their oxydes being decomposed by iodine.

When iodine is thrown into a moderately strong solution of potash rendered perfectly caustic, it is dissolved, and, during the solution, crystals fall down, which are sparingly soluble in water, taste like hyper-oxy muriate of potash, deflagrate with charcoal, and, when heated, give oxygen gas and *ioduret* of potassium. With sulphuric acid they afford iodine, oxygen, and sulphate of potash. The liquid, when it has ceased to yield these crystals, affords, on evaporation, a salt identical with *ioduret* of potassium. In this case, Sir H. Davy imagines that the potash is decomposed, one part of it combines with iodine, and the oxygen set at liberty unites with the other part and with iodine. In this view, therefore, the deflagrating salt is a triple compound of oxygen, iodine, and potassium, and is called an *oxyiode*; but Gay-Lussac supposes that the iodine is oxygenated, and forms an acid called *iodic acid*, and that this uniting with potash composes *iodate* of potash.

Iodine absorbs less than one third its weight of chlorine, and forms a peculiar acid called *chloriode*, or *chloriodic acid*, and its compounds *chloriodates*. This acid precipitates the salts of iron, lead, tin, and copper. To convert the whole
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of a quantity of alkali into a deflagrating salt, it is necessary to combine the iodine with chlorine, and, after dissolving the compound in water, to saturate it with alkali.

When iodine is exposed to euchlorine, there is an immediate action, its colour changes to a bright orange, and a liquid is formed. By the application of a gentle heat, a white semi-transparent solid substance is formed, which is termed an *oxyiodine*; it has no smell, but a strong astringent sour taste: it is very soluble in water, and is slightly deliquescent. When heated in contact with inflammable bodies, or with the more combustible metals, detonations are produced. A solution in water rapidly corrodes all the metals, and even acts on gold and platina. Oxyiodine enters into combination with all the fluid or solid acids. The acid combinations dissolve gold and platinum, and, when added to alkalies or earths, afford common neutral salts, and their respective oxyiodes.

All the metals, with the aid of heat, unite with iodine, and form *iodurets*, analogous to sulphurets; and if these compounds are placed in contact with water, it is decomposed, and a *hydriodate* of the respective metal is produced, the water furnishing hydrogen to the iodine, and oxygen to the metal.

Considered as an elementary substance, it has a striking analogy with chlorine, which it resembles: 1. In forming one acid by uniting with hydrogen, and a different one with oxygen. 2. In its effects on vegetable colours. 3. In affording with fixed alkalies salts approaching in character to the hyper-oxy muriates; and 4. In its electrical habitudes.

The presence of iodine may be known by the property which it has of blackening silver more than any other body at present known. This property led to the original discovery, and afforded Sir H. Davy the means of detecting it in the solutions of the ashes of different sea-weeds. The most delicate re-agent for iodine is *starch*, which, when put into a liquid containing iodine in a state of liberty, detects the presence, it is said, of so small a quantity as $\frac{1}{100,000}$ th part, by the blue colour which it forms.

We shall now present our readers with a hasty sketch of the life and labours of Mr. Tennant, and of those of Count

Rumford, as far as they are connected with the science of chemistry or the arts dependent upon it.

Smithson Tennant, esq. professor of chemistry in the University of Cambridge, gave many decided proofs, while very young, of a particular turn for chemistry and experimental philosophy, as well by making little experiments as by reading such books on the subject as fell in his way. His first experiment was made when he was not more than nine years old; this was the preparation of a quantity of gunpowder for fire-works, according to directions contained in some book of science to which he had access.

During the time he was at school, he happened to be present at a public lecture given by the ingenious Mr. Adam Walker, long a popular instructor in natural philosophy. During the hour he put several questions to the lecturer respecting the experiments, and displayed so much intelligence as well as curiosity as to attract the attention of the audience, and give great additional interest to the lecture, so much so that Mr. Walker requested he would continue to attend the course.

In the choice of a profession his attention was naturally directed to the study of medicine: he accordingly went in 1781 to Edinburgh, and had the good fortune to meet with an instructor in his favourite science in Dr. Black. His residence in Scotland was short, and in the following year he entered himself a member of Christ's College, Cambridge. Here his attention was chiefly directed to chemistry and botany, and it has since appeared that he made an experiment respecting heat which he did not communicate to the public till more than twenty years afterwards. This consisted in a mode of effecting a double distillation by the same heat, in consequence of a diminished pressure of the air, which he communicated to the Royal Society in 1814, an account of which forms the subject of his last paper published in the Philosophical Transactions.

The attention of the chemical world was, while Mr. Smithson Tennant was at Cambridge, engaged by the great controversy respecting the antiphlogistic theory, which experienced considerable opposition in England. Mr. Tennant embraced the doctrine long before it was generally admitted in this country as the true system. In 1785 he
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was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, but it was not till 1791 that he enriched the Transactions of that body with his own labours. He then communicated to them his analysis of the carbonic acid. Mr. Lavoisier had already proved that this substance was a compound of oxygen and charcoal, but no one had resolved the gas into its simple elements. Mr. Tennant observing that phosphate of lime was not decomposed when heated with charcoal, inferred that the joint attractions of phosphorus for oxygen, and of carbonic acid for lime, exceeded those of charcoal for oxygen, and of carbonic acid for lime, and consequently that phosphorus and heated marble, when made to act on each other, would be resolved into phosphate of lime and charcoal. The correctness of this reasoning was justified by the event; and the result of the experiment was not merely the analysis of the carbonic acid, which was, in fact, the immediate object of the investigation, but the discovery of a new compound, consisting of phosphorus and lime, possessing several curious properties. The ingenuity and elegance of this experiment established Mr. Tennant's reputation as a chemist. During the course of the year 1796, Mr. Tennant contributed to the Royal Society his paper on the nature of the diamond. Sir Isaac Newton had conjectured that this body was inflammable, as was afterwards proved by the experiments of the Duke of Tuscany, and of Messrs. Darcet and Rouelle. M. Lavoisier effected its combustion by means of a lens, in close vessels, and obtained from it a gas, which precipitated chalk from lime water. But this was at an early period of pneumatic chemistry; and though he concluded that the gas was fixed air, yet he did not consider the analogy between charcoal and the diamond as very intimate, but as depending entirely on their common property of being combustible. The merit of completely ascertaining the nature of this substance was reserved for Mr. Tennant. He succeeded in burning the diamond when reduced to powder by heating it with nitre in a gold tube. A solution of the alkaline salt was then poured into liquid muriate of lime, and the quantity of carbonic acid, which had been generated,

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rated, was inferred from the weight of the precipitate, which was found to consist of carbonate of lime.

From experiments made upon minute quantities of diamond powder, not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains, he showed, by comparing them with Lavoisier's experiments on charcoal, that equal weights of diamond and charcoal yield equal quantities of fixed air, and that the fixed air contains between 27 and 28 per cent. of diamond; results which very nearly agreed with others by M. Lavoisier, and were subsequently confirmed by the investigations of Messrs. Allen and Pepys. During the investigation of the diamond, Mr. Tennant observed that gold and platina were corroded and dissolved by heated nitre, and that on the addition of water to the salt, the metals, owing to the presence of nitrite of potash, were in a great measure precipitated. These appearances, together with some peculiar properties of the nitrous solutions of gold, were the subject of a further communication to the Royal Society in 1797.

About this period he entered rather deeply into agricultural pursuits; and in the course of his inquiries he discovered that there were two kinds of limestone known in the midland counties of England, one of which differed from common limestone in yielding a lime injurious to vegetation. Mr. Tennant explained the cause of this difference in a paper communicated to the Royal Society in the year 1799, showing that carbonate of magnesia is an ingredient in the latter species of limestone, which he describes as an extensive stratum in the midland counties, and as being found likewise in many other situations, particularly among the primitive marbles, under the name of dolomite.

In the year 1802 he communicated to the Royal Society his chemical examination of emery, which had hitherto been considered as an ore of iron, but which he showed to consist principally of alumina, and that it nearly agrees with the corundum of China, which had been already analysed by Klaproth.

In the same year, in endeavouring to make an alloy of lead with the powder which remains after treating crude platina

platina with aqua regia, he observed remarkable properties in the powder, and found that it contained a new metal. But while he was engaged in pursuing this investigation, the attention of two French chemists was accidentally directed to the same object. M. Descotils had discovered that the powder contains a metal which gives a red colour to the ammoniacal precipitate of platina; and M. Vauquelin having treated the powder with alkali, obtained from it a volatile oxyde, which he considered as belonging to the same metal.

Early in 1804 Mr. Tennant having completed the course of his experiments, communicated the results to the Royal Society. He showed that the powder consisted of two new metals, to which he gave the names of iridium and osmium, and that these might be separated from one another by the alternate action of heated alkali and of acid menstrua. By crystallization from the acid solution, he obtained a pure salt of iridium, from which he determined with accuracy the real properties of the metal, and of its compounds; and from a comparison with these he ascertained that the volatile oxyde belonged to another metal (osmium), which he also obtained in a state of purity.

The analysis of crude platina presented, says Dr. Thomson, perhaps, some of the greatest difficulties with which chemistry had ever yet ventured to contend. Besides affording traces of several of the known metals, the ore contained, in very minute quantities, four new metallic elementary bodies, whose existence was previously unsuspected, and whose respective characters were to be distinguished before the separate nature of the bodies could be ascertained. Dr. Wollaston and Mr. Tennant, who were employed upon this ore at the same time, and whose habits of friendly intercourse led them to communicate freely with each other during the progress of their experiments, gave proofs of their great sagacity by completely solving this problem;—Mr. Tennant in the manner already described, and his friend by the discovery of the two metals called palladium and rhodium. On the 30th of November 1804, Mr. Tennant had the honour
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Of the melancholy and unfortunate death of Mr. Tennant an account will be found in another part of our volume. For a much fuller account of his life and labours, see Dr. Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*, vol. vi. No. 1 and 2.

Sir Benjamin Thompson, though born in America, may well deserve some notice in the History of Science during the present reign, as the subsequent facts recorded of him will fully show. He was born at Rumford in New England in 1752, and in early life it appears that he held rank as major in the militia; but when the war broke out which was intended to enslave the thirteen colonies, but which terminated in their complete independence, Mr. Thompson embraced the cause of the mother-country, and was of considerable service, from his local knowledge of the states. He soon came over to London with proposals to raise a regiment in America for the service of the king, to which his majesty's ministers agreed; and in consequence of this, when peace was concluded in 1783, he became entitled to half-pay. In 1784 he was, for his services in the cause, knighted by his present majesty. He had previously to this, in 1779, been elected a member of the Royal Society of London, and began to distinguish himself as an experimental philosopher in 1781.

In 1784 he made a tour to the continent and obtained the notice of several German princes; he obtained also the honour of being created a baron of the German empire, and had a pension settled on him from the king of Bavaria equal to 900*l.* per annum, which probably constituted the most if not the whole of his income. In 1799 he returned to England.

During this interval he had distinguished himself by various papers, which we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel, which were written in a neat style, and contained much curious and important information. On his return to London in 1799 he became generally known for his improvements in fire-places intended chiefly to economize fuel, and to add convenience to the operations of domestic cookery, which improvements were in many re-
spects

spects useful, but not by any means to the extent which he held forth*.

He published a series of Essays on different subjects, which were afterwards collected into two volumes octavo; and at the same time he procured the formation of the Royal Institution as a school for science in the metropolis of Great Britain, and a place in which models of every kind were to be collected and exhibited. Of this institution nothing here need be said: its celebrity is every where acknowledged; it probably gave birth to the interesting and grand discoveries of Sir Humphry Davy in the science of chemistry, which of themselves are sufficient to immortalize the age in which they were made. So at least Mr. Tennant thought, who in the year 1809 in a letter to a friend abroad, after mentioning the great phænomena of the decomposition of the alkalies by voltaic electricity, and giving a general view of the experiments founded upon them, thus concludes: "I need not say how prodigious these discoveries are, it is something to have lived to know them."

Dr. Thomson, in speaking of Count Rumford in connexion with the Royal Society, is forced to acknowledge much haughtiness of disposition, which was very unsuitable to the character of a philosopher. As far as it was connected with the managers of that institution, it was of little practical importance, their good sense would pass it over with the contempt which it deserved; but we fear his tyrannical disposition produced the most baneful effects upon one of the most modest, unassuming, and excellent men that ever adorned the seat of science. It forced Dr. Garnett to resign his situation as Lecturer to the Royal Institution; and it

* The Rumford Roaster, and other improvements of the Count have been superseded by inventions of more decided utility. The expense of fuel, and the great consumption of it for culinary purposes, render every attempt to lessen that consumption, without encroaching upon domestic comfort, deserving of public attention: hence the numerous inventions for kitchen ranges, or apparatus for cooking: of these, that of Mr. Benjamin Coombe, High-Holborn, in the estimation of the writer of this article, who knows nothing of the inventor but from his talent as a mechanic, is the best. It roasts with an open fire, is perfectly simple, extremely neat in all its operations, and is unquestionably economical to a very considerable degree.

was said at the time, and there is no reason that the truth should not be recorded, as a lesson to others similarly disposed with the count, that his behaviour had made such impression on the tender mind of Dr. Garnett, as neither time nor the marked kindness of his friends could obliterate, and he died, probably, more a victim to grief, than to the weakness of his constitution. "Thus," says his biographer, "was lost to society a man, the ornament of his country and the general friend of humanity. As a philosopher and a man of science, he was candid, ingenuous, and open to conviction; he never dealt in mystery, nor pretended to any secret in art; he was always ready in explanation, and desirous of assisting every person willing to acquire knowledge. Virtue was the basis of all his actions; science never possessed a fairer fabric, nor did society ever sustain a greater loss." See Memoir prefixed to Popular Lectures on Zoonomia, or the Laws of Animal Life, in Health and Disease, by Thomas Garnett, M.D.

To return to Count Rumford as an improver of science. His papers in the Philosophical Transactions, which are as follow, will afford a tolerably correct idea of his talents, his zeal and his industry in those pursuits, for which he merits, as he has obtained, a large portion of applause.

1. "New Experiments on Gunpowder," 1781. These appear to have been made with great care, and the results are thought to be extremely interesting to the practical engineer. The method of Count Rumford was similar to that invented by the well-known Mr. Robins. Among other facts noticed or explained in this paper, the following may be mentioned. The force of the charge is always increased as the piece acquires heat by firing. This we are told is a fact so well established in the navy, that after firing two or three times it is customary to diminish the quantity of powder used. The count found that the barrel became much hotter when the piece was only charged with powder, than when a ball is employed. He conceives the heat to be produced by the vibration of the barrel, and supposes that this vibration will be greatest when there is no ball, because in that case the action on the barrel is only momentary. In this paper is the first notice of the
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author's peculiar notions respecting heat, which he retained during the whole of his life.

2. "New Experiments on Heat," 1786. In these experiments a thermometer surrounded with different media was plunged into boiling water, or into melting ice, and the time that elapsed during the heating and cooling was considered as indicating the conducting power of the several media inversely. The following table shows the conducting power of the media, according to the count's experiments:

Mercury	-	-	1000	Common air, density 1	-	80 $\frac{1}{2}$
Water	-	-	342	Rarefied air, density $\frac{1}{14}$	-	78
Moist air	-	-	330	Torricellian vacuum	-	55

3. "Experiments on the Production of dephlogisticated Air from Water with various Substances," 1787. The ingenious and indefatigable Dr. Ingenhousz, who seemed to consider this country as his own, had discovered that when the leaves of plants are put under water, and exposed to the rays of the sun, a quantity of very pure oxygen gas is evolved; and Dr. Priestley had observed that the green scum on stagnant water always yielded a large portion of this gas. On these experiments a theory had been founded that vegetables decompose water, retaining the hydrogen, and giving out the oxygen, and that by this process the oxygen taken from common air by animals, and by the process of combustion, is restored. Count Rumford's experiments show that raw silk, eider-down, and various similar bodies may be substituted for the leaves of plants without diminishing the evolution of oxygen gas. The light of lamps was found to produce the same effect as solar light; and the count confirmed Dr. Priestley's observation, that the green-coloured matter referred to produces much oxygen gas: but he asserts that this matter is not of a vegetable nature, but consists of a congeries of animalcules.

4. "Experiments to determine the positive and relative Quantities of Moisture absorbed from the Atmosphere by various Substances under similar Circumstances." The results are given in a table, from which it may be noted that the absorption with regard to sheep's wool—beaver's fur—

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raw silk—linen and cotton wool, are in the following proportions: 1163—1125—1107—1103, and 1082.

5. "Experiments on Heat," 1792. The object of these experiments is to determine the conducting power of various bodies; and he found among other results, that the conducting power of *common air*, *sheep's wool*, and *cotton wool*, are as 576, 1118, and 1046. The finer the fibres were, the worse a conductor of heat was the substance; a circumstance which he ascribed to the attraction between the fibres and air, which prevents the air from moving out of its place, and thus carrying off the heat.

6. "A Method of measuring the comparative Intensities of the Light emitted by Luminous Bodies," 1794. The facts ascertained by Count Rumford are, that no perceptible quantity of light is absorbed during its passage through the air. When light passes through a fine mirror glass, about $\frac{1}{3}$ th is absorbed. Nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ d is lost when light is reflected from a good plane glass mirror.

7. "An Account of some Experiments on coloured Shadows," 1794.

8. "Experiments to determine the Force of Fired Gunpowder," 1797. This is said to be the most curious and interesting of all Count Rumford's papers; and therefore, as it does not easily admit of a brief analysis, we refer the reader to the volume of the Transactions in which it is contained.

9. "An Inquiry concerning the Source of Heat," 1798. As a conclusion from his experiments, he infers that heat is not a substance, but mere motion.

10. "On the chemical Properties that have been attributed to Light," 1798.

11. "An Inquiry concerning the Weight ascribed to Heat." From an experiment of Dr. Fordyce it was concluded that bodies become heavier the more they are cooled, and of consequence that heat diminishes their weight. But Count Rumford found that the supposed increase of weight was a deception, arising from vapour condensing on the surface of the glass vessel in which the experiment was made.

**BRITISH AND FOREIGN
HISTORY**

For the Year 1815.



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CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Prince Regent's Speech—Debates on the Address in answer to the Speech—Mr. Croker's Motion for a Bill for the Encouragement of Seamen—Debate on the Marquis of Buckingham's Motion respecting the War in America—On the Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion on Treaties—In the Commons, on Supplies—On a Motion for a Monument to General Ross—On Lord Darnley's Motion respecting the Naval Administration—On the Civil List—On the Property Tax—On the Supplies.

WE commence, as usual, our volume with the business of Parliament, which was convened on the 8th of November 1814. The period was extremely interesting, and the speech from the throne was naturally anticipated with anxiety by persons of all descriptions. The subjects on which the regent touched drew down the most severe and pointed animadversions from divers members of the opposition, particularly from that eloquent and truly honest and honourable man Mr. Whitbread, whose loss the country and the world have now to deplore.

In the speech of his royal highness the prince regent, the war with America forms the principal topic. This war is said again to have been occasioned by the most unjust ag-

gression on the part of the enemy, and was calculated to promote the designs of him whom his royal highness denominates the common enemy of Europe, against the rights and independence of all other nations. In the course of this volume we are extremely sorry to say that we shall have to point out to public execration other sovereigns besides the fallen Bonaparte, who have made war upon the rights and independence of states wholly unable to help themselves, and under pretences the most weak and frivolous that could possibly have been devised. The patriotism of arbitrary princes, which we, for a short time, were ready to applaud in terms of the highest panegyric, has fully developed itself, as far as it

has gone; and we shall be infinitely more pleased than surprised, if these patriotic sovereigns are not at the present moment laying plans to demand what the Americans claimed, and what we are willing to admit cannot be ceded without the utmost injury to our own country as a maritime state. That the British minister should be outwitted and laid on his back by the diplomatists of the allied powers, is what the country at large is prepared to expect, and we shall be glad in a subsequent volume to show that lord Castlereagh has merited a much higher degree of confidence than his countrymen are disposed to allow him: we shall be glad to record acts and treaties that shall do honour to his lordship, and be beneficial to Great Britain and the world: we shall consider it one of the happiest moments of our lives, if we are able to point out to our readers that the foundation of a just, honourable and lasting peace has been laid by the noble lord, which shall secure to our native country all those blessings which we read of in history as once the characteristics of these realms.—But to return to the speech.

His royal highness mentioned his ardent desire for peace, which, as we know, was in a few months fully gratified. He mentions the operations of his majesty's forces by sea and land, in the Chesapeake, as having been attended with the most brilliant and successful results. "The flotilla of the enemy in the Patuxent has been destroyed. The signal defeat of their land forces enabled a detachment of his majesty's army to take possession of the city of Washington: and the spirit of enterprise which has characterized all the movements in that quarter has produced on the inhabitants a deep

and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been wantonly involved." We may be allowed, without hazarding the charge of indecorum, to ask the advisers of his royal highness, to whom the speech must necessarily be ascribed, whether it can be a matter of high boast to the British navy, whose Howes, Rodneys, and Nelsons have captured and destroyed the proudest fleets of France, of Spain and Holland when combined together, that a well-appointed fleet has destroyed a flotilla of boats, or at best diminutive vessels in the Patuxent? Could it possibly be a subject of congratulation to the arms of Britain, that an open town has been entered and its public buildings destroyed and set on fire? Is that to be called *taking possession* of the capital of an enemy, when we land a body of forces and wantonly destroy public buildings not devoted to or connected with the arts of warfare, and then in a few hours hastily retreat?

His royal highness, having dispatched the business of America, refers to the congress at Vienna, and says, "It will be my earnest endeavour, in the negotiations which are now in progress, to promote such arrangements as may tend to consolidate that peace which, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, I have had the happiness of concluding; and to re-establish that just equilibrium among the different powers which will afford the best prospect of permanent tranquillity to Europe." We well know how long this peace, when concluded, continued; we hope the negotiations now going on (Oct. 1, 1815) may be more successful, and the results more permanent.

His royal highness, in his address to the house of commons, speaks with

with concern of the heavy burthens still necessary to be laid on the people, not only to carry on the war, but to liquidate *large arrears*, a phrase which was considered as novel in financial expositions from the throne, and the more so, as for many years past the commons have been called upon to raise money for the expenses of each year.

The address to the speech was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Abingdon, and seconded by the earl of Delaware. And in the commons the same offices fell upon lord Bridport and Mr. Graham.

Almost every topic interesting to the public was touched upon in the debates that occurred on the address in answer to the speech from the throne. In Mr. Whitbread's animated reply we have a comprehensive view of the present political situation of the country. At home, our finances form the most conspicuous object. During the last session every provision appeared to have been made, that was necessary to meet the exigencies of the year. Elated with the unexpected occurrences on the continent, the generosity of parliament was almost without a parallel. The hands of the administration were amply filled with means apparently adequate, to complete all the objects they could possibly have in view. An immense sum was guaranteed, the taxes were amplified, and a vote of credit to an unexampled amount passed through the house of commons without a murmur. A treaty with the restored house of the Bourbons had been concluded; commercial regulations on a liberal foundation were expected; a re-organization of the states of Europe, upon the policy avowed by the emperor Alexander at Paris, was virtually promised; the war with America was

apparently ready to expire; every cause of extraordinary expense for the future was about to terminate; and the people saw, with pleasure, that the executive government was, by the confidence of parliament, enabled to meet every exigence that could arise in the extensive negotiations that were to ensue—to support the magnificence of embassies in such extraordinary circumstances—to maintain an attitude sufficiently impressive until a system of general pacification should be completed, and to provide against emergencies which might arise from the floating arrears of a long and overwhelming expenditure. All this was done by the commons, and approved by the great mass of the people, in the hope of a new era, when, with peace, commerce should lift up its languid head, and the dreadful oppressive load of tax under which we had so long struggled should be very much lightened, and the most unpopular be completely taken off and for ever obliterated. How fallacious these hopes! The events of a short period showed that additional burthens were to be laid on, and that a war, perhaps, more disastrous than the preceding was to be entered into. Previous even to this, it was clearly seen that the leading powers of the continent were busied, not in projects of peace, but in plans of personal or national aggrandizement. No regard was paid either to popular rights or to sovereign claims. A scale seemed to have been formed, in which the shares of the strongest powers, in those parts of Germany liberated long since by Bonaparte from their imperial and apostolic master, were alone to be estimated. Without consulting the people, transfers, bargains, and confiscations were made, and scarcely any other consideration was re-

garded, than who was the stronger. The fate of Saxony is added to that of Poland, as another testimony, furnished even in our times, of the folly of building any hopes in the justice or the magnanimity of arbitrary princes:—but we stop our hand, and will proceed with the debates on the address.

The earl of Abingdon rose to move the address, of which the substance was to thank his royal highness the prince regent for his most gracious speech, and to assure him of the earnest desire of that house to carry into effect the objects therein recommended. After lamenting the continued indisposition of his majesty, his lordship insisted that America was, in the present war, notoriously the aggressor, and had provoked and produced all the evils of the contest. She had chosen to declare war at a moment when we were most vulnerable, and had conspired with France to our annoyance. Still, his royal highness was desirous to obtain peace on honourable terms, and on principles consistent with the dignity and constitutional rights of this country. Great praise was due to sir Alexander Cochrane and general Ross; and he thought there could be little doubt of the issue of our efforts in the western hemisphere, when it was considered that the soldiers employed in that service were those who had served under the duke of Wellington. His lordship thought the disaster at Lake Champlain of very little importance, and he derived great satisfaction from the flourishing state of our commerce, and of the revenue. He concluded with disclaiming any other attachment to ministers, than what was due to those measures which he thought serviceable to the country, and to the illustrious personage who

exercised the regal functions—measures which had lifted England to the highest pitch of glory, and had rendered her ultimately the preserver of Europe.

Lord Delaware seconded the motion. He first lamented that the *supreme* and illustrious personage adverted to in the first article of the speech could not in his latter days be cheered by the bright dawn which opened on this country, and on Europe.—With respect to the general prospect of affairs, he trusted that the happy period was not remote, when the temple of Janus would be quite closed. America had lent herself to the blind malignity which in the eastern hemisphere had nearly succeeded in overwhelming mankind in slavery and barbarism. America, unprovoked by this country, had tenaciously adhered to the politics of France, and she must abide by the consequences of her conduct.—Her armies were routed by inferior numbers in Canada; a large tract of territory had been wrested from her; and numerous instances of British prowess stood in honourable record in the annals of the times.—The force ready to act in Canada was a part of the army which had conquered in the Peninsula, and warranted the most sanguine hopes of the result.—His lordship then regretted the delay of the congress at Vienna, but asserted that there were clear, sound, and moral reasons to hope that they would prove themselves the true fathers of the large and united family of Europe. Man remembered both benefits and injuries; the wild and mischievous decrees issued at Berlin and Milan would never be forgotten. Through the spirit which such tyranny had excited, we, in conjunction with the allies, had laid the foundation for a
lasting

lasting temple of peace.—No vast and permanent good could be obtained without some sacrifices; and though we all must regret the necessary expenditure of the national treasure, yet it would willingly be granted, to secure the glorious results of the war. He should, he said, conclude with a sentiment of the poet, applicable to our present situation, and recognised by their lordships as well as by the allies—*"Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbis,"*—"To spare the vanquish'd, and the proud o'erthrow."

The earl of Darnley declared, that, in whatever light he might view the affairs of Europe, there was nothing in reference to America which could justify him in approving the spirit of the address. One feature of that war he could not contemplate without dread and shame. At Washington, British honour and British laurels had been tarnished and blighted. In our various conflicts at sea, the advantage had generally been with the Americans. The speech declared that peace should only be made on *honourable terms*—what Englishman could think of any other? But was honour incompatible with justice?—He hoped that the war would not be protracted for what was fancifully termed maritime rights.—On another day he should call the attention of the house to the important topic of our marine administration.

Lord Melville felt himself called upon to reply to this suggestion. It had been urged that the naval war was ill conducted, and that our merchants had been abandoned to the depredations of privateers.—Every wish signified by our commanders in America had, however, not only been complied with, but anticipated. No less than 20,000 American seamen had been taken prisoners: 200

ships of war had been taken, and not less than 1900 trading vessels. It was also a fact that the premiums of insurance were much lower previous to the conclusion of the peace with France, than they had been the preceding year. The chief cause of the losses of our merchants was the practice of their vessels departing from convoy. Still, whatever had been said, only eleven of our coasting vessels had been captured. The war on the Lakes formed a new feature, quite different from any thing in our previous practice; but measures were in active progress to bring the contest there to a speedy and prosperous issue.

Lord Grenville considered that common sense and observation, only, were necessary to perceive that the present contest with the United States of America had been productive of results highly injurious to the exalted reputation of this country, and galling to the feelings of Englishmen. He could not believe that the repeated remonstrances were without foundation. Our disasters on the Lakes, and the successful depredations of the American privateers, joined with the circumstance that no blow had been struck worthy of the great force of this country, had excited a general feeling of regret and indignation. He did not wish to prejudice this question; but facts were so obvious, that it was impossible to disguise them. With the largest navy upon the ocean, Great Britain had been insulted—her ports had been actually blockaded, her commerce greatly injured, by American cruisers and privateers. It needed no great political sagacity to see that the proper means of defending Canada was by obtaining possession of the Lakes; yet no measures had been taken to ensure our preponderance on those waters.

waters. No information could be expected respecting the negotiations either at Ghent or Vienna; but, as the principal cause of the war with America was at an end, nothing could be easier than the adjustment of any remaining differences. It could not be necessary to continue the waste of human blood for the sake of an abstract question. The language of the speech was not of a pacific nature. If substantial reasons for the continuance of the war existed, they ought to have been stated in a public declaration. The object of the war ought to be peace, not punishment of the enemy. Such a calamity as the war which now afflicted this country, ought not to exist without a powerful cause; it ought not to be treated with indifference, nor were any exertions to be spared to put an end to it.—His lordship lamented that the speech seemed to exult in the events which had taken place at Washington—events which had cast a dreadful stain on British glory. He acknowledged the enterprise to be brilliant, and he lamented the death of the brave commander; but he no less lamented that the name of that commander should be coupled, in the annals of history, with an act which constituted a total departure from the established system of civilized warfare. The burning of the public buildings devoted to civil purposes was most inexcusable. Of all the capitals on the continent which had been entered by an enemy who was considered barbarous and cruel, one only furnished an instance of the destruction of civic edifices: and even at Moscow the Kremlin had been used for military purposes. If retaliation were the ground for such proceeding, it should have been declared by a proclamation on the spot. On the contrary, if he

had not been misinformed, a proclamation had been issued by a British commander, which might be regarded as a general threat of the destruction of private property.—His lordship then mentioned the army still maintained by this country on the continent, equivalent in the expense to a force of 40,000 men. No notice had been given to parliament on this subject. Such a circumstance was without a precedent. There was an obscure mention of finance in the speech; but surely the people of this country expected some distinct statement on so momentous a point. No permanent improvement could be expected without the restoration of specie as the circulating medium. His lordship concluded with declaring that he considered the address entirely inappropriate to the present state of public affairs.

Lord Liverpool replied to the observations of the noble baron. The speech was not of a profuse or a warlike cast: his majesty's ministers would avoid war, make peace, reduce the expenditure, when these could be done with honour and safety. With respect to the conduct of the admiralty, he had never heard a statement which *prima facie* was more satisfactory than that of his noble friend. With respect to the American negotiation, their lordships would necessarily for the present suspend their judgement: they had been informed from the throne that those very negotiations were still pending. In the allusion of the speech to the severe pressure on the inhabitants of the United States, it was not intended to imply that such pressure was a subject of pleasure to us, but to show that the subjects of the United States had been made to feel the horrors of the war into which their rulers had plunged.

ged them. With respect to the capture of Washington, more humanity in warfare had never been displayed than in that instance. We had on all occasions respected private property during this war, and it was a just retaliation for the burning of the public buildings by the Americans at York, where they seized the private property of the governor, that the public buildings at Washington had been destroyed. The capitals of Europe had been occupied by the French by capitulation, while Washington had been abandoned by the constituted authorities, and had been plundered chiefly by the Negroes and low inhabitants. The proclamation of sir A. Cochrane referred to the outrages of the Americans in Canada; but as some sort of explanation had been made by the American government, instructions had been sent to prevent that proclamation from being acted upon. He denied that all classes were united against us in America: our conduct at Washington had been justified by many of the papers in that country. The people had frequently shown themselves in our favour; and so far from resentment appearing to lurk against us, the inhabitants in general seemed sensible that the war was provoked by their own rulers, and carried on with all possible humanity on our part. With respect to the congress at Vienna, so many previous explanations had been necessary, that the time which had been consumed was not a matter of astonishment.—The continuance of a British army on the continent was in itself extraordinary, and so was the aspect of affairs. From the peculiar circumstances of the time, there did not seem to him much danger that such a measure should be drawn into a precedent. It was acknowledged by ministers

that the influence of government on the trade of this country had, from the peculiar circumstances of the late contest, been great: it would be for the government to bring this subject to a settled footing. As to the currency of this country, his lordship held the same opinions as formerly, and thought those opinions verified by the rapid return of the course of exchange to its old state.

Some explanation took place between lord Grenville and the earl of Liverpool; and the motion for the address was carried in the affirmative, but with many dissentient voices.

In the house of commons, the speaker having read from the chair the speech as delivered by his royal highness the prince regent.

Lord Bridport rose to move the address. He compared the present situation of our country with what it was twelve months ago. England could not have accomplished these great events without the allies, nor the allies without England. Our success had been ascribed to the insatiable tyranny of Bonaparte; but it had certainly arisen from the vigorous conduct of the allies and the prince regent. Nothing had been left undone that might bring the war with America to a conclusion, and he congratulated the house upon the brilliant result of our operations in the Chesapeake. At Washington we had destroyed the stores and the arsenal; and in whatever else we had done there, we had acted upon the defensible principle of retaliation. The result of the expedition from Halifax, and the possession of the territory east of the Penobscot, were of the highest importance. While rejoicing in success, he must lament the loss of an officer of the brightest talents, but this

this subject recalled to his mind those painful sentiments which he felt in reflecting upon the loss he had himself sustained in the battle near Thoulouse. We had, it was true, met with some reverse on Lake Champlain; but we might expect to regain our ascendancy by the superior force which we now had there. He then touched slightly on the other topics of the prince regent's speech, and concluded with moving an address, which was, as usual, merely an echo of the speech.

Mr. Graham seconded the motion in a speech of great length, in which he took a full survey of the topics alluded to in the speech from the throne, but rather dilated the arguments which we have already stated, than afforded them any additional weight.

After a short pause, the speaker was proceeding to put the question, when

Mr. Whitbread rose, and observed that he was surprised that, neither from any thing in the speech itself, nor from his majesty's ministers, could he learn the reason for calling parliament together at so early a period. The arrears of our military expenditure had been mentioned: but these had long been known; and he, for one, had conceived that parliament, during the last session, had provided for a period far beyond the present time. Rumour had announced some blunder of the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer in finance; and at various periods the funds had been depressed in apprehension of a new loan, but no explicit declaration had been made upon this subject. Notwithstanding the silence of the speech, he was convinced that money considerations had occasioned the convening of parliament. Before they parted that even-

ing, he hoped that due decorum towards that assembly, by whom the money of the people was voted, would induce the right honourable gentleman to say if money was actually wanted, and for what purpose.

There were other questions which his majesty's ministers ought to answer. Parliament was now called upon to vote, that the whole evil of the war was attributable to America: he would say that his opinion remained unchanged with respect to the cause which produced this rupture, and he therefore protested against that clause of the address. The real cause of the war was to be found in the weak councils of this country. The noble mover had said: that nothing had been left undone to bring this contest to a speedy termination. What great difficulty was in the way of accommodation? What was the present cause of the contest? It was fitting that the country should know for what we were fighting. Were we at war for a boundary?—for the impressment of seamen?—for maritime rights? Have those rights been defined at the congress at Ghent? and are we disposed to treat with America on that subject, or with the other powers of Europe? The noble mover had referred to the whole correspondence which had taken place between the two governments previous to the war. In that part of the correspondence which was carried on by a right honourable gentleman whom he was astonished not to see in his place in that house (Mr. Canning), so far from there being any thing of a pacific tendency, it appeared to him, as he had often told that honourable gentleman to his face, he wished he could do so again that evening, that it was any thing but pacific.—He repeated his
astonish-

astonishment that the right honourable gentleman, to whom he had just alluded, was not in his place on the present occasion. Nothing was wonderful that took place in life—much less that took place in politics. But certainly it did require, in the first place, the evidence of the Gazette announcing the appointment of the right honourable gentleman by the prince regent, and in the second place (for the Gazette alone would have been insufficient for his conviction) his personal observation on Friday last, of the loosed topsail and hoisted blue Peter of the *Leviathan*, as a signal of the readiness of the ambassador to depart, to convince him that it was possible the right honourable gentleman would be absent from the house that evening. It was true that the right honourable gentleman had made most honourable amends to his former colleagues. He had condescended to take a situation *under* those, *with* whom he had formerly declared that he did not think fit to act. If he admired the honourable amends which the right honourable gentleman (his excellency the ambassador to the court of Portugal) had thus made to his old coadjutors, he no less admired the selection of the place by the acceptance of which that object was effected.

Had the right honourable gentleman relieved a noble lord at Vienna, he should have regretted the circumstance, as he did not entertain any high opinion of the right honourable gentleman's diplomatic talents. Had the right honourable gentleman been deputed to Ghent, the mission would have been still more unsatisfactory. But in sending the right honourable gentleman to Portugal, where there was nothing to be done, and where he could do no harm, was, in his opinion, one of

the happiest thoughts that could have been suggested by any government. The right honourable gentleman might there employ himself in revising his early productions in the *Antijacobin*, or in producing a poem that might rival the celebrated work of Camoëns, or in compiling the memoirs of his day, after the manner of Bonaparte or Bubb Doddington. Seriously, was it necessary to have an ambassador at the court of Portugal? None had been sent there for a century, and the right honourable gentleman had declared, when in office, that such would be an improper appointment. To crown all, the right honourable gentleman was to have a red ribbon on the arrival of the prince regent of Portugal at Lisbon. Thus tempted, the right hon. gentleman had quitted the country, leaving all the great questions in which he had so deeply interested himself, to hands to whom he supposed they could be safely confided. The bullion question he presumed the right honourable gentleman consigned to the right honourable gentleman opposite, the catholic question to lord Liverpool, and all minor questions to those sworn friends of his, the gentlemen who composed the Sidmouth part of the administration.—Mr. W. then resumed the consideration of the war with America. There was, he said, no man in the empire who did not lament the fate of the gallant Ross; but his was not the only grave over which our tears must be shed: there were those also of a Drummond and a Parker. In common with the whole commercial world, he arraigned the conduct of the naval war in America. He wished that any of the lords of the admiralty who had seats in that house, or the secretary of the admiralty, who represented them all, or any

any other person, would explain how it happened, that with so many British pendants floating in every sea, so little protection was afforded to British trade; and that with a blockade which had been proclaimed to be so strict, shoals of American privateers were enabled to come from every port and to rifle the ocean unchastised?

The conduct of the naval administration with respect to the Lakes required a full explanation. Had they been so childish as to send a frigate in frames, in expectation that it might be taken up the rapids to the Lakes? Had they exposed a gallant officer to the necessity of making a desperate effort with the flotilla under his command? A court martial in February last had justified the attack made by captain Barclay, which had failed from his insufficient force both in ships and crews. Now sir James Yeo was to blame on this occasion, or the admiral, and he wished to know what steps had been taken to obtain from sir J. Yeo an explanation of his conduct. With respect to the failure of the expedition under sir G. Prevost, it would be well to suspend our judgement on his conduct until it should be ascertained whether he had or not done all he had been enabled to do.—The noble mover had congratulated the country on our acquisitions on the Penobscot: but he could not see why. As to the boundary line alluded to, it was the very watch-word for the co-operation of the United States against us: it ought to be introduced into our negotiations; for it would render the duration of hostilities indefinite. The noble mover and the honourable seconder had told the house that the fate of Washington would produce a strong impression favourable to peace. For himself, he lament-

ed that the gallant Ross was obliged to concur in a transaction so discordant to every example of the civilized world, so abhorrent to every principle of justice and humanity, so inconsistent with the feelings of a free and generous nation—a transaction to be hated—to be abjured. A strong impression it had certainly produced. It had conciliated to the American government those parts of the United States which were before hostile to it. It had put in motion battalions of militia which before were not allowed to march. It had put into the hands of Mr. Madison a weapon which he had not before possessed. It had annihilated all the rumours before in circulation of a disposition to separation on the part of some of the states—of an approaching internal convulsion, which would have prevented the American government from continuing the war. It had united all. It had made determined opposition to England a common interest. The evidence of these facts was before the world. It was to be found in all the public journals that came from that country. It was to be heard from every one who arrived from it. We had done what the Goths refused to do at Rome, when Belisarius represented to them that to preserve was an act of wisdom, but that to destroy was to erect a monument to the folly of the destroyers. It has been alleged (continued Mr. W.) as a justification of our conduct, that the Americans had been guilty of enormities in a village belonging to us. Mr. Munro had stated that this act had been condemned by the American government, and that the perpetrators had been punished. Mr. W. then compared the proclamation of sir A. Cochrane and sir G. Prevost, and exclaimed, Here was a contrast!

trast! Sir G. Prevost making war as a great commander of a great nation; sir A. Cochrane (professing nevertheless to act under the orders of sir G. Prevost) in the same month carrying fire, sword and desolation into the heart of America. All this required to be unravelled. And after sullyng the British name by our conduct in America, what had we gained? We had burnt the capital, we had stolen the president's plate, we had run away with the tobacco from the merchants' warehouses. But were we any nearer our object? If so, let it be shown. In any case, the conduct of the war in America demanded serious investigation. He was far from thinking that our path in America was so smooth as the noble lord had represented it to be.

The admiralty had been culpable in neglecting the protection of our trade, and in their replies to representations on that subject. But the admiralty had during the whole of the summer been engaged in an affair of great importance: it respected the salute to be given by a sloop of war to one of their civil officers. That affair having been brought to a termination, Mr. W. trusted that the admiralty would find time for inferior concerns. With respect to the negotiations at Vienna, he should take this opportunity to explain his sentiments on certain points. He was surprised at some of the steps taken by the great powers. Austria was declaring her appropriation of some of the states of Italy to be perpetual. From other appearances he could not augur well of the general tranquillity. He wished governments to consider their country as the property of the inhabitants. He had hoped that misfortune would have taught them a lesson that would have rendered their personal restoration beneficial

to mankind. If it was true, however, that some of those who now re-possessed their ancient dominions had attempted to paralyse every liberal feeling, and to put out of the heads of their subjects every recollection of freedom; if deputies pleading for their republic were to be told that republics were no longer in fashion; it must follow, that either every vestige of liberty would be destroyed, or that the people must again rise and drive from their thrones the persons who so misconducted themselves. When he heard that Saxony, emphatically termed the garden of Germany, was to be divided in the most unfeeling and insulting manner, it was impossible not to characterize such a measure as the grossest injustice—not to the sovereign, but to the people. What had the elector or king of Saxony done to incur his fate? He had adhered to Bonaparte to the last.—Prussia and Austria had gone forth with him, and not left him till they found he was playing a losing game. Bavaria quitted its alliance with France, only just before the battle of Leipsic. Yet Bavaria continued a kingdom. The king of Saxony could not quit Bonaparte, as Austria and Bavaria did, for Bonaparte had possession of his person and his capital. Public truths would be uttered, and this would be pronounced as infamous a partition as that of Poland. An extraordinary fact had lately transpired: the electorate of Hanover had been converted into a kingdom. He was persuaded that, if his majesty were capable of being informed of this, he would be disgusted at being made a king after the manner of Bonaparte: there was nothing which that excellent person had more at heart than to be out of the Bonapartean fashion. Those whom Bonaparte had trans-

transformed into kings, had not the good sense to return to their previous titles, and so the prince regent says, "I must e'en dress up my father like you."—From such exaltation he was sure his majesty would wish, with him, that he might be speedily dethroned.—There was also to be an *arrondissement*. Hanover was to be of more consequence, and we, thereby, more obnoxious to war.—After deprecating the reported interference with Genoa and with Naples, Mr. W. said the paragraph in the address, which alluded to military arrears, naturally drew the attention of the house to Spain. There our blood and treasure had served to place a man on the throne, who had learned nothing from experience. Spain was now a country of horror. Ferdinand was attempting to blind the eyes and stop the ears of his subjects: his throne was surrounded by the most prostrate of the flatterers of Bonaparte. But, unless Ferdinand were supplied with money from England, he could not subjugate his people. He had heard a person of high rank say, that if a civil war should break out in Spain, he hoped we should not subsidize both parties; he hoped we should not subsidize either. It was a melancholy circumstance, that those persons were either in exile or languishing in prison, who had fought for the independence of their country. O that the ear of the Spanish monarch could be reached by the indignation of all men, at his causing the members of the cortes to be dragged from their homes and thrown into dungeons! It was stated, that they had been offered pardon, provided they would acknowledge it an offence, that they had bravely stood up for their country, while their king was a prisoner in France—but this offer had been in-

dignantly rejected. One of these, old and infirm of body, but resolute in mind, had expired as they conveyed him to a dungeon. Three or four had thrown themselves on British hospitality, and these the Spanish government had had the insolence to demand. He did not believe such a demand had been countenanced by his majesty's ministers.—Two Spaniards had taken refuge at Gibraltar—one had written against the Inquisition, the other had been persecuted without even the imputation of a crime. These individuals had been given up to the Spanish government. He mentioned these things that they might be satisfactorily explained.—He would also ask his majesty's ministers, whether, directly or indirectly, any pecuniary assistance had been given to Ferdinand VII? While he saw the people of Spain victims to religious despotism, the Jesuits restored by the Pope, and so many plans formed against the best interests of mankind, he could not but be apprehensive that the result of the congress would not be such as he had once anticipated. These observations were called for by the address, and he could not suffer the first day of the session to pass without thus offering his sentiments.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied to the last speaker. He contended that the measures at Washington and Alexandria, which went beyond the ordinary mode of warfare, were justified by the conduct of the Americans. It had been acknowledged by the commander of the American forces, that the conflagration of Newark did not happen without counsel. It was an incident of American hostility. The same was to be said of Queenstown and of the capital of Upper Canada. Nothing could excite more indignation

tion than the cruel treatment of the Moravian settlement at Fairfield, where that unoffending people were stripped of all the provisions they had collected for the winter, and their houses set on fire. The right honourable gentleman then referred to our finances, and declared them to be greatly improved.—The revenue of 1813, ending on the 10th Oct. was 60,800,000*l.* whereas this year it was 63,461,000*l.*—making an improvement of above two millions. The same might be said of every part of the revenue. The property tax was last year 13 millions, this year it exceeded 14. There was only a diminution in the land tax of about 50,000*l.*—The exports had also much increased within the last three years; those from the port of London amounted this year to 26,823,000*l.* After taking a cursory view of the subjects alluded to in the speech, the right honourable gentleman concluded with asserting that we were seeking to establish no innovation in public commerce, but the usual customs and maritime rights sanctioned by time, and which we were as ready to grant others as to claim to ourselves.

Mr. Ellis defended Mr. Canning, by stating that his absence from the house arose under the pressure of the severest domestic afflictions,—to save the life of his child: and this design he had formed long before any embassy was in contemplation. He added, that the appointment of Mr. Canning had caused no increase of expenses to the public. If a comparison were instituted with the appointments of sir C. Stewart, there was a saving of 14,000*l.*, and with those of sir H. Wellesley, of 13,000*l.*, to the public. Yet this reduction of expense was charged upon his right honourable friend as an unprecedented addition to the public burthens of the country.

Mr. Tierney replied to Mr. Ellis. He dwelt upon Mr. Canning's acceptance of an appointment which placed him immediately under the control of a noble lord whom he had solemnly declared to be incompetent to the duties of his office. What conclusion were we to draw respecting the character of the person who had placed himself under the direction of a man whom he had asserted to be deficient in understanding? Every one might see through this gross piece of chicanery. Sir C. Stewart's appointment was 5,000*l.* per an. then why is Mr. Canning to have 8,000*l.* with a contingent of 6,000*l.*?—Why is he appointed at all?—Unless ministers can give me satisfactory replies (said Mr. T.) I and the country at large must consider this unprecedented appointment as an infamous and deliberate job.

Mr. A. Baring thought that a regard to the length of time during which the war was carried on, and the enormous public burthens it had produced, should have induced the prince regent's ministers to hold out some promise of relief to the people, in the speech from the throne. Even that odious and inquisitorial burthen the property tax was not noticed in the speech, or by any of the ministers in their places.

After some observations from Mr. Bathurst on the points already defended by the ministers,

Sir Gilbert Heathcote observed, that it would have been satisfactory to have heard how the negotiations at Ghent were going on. When we withdrew our orders in council, the Americans had rescinded their retaliative acts; so that the right of searching American ships for British seamen alone, remained as a subject of controversy. When peace was established throughout Europe, we could not think of exercising that right;

stances which had been stated—the complete surrender of the whole of the flotilla to the enemy. Such were the facts and circumstances as they appeared in evidence before the court-martial. He meant also to move for the sentence, which was this: ‘That the capture of his majesty’s late squadron was caused by the very defective means captain Barclay possessed to equip them on Lake Erie; the want of a sufficient number of able seamen, whom he had repeatedly and earnestly requested of sir James Yeo to be sent to him; the very great superiority of the force of the enemy to the British squadron; and the unfortunate early fall of the superior officers in the action:—That it appeared that the greatest exertions had been made by captain Barclay in equipping and getting into order the vessels under his command; that he was fully justified, under the existing circumstances, in bringing the enemy to action; that the judgement and gallantry of captain Barclay, in taking his squadron into action and during that contest, were highly conspicuous, and entitled him to the highest praise; and that the whole of the other officers and men of his majesty’s late squadron conducted themselves in the most gallant manner; and did adjudge the said captain Robert Heriot Barclay, his surviving officers and men, to be most fully and honourably acquitted.’ A sentence more criminatory of the naval administration at home he could not well conceive, and therefore it was incumbent on the noble viscount (Melville) to answer. What was his object, then, in moving for this paper? It was to give the noble viscount an opportunity of defending his naval administration. An opinion prevailed in the country, as the noble viscount must

be well aware, that the war with America had not been duly prosecuted. The noble viscount had on a former occasion stated a great number of facts from papers taken out of his pocket, and then immediately returned into his pocket again, for the purpose of justifying his conduct in the administration of the navy, and appeared to wonder that his noble relation (Grenville) was not perfectly convinced by such a display of facts that the naval department had been well managed. These facts the noble viscount had offered to prove to their lordships. Here, then, was a case to be answered; a case depending not on mere assertion or vague rumours, but a case supported by the solemn declaration of intelligent and honourable men deciding upon the conduct and character of a brother officer, and sworn to decide according to truth and substantial justice. On what grounds, then, could this motion be opposed? The object was to show that the flotilla on Lake Erie was not adequate to the purposes for which it was intended. If the production of this document should be refused, what must the conclusion be? It could be only this,—that the case as far as concerned the naval administration was one which could not bear the light. The noble viscount, as had already been stated, had defended himself by documents taken out of his pocket, and then immediately returned into his pocket; but what were they to think of that mode of proceeding, if this document were to be refused? After what had been said by the noble viscount on a former night, he waited with impatience to hear by what arguments the present motion was to be opposed! The motion with which he should conclude was, That an humble address

dress be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order to be laid before their lordships the minutes of a court-martial held on the 16th of September last on captain Barclay, the surviving officers and men of the flotilla on Lake Erie; together with the sentence of that court.

Lord Bathurst.—His objection to the present motion did not proceed from any apprehension of the result as far as respected the naval administration of the country and the conduct of ministers: his opposition to the motion rested upon very different grounds. But the noble marquis was entirely mistaken in point of fact, when he said that the minutes of the court-martial had been published in newspapers and magazines. The parole testimony might, perhaps, have been published, but not the written evidence. This written evidence he was unwilling to have at present produced; and even if it had been published, as the noble marquis had stated, he should still have objected to the production. His objection rested upon this ground, that if the minutes were produced under the present circumstances and state of information on the subject, and entered on the records of the house, they might be prejudicial to certain officers of the army and navy before they had an opportunity of making their defence. The publications of the day perished with the day: but if these minutes were entered on their lordships' journals, they might be a lasting monument to the prejudice of certain officers, before they had an opportunity of stating what they had to say in their own vindication. It had become necessary for captain Barclay, in justification of his conduct, to show that he had been com-

pelled to adopt the course which he had pursued. But sir James Yeo had written two letters to sir J. Borslase Warren, in which he stated that there could have been no want of provisions, because general Proctor had been obliged to destroy a magazine of provisions on his retreat. 2d. That the requisition had not been made to him in time. 3d. That the supplies were actually on their way when the flotilla had come out. Captain Barclay had said that he had acted on the representations of general Proctor; and it therefore became necessary that general Proctor also should be tried by a court-martial. There were, besides, two extracts of letters from sir George Prevost; in the first of which there appeared to be some encouragement given to the attempt of captain Barclay, while the other was of a different tendency. When the whole case could be brought forward, these letters might be reconciled; but that was a reason why the subject should not for the present be investigated by their lordships. There was besides a general order by sir George Prevost, in which he reflected in the strongest language on the conduct of general Proctor and another officer. That might have been written under a sharp sense of disappointment, and it might be improper to enter it on their lordships' journals, until it could be ascertained what defence general Proctor could make for himself. Sir James Yeo had said that captain Barclay did not apply in time. Captain Barclay's answer was, that he did apply in time; and it contained a strong recrimination on sir James Yeo; and it was necessary therefore that sir James Yeo should have an opportunity of making some defence. The effect of sir James Yeo's letter was, not that he could not

spare the supplies, but that the requisition had not been made in time. The blame, if there was any, did not, therefore, appear to rest with the government, the representations certainly not having reached them in time. In the mean while, considering the manner in which the characters of certain officers were implicated, the objection to the immediate production of these minutes appeared to rest upon very solid grounds; and no advantage which could be gained by that production could compensate the inconvenience that must result from laying these papers on their lordships' table before the whole matter had been fully investigated. When that investigation was completed, their lordships would have the whole subject before them, and then only could they come to a sound and just conclusion on the subject.

Lord Grenville.—He had certainly expected that the grounds of this opposition, since an opposition was to be made, would have been stated by the noble viscount at the head of the naval department. He desired that noble viscount to attend to the situation in which he stood. A noble relation of his had stated that a strong impression rested on the public mind of misconduct in the admiralty in the prosecution of this unhappy war in which we were engaged. That such an impression did exist, was a fact too evident to be disputed. The noble viscount himself must be aware of it. The answer of the noble viscount was, a statement of a variety of distinct facts which he pledged himself to prove to the house. But surely the noble viscount did not expect that their lordships would be satisfied with the mere statement on his part, with the sort of pocket testimony which he had produced and then

immediately replaced in his pocket. The noble viscount had stated these matters as facts which he was prepared to prove. In consequence of this, his noble relation had stated a strong *prima facie* case against the conduct of the naval department, resting not on vague rumours or assertions, which perhaps might be unfounded, but on the oaths of honourable and intelligent men, who were sworn to investigate the truth and declare accordingly. Their declaration upon their oaths was, that the loss of the flotilla on Lake Erie was owing to the inadequate equipment of the squadron. Such was the cause which, in the opinion of the court-martial, had led to that unhappy result. He was willing to believe that ministers would be enabled to show that no blame rested with them; but here was a strong *prima facie* case against them, on the authority of a court-martial, and to that an answer ought to be given. Then his noble friend (Bathurst) said, that his objection did not proceed from any apprehension that ministers would not be able to show that they had anticipated the supplies to the full extent in which they might be wanted. His objection, he said, rested on other grounds; and he had stated that the evidence had not been altogether published in the newspapers and magazines. But it ought to be recollected that in this country justice was administered with doors wide open. All the tribunals, and especially in cases of criminal trials, were open to the public; and therefore, whether the proceedings of this court-martial had been fully published in newspapers and magazines or not, the whole of the evidence must be considered as already completely public. Not a particle of evidence ought to be produced to affect the character

character of an officer, except in the face of the world; and God forbid that any evidence should ever be produced before a court-martial against any officer, with the intention that such evidence should be kept secret! The whole therefore must be considered as published. Then his noble friend had said that some new facts might appear with respect to the case of general Proctor. If this had been brought forward now for the first time, there might be something in the objection: but whatever impression the evidence before the court-martial was calculated to produce, had been produced already. That court was held at Plymouth, in the hearing of the navy and the army, and of all the officers about whose opinions and judgement the parties must have been most anxious. There could, therefore, be no ground in this view of the case for withholding the papers which were now called for by his noble relation. His noble friend then spoke of an order by sir George Prevost. If that had been a secret dispatch, there might possibly be some foundation for the objection: but the paper was produced before the court-martial. It was already public, and it was little less than an insult to the house of lords, to say that, from fear of publicity, a paper should not be produced to them, which had been produced before a court-martial. The paper was disclosed to the whole world, and yet they were to be told that it would be a grievous hardship to disclose to their lordships what had been published to the army and navy and to the world at large. With respect to the letters of sir James Yeo, this document was by no means confined to his not answering the call made upon him, but related generally to the equipment of the

squadron: and their lordships were bound to inquire whether the blame did not rest with the government. The effects of the necessity of exposing the flotilla to such an unequal contest were most disastrous; not only on account of the loss of so many brave officers and men, but on account of the general influence which the unfortunate result had upon the war in which we were unhappily engaged with America. No good reason had then been stated for refusing the production of this document. It ought not to be produced, they said, because there existed a possibility that the blame might be shifted: but that was no reason why their lordships should not now have before them a document so material as this was. He did not know what might be the feelings of the noble viscount with respect to the opposition made to this motion by his noble friend; but he knew what his own feelings would be if he stood in the noble viscount's situation. The noble viscount had stated a variety of facts in his defence, and said that he was ready to prove these facts. An issue was tendered on some of these facts, and the answer was, 'We do not choose to join issue on one of them.'

The marquis of Lansdowne rose in pursuance of his notice respecting treaties. He begged leave to assure noble lords, that his addressing them on the subject resulted from no imaginable wish to give unnecessary inconvenience, from no pertinacity of his own, but simply from the feeling that he was but doing his parliamentary duty in calling for the parliamentary grounds of measures which should not be suffered to pass into precedent without the most vigilant attention. But if ever there was reason for entering into the fullest knowledge and ex-

amination of a covenant made by government, it was in the present instance; when the treaty was not merely one entered into, and waiting for the period of its use, but when it was, and had been for some time, actually in use. This treaty was peculiar on other grounds, such as that of its being founded on a state of things utterly past. It was formed on the treaty of Schoenbrunn; it was formed in the contemplation of the existence of that great power which we had seen so lately extinguished; it looked to the reign of Bonaparte. There was another peculiarity,—the enormous expense with which its provisions were attended. The objection to the production of this treaty was, he understood, its not being ratified. He could see no difficulty in the objection. It had been passed over already in both form and substance. In form, in the instance of the American treaty, negotiated by two honourable friends of his, five or six years ago; it was laid on their lordships' table, though the ratification of the American president had not been procured. As to the substance, it was true that there might be delay, where there was a fair doubt of final ratification, when subsequent differences had arisen, and for other causes. But here there were none. This treaty was not arranged by ambassadors or deputies, but by the principals themselves. If a treaty existed, calling on the country for heavy expenditures, it was, at all events, fitting for parliament, that must provide for them, to know something of its grounds. Yes, if any thing could add to the duty of parliamentary vigilance in the case of such great public measures, it would be such enormous demands on the public purse. So far as had yet been ascertained by accounts

produced, the excess of naval and military expenses for the last year was not below 30 millions. This extraordinary addition to the contemplated burthens of the country undoubtedly called for some inquiry into the mode by which it grew out of our continental system, and what was to be for the present and the time to come the nature of our relations with the continent of Europe. How these burthens were to affect our internal concerns, must mingle in the interest of the question. It was impossible not to look to the new state of our manufactures plunging into competition with every other country, and yet forced to struggle under such pressures. Ireland was not to be forgotten, whose finances, as it was said, were not more than adequate, with all her efforts, to her own expenses. A question strongly connected with all this was the use that was to be made of this influence, paid for as it was. It was impossible not to fix a powerful curiosity on the proceedings of congress. He of course expected to have no detail of its objects. He asked none from the prince regent's speech. But considering the grand part which England ought to sustain at that meeting, he certainly did expect to find explicitly and fully stated in the speech, those principles on which we were to conduct our share of the negotiation. Of the congress, as he knew little, he should say little: but it was impossible to shut one's ears wholly to the rumours that were passing, and schemes of aggrandisement and change were announced which forced men's attention. He had heard something of not merely the destruction of the independent states of Italy, of Lucca, Genoa, and others, but even of alterations in the interior of Germany, which he could not sufficiently deprecate.

Their

Their lordships had for many a year reason to regret that European crime the partition of Poland. There were perhaps few of any party who would not now ascribe the original calamities of the continent to that partition. They all knew what even the latest results were of its being (to use the French phrase as most barbarous in its sound as in its meaning,) *denationalized*. It was left with its great military population for the purposes of the first military adventurer; for any man that (like Bonaparte) was inclined to use its resources. How it had served him was now known; and it conveyed an idea not unprofitable, if wisely felt, of its resources for war, when their lordships would know that Poland in the last war, even after all its losses and privations, gave no less than from 80 to 100,000 soldiers for the havoc and misery, or what might have been for the havoc and ruin, of the continent. But that war had taught us one great lesson. It had taught that the defence of national tranquillity was to be found in the local affection of the population to their country and government. To what was at length the deliverance of Europe to be ascribed? To its fortified places, to its strong holds? No: they all sunk, they were all broken down and swept before the invader. To its armies? No: the disciplined strength of the nations was undone,—the system of the most military kingdoms was prostrated at once. And what restored the continent? It was that spirit of local affection which made every German gentleman an officer, and every German peasant a soldier. There was a time, not long since, but nine months ago, when the great powers were alive to those considerations; when, in that proud day of triumph, the proudest part was

their recognition. The pledges then given ought to be strong in every recollection; he could point out even the day. No further back than the 16th of March he found them disclaiming all views of aggrandisement; and this not as to France alone. Their declarations went on to state the impolicy and injustice of attempting to unite nations whose differences of customs and feelings could not admit of association with the neighbouring nation, even in centuries. His lordship continued,—It was time, after our experience, to look to a higher standard than we had hitherto adopted. We must look to the natural rights of nations. Of all the powers of Europe, assuredly England was that one most called upon to stand forward in the assertion of that standard. At present, how much at variance with it were the rumours scattered abroad of changes not merely embracing Poland, but interfering with constitutions already established! For instance, Saxony. He would not now speak of her services, not of the important part acted by her in the Thirty years' war, not in the struggle of Maria Teresa, nor how largely she had contributed to the general civilization, or how happy and numerous a population she sheltered. She was now to be crushed. Lusatia, now discovered to be a new acquisition,—it was one of 300 years back,—was to be taken from her. Lusatia, the gift of Austria for services done to her, was now to be dismembered by the act of Austria, and Saxony to be abandoned to another government. He hoped it would not be assigned as the cause of this, that Saxony had taken part with France. If that were the reason, there would be a quick end of all the secondary states of Europe. If the great men who

constructed the treaty of Westphalia had thus done, where would have been the German constitution? What would have become of Savoy long since? But which of the greater powers of the continent was not infected with that alliance? What was to become of Austria, that had joined the continental system, and embarked in the war against Russia? But look above all to Saxony. It was now known that, before Austria had declared, Saxony had entered into a secret treaty with her, by which she was to join the Austrian arms. Bonaparte entered Germany. Saxony was overrun before Austria declared. Saxony was unassisted, and in military possession of France after the battle of Lutzen. The Saxon king was forced to return to his dominions for the protection of the people, and his submission was without a single attempt on the part of Austria. But look to the great day of German triumph,—the battle of Leipzig. Look at the service of the Saxon troops while the conflict was still doubtful. They came forward confiding in the declared principle of the allies, and we know how much they contributed to turn the day. Would they have done this, had we said to them, We are going to extinguish your country? It was on grounds of justice and respect for national rights that we could alone hope to sustain the permanent peace of Europe. A resolute and unrelaxing adherence to such principles would put into the hands of governments an instrument more potent for public safety than any other that could be devised. Europe might be now quiet, but who could answer how soon its quiet might be disturbed? or what enemy might not arise? or whether some great military genius might not again start forth to

take advantage of the general discontent, or whether even Europe might not again see that extraordinary being, who was now exiled to Elba, coming forward to take another eagle-flight for power; coming to display

“The terrors of his beak; and lightnings of his eye?”

His lordship here regretted the length at which he had been forced to trouble the house; he spoke from a sense of parliamentary duty, when great burthens were pressing on the country; when heavy demands were about to be made; with an army to maintain on the continent; with the drain of an American war; with the competition of foreign industry and cheapness threatening our manufactures. He could not sit silent, when the question was how to lighten those difficulties. For the purpose of taking the first step, and informing their lordships of some part of our situation, he should now move for “copies of the engagements entered into by us with foreign powers for the maintenance of troops on the continent.”

The earl of Liverpool began by observing, that there was much in the speech of the noble marquis to which he must refrain from advertizing at the present moment; not that he undervalued any one of the topics there introduced, but a fitter time for explanation would arrive, when it would be the duty of the prince regent's servants to state at the same time what they had done, and the principles on which they had acted. He thought that the house would feel with him, that much could not be said on a variety of the topics which the noble marquis had touched upon, without materially affecting those interests which were now under discussion in the congress of European powers. He

trusted

trusted also he should be able to show that the object of the noble lord, in moving the present address, would be sufficiently gained in another though a less formal way. He should, however, first state some of the prominent circumstances which occasioned our keeping a large force on the continent in British pay. When the allies entered Paris in the spring, one course which they might have pursued was, that of signing an armistice, and leaving a general peace to be settled at a congress to be held at Vienna or any other convenient place; but they adopted a different course, and one which he thought was marked with much wisdom. They determined that no time should be lost in settling the peace of Europe with France herself; and that whatever points remained for future settlement between the other powers of Europe, should be adjusted afterwards, leaving none unsettled as far as they related to France in particular. Had the allies while in Paris adopted the plan of an armistice merely, it was quite plain that, withdrawing their armies to the frontiers, they must have there kept them up to their full amount; and even though a peace was signed, he thought it must be obvious that there was a necessity similar in kind, though not in degree, for keeping up a large military force. Considering the convulsions with which Europe had been torn, it seemed to grow out of the very nature of the case, that the allies, either by a tacit or open understanding, should maintain on foot a powerful body of troops. Under these circumstances, would the noble lord or any one else have recommended that Britain, looking to economy solely, should withdraw the whole of her force from the continent, and leave the other powers to themselves?

The argument did not, however, rest solely upon general grounds, there were special grounds on which every British subject felt his interests deeply involved; for, whatever diversity of opinion had existed as to the degree of our interference in continental affairs, there never had been any difference of opinion as to the importance of the independence of Holland and the Low Countries to the interests of Britain. He recollected Mr. Fox himself, once, when the subject of negotiation was debated, declaring, that if there was any chance of regaining or defending the Low Countries, no exertions ought to be reckoned too great, and that war ought to be continued for that object alone. When this then was one of the very points which required to be adjusted, would any noble lord have asked ministers to bring home our armies, and leave it, as well as every other great interest, to be provided for by our allies exclusively? The policy, indeed, of maintaining a force on the continent, under such circumstances, was prior and paramount to the actual engagement to that effect; and any minister would have been pronounced criminal by his country, who had not discharged this great duty. He had now to assert upon the ground of experience, that the keeping up of a British force in the Netherlands had produced a beneficial effect. He could appeal to the hundreds of persons now in London, and who had visited that part of the continent, whether it had not had the effect of conciliating and consoling the people there, showing them that we felt an interest in their welfare, and proving to them that we would not give up the protection of those who had at all times shown themselves attached to this country.

He had next to observe, that about

about the end of June last a treaty was concluded, by which the allied powers did agree to keep up a specified force for the maintenance of tranquillity on the continent. When the treaty with France was discussed in the last session, no objection was made from any quarter to a British force being kept up with this view. The vote of credit of last session, which naturally afforded an opportunity of attacking or questioning this policy, passed also without calling forth any remark; though on moving the address on that subject, on the 20th of July, he distinctly recollected his having stated that the vote was called for, partly on account of the American war, and partly to support a British force on the continent until the negotiations at Vienna were brought to a conclusion. He just now, however, recollected that this vote did not pass without some observations from a noble baron not now in this country (lord Holland); though they were so little of a hostile nature that the address was adopted *semine dissonante*. But the noble marquis complained that this measure of policy exposed the country to immense expense, and urged that parliament had a right to full information on the subject. He agreed with the noble lord, that the house and the country were entitled to ample information, both as to the amount of the force employed and the extent of the expenditure created. There was no disposition on the part of ministers to withhold the conventions themselves; but as they had not yet undergone the formality of ratification, he trusted that their lordships would be satisfied for the present with their substance. He was prepared, when the proper time arrived, to defend their policy, and felt convinced that they had already

produced the most beneficial effects.

The marquis of Lansdowne explained, and agreed to insert the words "or substance" after the word "copy" in his address; after which it was put, and carried *unanimously*.—Adjourned.

House of commons, Nov. 14.—New writs were ordered to be issued for the county of Glamorgan, in the room of Thomas Windham, esq., deceased; for the borough of Newport in the Isle of Wight, in the room of sir Leo. Wm. Holmes, bart., deceased; and for the borough of Aylesbury, in the room of Thomas Hussey, esq., who has accepted the Chiltern hundreds.

The chancellor of the exchequer brought up the substance of the convention concluded subsequent to the treaties of Chaumont and Paris, between Great Britain and the emperors of Austria and Russia and the king of Prussia.

Mr. Croker moved the second reading of the seamen and petty officers' relief bill; which was done accordingly, and to be committed to-morrow.

Colonel Palmer deferred his motion respecting the proceedings of the court-martial on colonel Quentin, which stood for this day, to Thursday.

The house then went into a committee of supply; previous to which the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the several accounts on the navy debts, exchequer bills, and bills of credit, be referred to the said committee.

Sir G. Warrender (a lord of the admiralty) said, that as the war was unfortunately still carrying on with the United States of America, it was necessary that a certain number of ships and seamen should be yet kept in employ. He begged leave, however,

however, to state that the expenses would relate solely to the fleet afloat. He moved, therefore, that 70,000 men should be voted for the service of 1815, including 15,000 marines. Ordered. Also, that 1,615,250*l.* be granted to his majesty for wages for the said 70,000 men, at the rate of 1*l.* 15*s.* per month for thirteen months.

Mr. Ponsonby expressed his surprise that the right hon. gentleman should thus bring forward his committee of supply, without giving the house the slightest information as to what were the financial measures he had in contemplation. It was somewhat extraordinary that parliament should have been called together at so early a period, unless there was some pressing call for pecuniary aids on the part of his majesty's government. Scarcely three months had elapsed since the two houses were prorogued, and now in the short period he had just mentioned it had been found necessary again to assemble them. The speech did not assign one single cause for so doing; he could therefore see no quarter from whence to draw information, but from the information to be derived from the right hon. gentleman. A pretty general conjecture had gone abroad, that money was much wanted by the government; and if that were really the case, it behoved the right hon. gentleman to enter into a general statement of the finances, in order to satisfy parliament as to the propriety of granting what might be required. He had with the utmost attention read the speech, and from any thing he could find in it he was free to confess, that he had not ingenuity enough to enable him to form even a fair conjecture why parliament had been so suddenly called together. To refuse posi-

tively the vote now proposed might seem very harsh, and, in fact, was almost impossible, from the inconvenience and injury which might in consequence accrue to the public service. He had heard some time since that there was a general expectation of a large loan being required, and a considerable alarm had taken place in consequence, especially as it had been supposed that there was an extraordinary difference of opinion between the right honourable gentleman and the moneyed men on that subject. He (Mr. P.) had also seen an account of a meeting between a number of the principal merchants of the city, in which a gentleman was called to the chair who had formerly been a member for the city of London, and who had always given his support to the government, as if it had been the best possible government in the world; but who, on the occasion to which he was then alluding, had shown by the proceedings, in consequence of the several meetings held between his majesty's ministers and the committee of which he was at the head, that the measures proposed to be adopted by the best of all possible governments were the worst of all possible measures, and highly injurious to the best and most important interests of the great body of the merchants. He should therefore, previously to giving his sanction to the vote now proposed, be glad to hear from the right hon. gentleman some reason why he had thus abruptly summoned parliament to meet; and, having met, what were the financial calls that he had it in contemplation to make on them.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he could see no reason for the surprise expressed by the right hon. gentleman who had just sat down,

as he must be well aware that with a very few exceptions it had always been customary for the English parliament to meet before Christmas ; and November was oftener the month in which it met than any other. With respect to the financial subjects to which the right hon. gentleman had alluded, and on which he seemed to wish for information, he must say, that if the right honourable gentleman directed his views to any of those points which constituted the branches of what was termed the budget, and wished him to speak as to them, the right honourable gentleman must be sensible they could not be brought forward at this period of the year. Such a circumstance had never been heard of. They depended so much on estimates yet to be made, and expenditure which was as yet but very imperfectly known, that it was altogether impossible to think of them with the slightest degree of propriety at present. However, he had no objection to giving such explanations on the subject of finance as related to the matters which he meant to submit to the consideration of the house before Christmas, and which he hoped would remove those doubts that seemed to press so much on the mind of the right honourable gentleman. With respect to what he had said on the subject of a large loan, the right honourable gentleman could not be more surprised than he was when he first heard it. He had never conceived an idea of proposing a loan, or even the funding of exchequer bills, previous to the Christmas recess. All he now proposed to do, was to forward in their ordinary course the annual tax bills, and to provide for the payment of about two-thirds of outstanding exchequer bills, which made about 15,000,000*l*. Parlia-

ment, however, had already paid off 3,000,000*l*. that made the sum only 12,000,000*l*., which instead of an increase was a reduction. These were the only matters of finance that it was his intention to bring forward at present. The right honourable gentleman had alluded to meetings which had taken place between several of the merchants of London and lord Liverpool and himself. The result of those meetings was pretty well known to the public ; but as they had been brought before the house at present, he should offer a few observations as to the steps which had been taken by his majesty's ministers from the commencement of the warehousing duties. In 1803, when a stagnation to a certain degree was brought on our commerce by the restrictions of the continental system adopted and enforced by Bonaparte on all the powers in Europe under his control, goods were allowed to remain in warehouses during a certain time, on paying the duties which were stipulated by the act of parliament. In 1809, when the enemy's plan of continental restrictions had been more matured, and was brought to bear in full force, a temporary indulgence had been granted to the merchants, and a power vested in the commissioners of customs to allow the merchants to withdraw such parts of their goods for home consumption, as might seem proper to the said commissioners, on the payment of the duties for the goods only thus made use of. In every case such indulgencies were from time to time enlarged, under the idea of their being always considered as merely of a temporary nature ; but such had been the unfavourable state of our commerce with the continent, it had been found necessary to continue them till near the end of last year.

feat. On the 25th of November 1813, the commissioners of the treasury gave notice that these indulgencies must cease, but that they would be continued to the 1st of June following, beyond which they could not be extended except in very particular cases. The merchants, however, in May applied for further indulgence; and the lords of the treasury wrote to the commissioners of the customs, informing them that their lordships had extended the indulgence to the 30th of October, but that, if the goods warehoused were not then taken out, they would be proceeded against according to law. Some time after, a representation was made by several merchants craving still further indulgence, under pretence of never having heard of the abovementioned order; others declared they had always supposed it was never intended to be executed. Lord Liverpool had had several interviews with the merchants; and in order to accommodate them, as far as was possible, consistently with the true interests of government and of the public, several modifications had taken place, and fresh regulations had been made as to the articles of coffee, Peruvian bark, and barilla, for which the treasury had granted an extension of twelve months. Notwithstanding all this, and the repeated and continued enlargements granted by government, many misrepresentations had gone abroad for the purpose of misleading the public mind. It had been stated, that by this call on the merchants by government, a sum would be raised amounting to several millions. Nothing could be further from the truth. In the bonded account it appeared that the highest amount of the duties to be paid would only be 1,200,000*l.*; half the goods would be exported, for which there was a drawback of the duty;

so that government could not get more than 300,000*l.* for which four months were allowed to be paid by instalments, so that only 75,000*l.* was to be paid down. He himself had taken the opinion of every custom-house officer who had a knowledge of this subject; and they were uniformly of opinion, that if something was not done by way of settlement of these accounts, the most serious injury must arise to government. If suffered to proceed, there would be no possibility of winding up the accounts, the entries of which at present amounted to 1,000 folio volumes. He was prepared to concede a considerable extension of the indulgence; but previous to that, there must be an actual and complete winding-up of the account.

Mr. Baring said this question was of the highest importance to the merchants of the city of London. The greater part of the right hon. gentleman's argument rested on the opinions of revenue officers, who naturally bent their views to the best and speediest means of serving the revenue, no matter for the concerns of the merchants. There were two questions to be asked in the present case: 1st, Whether it was right to break up the bonded system; and 2d, If it were, what was the best manner of doing it? What he most complained of was, that in all his interviews with the merchants, the right honourable gentleman had never so clearly explained his intentions to them as he might have done. He only said, they would be informed of the intentions of government, and then out came a dry notice that was not understood. The great majority of merchants who had goods warehoused never expected that government would think of breaking up the bonded system. It was only within two months that it was found out government were in earnest;

earnest; and on so short a notice to send out goods at this time of the year, they must go under every disadvantage, and the measure would produce the most ruinous consequences to the mercantile interest. He thought the right honourable gentleman had listened with too much attention to the revenue officers, and too little to the merchants whose interests were so deeply affected by this measure. If the right hon. gentleman persisted in his present plan, he should think it his duty to move, to refer the subject to a committee above stairs. However, if the intention of the right hon. gentleman was to have all these matters finally settled, and then to start afresh, he had no objection to meet him on that ground, and it would be the same to him whether it were done by act of parliament or in any other way. All he wished for was a good bonded system, the want of which caused great distrust and want of confidence among foreigners. He should therefore at present wait to see what system the right hon. gentleman meant to propose.

Mr. Tierney said, on the subject of the supposed loan and the communication thereon, that it appeared to be only necessary for some persons to say that a certain measure was contemplated; and if the chancellor of the exchequer did not contradict it, it was taken for granted by many. Against the character and honour of that right honourable gentleman he had never even heard a single whisper; but in his mode of communication the public had not a full advantage, for the bank did not make it immediately known in the city. There was no doubt that the funds were considerably affected by the idea of a large loan before Christmas. However, as it had been said, the news that there was to be no loan had spread from one friend to another; and those who had early means of knowing the contradiction of the report, had the opportunity of making any sum of money they pleased. The public, as he understood, did not know the fact for two days, during which time great fluctuations occurred in the funds. But how did all this happen? How came it that the people in the city could give half an hour's credit to the rumour of a loan, after the enormous grants so recently made by parliament? Could it be believed that the minister wanted a large sum? It appeared that the city had no great confidence in the wisdom of the financial arrangements of the government. It should have seemed impossible that a new loan could be wanted, or that the chancellor of the exchequer could have made so fallacious an estimate. But whether he meditated a loan or not, it was now clear that he wanted money. People were wrong in their first notion as to the means, but right in their ideas as to his wanting the money. When he said nine millions would be sufficient, the fact was that he wanted nineteen. He would not, either in the king's speech or his own, tell the house why parliament were assembled, but he made them feel the reason for it. He would not say "it is the consequence of my wrong estimate;" but the vote to be called for proved that it was from no other cause. If he refused his vote on that night, he might be told he was stopping the supplies. He meant no such thing: he did not wish to embarrass the necessary operations of the government. But why want money now? Why were the grants so insufficient? Was it proper respect to the house to say "I want money," and nothing

thing more, without a syllable to say why the last supply was not enough for all the year, or whether any additional services had been performed which demanded additional supplies? The right honourable gentleman thought it enough for them to vote the money, and then go about their business. There were not the same reasons now as last year, when, under peculiar circumstances, all was granted that was demanded, no questions asked, no remarks made: but when every one put his shoulders to the wheel to enable government to make the most of the improved situation of foreign affairs. Now, after peace and the rejoicings for peace, matters were on a different footing. The minister might have had more money last session, if he had only said it was necessary; but he concealed the amount of outstanding demands, and did not take loan enough when he might have done it; for which he (Mr. T.) could not thank him, because he had done an injury to the public credit and confidence in money transactions by concealment of actual want, and not telling them openly their true situation. He would not vote for a sixpence more than what the right honourable gentleman would say was necessary for the business of government till next January. He evidently wanted to shove them off till next meeting of parliament. After he had got the money, they would know when an adjournment was to take place, and then they would be dismissed till February. If members were not there at the mere beck of the minister, they must bind him to consult parliament early in January. Gentlemen had more business to do this session than they had for years past. The season of our foreign troubles and

difficulties was now happily done away; but he would affirm that there never was a period in which so much was necessary to be done concerning our internal affairs. The state of our finances required to be examined minutely, and probed to the quick; and not a moment was to be lost in the appointment of a committee to examine and report upon the situation of our income and expenditure. The result would show not merely a necessity of economy, but of some new and extraordinary measures to enable us, with a peace establishment, to face all our financial difficulties. He should take the liberty of stating a little of what he meant. Look at the progress of our army extraordinaries, and it would be found that in 1810 they were taken at 2,750,000*l.* but were found short by 687,000*l.* This deficiency was made good, and the next year we gave 3,200,000*l.*, when a deficiency appeared of 2,300,000*l.* That was paid off, and the extraordinaries were taken at 5,000,000*l.*; but even with that sum 4,000,000*l.* more were afterwards wanted. Well, then, 9,000,000*l.* were taken, and now 10,000,000*l.* additional were required. This was the progress of the business, and yet the right honourable gentleman thought it sufficient to put into the king's speech that the revenue was flourishing. He, on the contrary, would assert that it was in a most miserable state. A more deliberate falsehood was never put into the royal mouth, than to say that the revenue was in a flourishing state. The question was not whether we collected greater revenues than formerly, but whether they were adequate to the demands. Ten millions, twenty years ago, might have been adequate, and a proof of flourishing times: but the case was not so now.

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The revenue was any thing else than flourishing, for it was not equal to meet the burthens. He had drawn up a paper, from which he proceeded to read a variety of statements in proof of his assertions. He had assumed some premises to calculate upon, such as to suppose we should be at peace in January, and he took his calculations of income and expenditure from January last. He had, from some circumstances, expected a great increase, but the returns since last January were imperfect: he should, however, assume an increase of a few hundred thousands. In this view the consolidated fund debt was 38,357,000*l.* to which was to be added the average proportion for England of 234,000*l.* making a total income of all taxes of 41,591,000*l.* round numbers, and no more, unless they went on the 10th of Oct. last, and added about 300,000*l.* That was all the income side of the account. Then there were the charges and interest, the 495,000*l.* for the emperor of Germany, the outstanding exchequer bills about 30 millions, which he should suppose funded at 75 in the 3 per cents., the one per cent. on the sinking fund, the winding up of the war accounts, which he took at 20,000,000*l.* the interest, the charges of the consolidated fund, &c. all which, after deducting 204,000*l.* payable by Ireland, amounted to 40,334,000*l.* Beyond that we were to add the 15-17ths on the Irish funds, being 687,000*l.* making in all 41,021,000*l.* and leaving a surplus of about 570,000*l.* to meet her peace establishment, and no person could show him where a farthing more was to be had. Then what was to become of Ireland? The day was now at hand when we must look at finances, not with a view to

get through a session, but to the general situation of the empire. He then stated the leading items of the income and expenditure of Ireland, of which the income would amount to 4,787,000*l.* British currency, against which was to be set the charges and interest on the debt, the civil list of 481,000*l.* the sums for hospitals, &c. 154,000*l.* and other matters. The conclusion he drew from the statements of Irish finances was, that for 5,000,000*l.* of expenditure there was a deficiency of income of 502,000*l.* The whole income for Great Britain and Ireland would be 46,377,000*l.* including all branches, and the whole expenditure 46,312,000*l.* which would leave a balance of 15,000*l.* and nothing more. So that, if peace were settled on the first of next January, there was not a moment to be lost in providing for our establishment. Whatever it might be, he should for the present decline going into it, but the whole of it must be provided for. Recollect, however, that this was all we had for that object. Where the rest was to come from, he did not then expect the right hon. gentleman would tell him: but the house ought to inquire, and institute a committee on this most interesting state of the finances.—Where, then, were the minister's resources? He might have one, perhaps, in the result of his plans respecting the sinking fund. By that plan he had certainly hitherto saved taxes, but he had done great mischief by it. He had heard speak of a bag of 100 millions to take out whenever a war commenced; but he believed no nation ever had such a bag. The minister could not take more than 30 millions out of his bag. Contrary to the triumphant language used, we had now got through 238 millions, excepting

30 millions. What would become of the sinking fund? Had not the story of the bag got into the city? Then its operations were beginning. It was 4,400,000*l.* worse than it might have been, had the right hon. gentleman never been heard of, through what he had taken from it, and what he had abstained from adding to it. At this day there would have been 15 millions instead of 11 millions, as by his management was the case. Again, the proportion of the sinking fund was only as a 62d part of 100, instead of being a 40th. The war taxes remaining were about 9,690,000*l.* from which deductions must now be made, and he might take them at six millions and a half: but they could not continue so in peace. One half, he was informed, was as much as could be rendered available of them in peace. Go to the sinking fund, and then there would remain a sum of five millions. He implored the house to consider, that without any further continuance of war, but leaving it off at once, they would have no more than five millions at disposal to meet the new establishment. Where, then, were the resources? He hoped to see no fresh inroads upon the sinking fund. Perhaps a loan would be the best mode: But what would be thought of a loan in peace? What else was to be done? There was the property tax. He had already stated, that he considered that as expiring next April; but the minister said that was not so clear: however, he should not bring forward his measure till after the recess. But why not? The question seemed decided. The war taxes and the bank restriction were measures to last till six months after peace; the property tax till the end of the present war, and till the signature of a definitive

1815.

treaty of peace. Now that must relate to the war then existing, according to two acts of parliament on the subject. The right hon. gentleman could not dispute this: the acts expressed it, and the words "and no longer" were added. If ever the public faith was pledged, it was pledged distinctly in this case. If the house were adjourned before this question came on, where would be the time and opportunity for the public to petition against the continuance of the property tax? He (Mr. T.) thought, on its first proposal, and thought still, that it was an unequal and unjustifiable tax; though there might be circumstances to render it necessary, from the impracticability of resorting to any other that was adequate. He had certainly consented and assisted in increasing it, and he prayed to God to forgive him for it. But he felt himself so much the more bound to see that faith was kept with the country respecting the duration of so grievous a burthen: It was a tax not to be justified, but on the impossibility of carrying on the war without it. No gentleman could argue in its favour. Its continuation was dangerous: it must promote emigrations not merely for pleasure or education, but emigrations that would take away capital. People might say there was not sufficient safety afforded to capital abroad; but was there nothing in the temptation of being saved from the property tax? He entertained not the least doubt that the hearts of the public were sound, their energies powerful, and that we were yet capable of great things: but if reliance on the honesty and integrity of parliament were taken away, what disastrous consequences might not follow? Could any meaning be more strongly expressed than in

the act? Whatever gentlemen better acquainted with the matter might know, he was sure that the great body of the people looked to peace as a period for taking off taxes: but if the property tax were taken off, he was well aware that other heavy taxes must be laid on to make good our deficiencies. The war expenditure had necessarily increased our system of taxation: his great point was to beg and to implore the house to look all the difficulties in the face; not to indulge in gloomy opinions, but to think that there was not an hour to spare in considering fully, what taxes the public might be relieved from, what could be added to if necessary, and what retrenchments could be effected. If they did not make up their minds to do this, they would desert and betray their duty to the country. "There is now," said he, "an end to Bonaparte; and, I hope, an end to the enormous power of France; peace and external security are returned: but I do affirm, in my place, that unless we examine and probe to the bottom our financial affairs, the people in a few years hence will curse us for our neglect of our duty." In introducing this subject at some length, he must trust to the indulgence of the house. Not knowing when an adjournment would take place, he had thought it his duty to make those observations; and he should be amply repaid, if any one gentleman was induced to consider the subject seriously.

The chancellor of the exchequer perfectly agreed with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) that the financial situation of the country was a subject of the highest importance, and entitled to the best consideration which the house could bestow upon it. He trusted, that when it should be

brought regularly before the house, they would meet it in the manly way recommended by the right honourable gentleman, and that there would be no indisposition to look the question in the face. It would be then for the consideration of parliament, whether any or what retrenchments could be made, what amount of peace establishment it was necessary to maintain, and what financial measures it would be most advisable to adopt, to provide for the necessary expenditure. At present he rose principally for the purpose of exculpating himself from two heavy charges which had been brought against him by the right honourable gentleman. The first was, That he had wilfully kept back from the house a statement of those supplies which he himself foresaw to be necessary and unavoidable. In answer to this, he must say that he had most distinctly stated to the house, the disappointment he had felt at finding the supplies required to exceed so considerably the estimate he had presented. In the department of the navy, the arrears due to the discharged seamen, and to the prisoners returned to this country, were greater than had been supposed. The continuance of the American war, also, made it impossible to make so great a reduction in the naval force as was at first contemplated. As to the other great branch of our service, the army establishment, it was not that the expenditure had been larger than was calculated, but it came upon the country more suddenly than was expected, and the payments were required to be made sooner than it was supposed that they would be wanted. The other charge was of greater magnitude. He was charged with having put a deliberate falsehood

falsehood into the mouth of the prince regent, in making him represent the revenue in a most flourishing situation, when, according to the right honourable gentleman, nothing could be more miserable or alarming. The right honourable gentleman would not allow the revenue to be flourishing, because the debt and charges were great. Was it not evident, then, that the right honourable gentleman chose to understand the word in a sense in which neither the prince regent nor any one else in the world would use it? It had been stated to be flourishing, because it had been productive beyond what it had been in any former year. In the year ending the 5th of January 1813 the revenue had been about 59 millions. In that ending the 5th of July the same year it had amounted to between 60 and 61 millions; and in the last year it had been near 63 millions.

Mr. W. Keene apprehended great danger from her growing power, if America retained the dominion of the Lakes.

The question was then carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to move for the erection of a monument to general Ross. The glorious behaviour of that officer was known to the house and the country. He served in Holland under sir R. Abercrombie as major of the 28th, and distinguished himself when an attack was made upon our line. On that occasion his services were of the utmost importance, and he obtained marked approbation. In 1808 major Ross went to the Mediterranean. In the expedition to Calabria he was one of those who established the reputation of our arms by his discipline and valour, and acquired the highest applause. At Corunna he gained fresh laurels.

In 1819 he was placed under lord Wellington, who more than once distinguished him by his approbation. At the battle of the Pyrenees, on which the fate of Spain and Europe depended, he displayed his wonted judgement and intrepidity. He charged the enemy four times, and was wounded, and two horses were killed under him. At the battle of Orthes he received fresh approbation from the commander. In America he carried the lustre of his actions to their highest pitch. In concert with admiral Cockburn, he planned the attack on Washington, a city supposed inaccessible except by a very large army. The troops landed sixty miles from it under considerable disadvantages, all of which, however, were surmounted. In attacking that city he had an office to perform which required great judgement. He was called upon to punish the enemy, in retaliation for their devastations in Upper Canada, and he executed this duty in a manner that drew forth the applauses of the Americans themselves. He could have annihilated the whole city; but contented himself with destroying the public buildings, as a mark of the power of the British arms. The right honourable gentleman hoped the Americans would not provoke a repetition of this conduct; orders had been sent out to avoid it if possible. After having led off his victorious troops on fresh service, on a plan of a similar nature upon Baltimore, he was struck by a rifle-shot, which only gave him time to recommend his wife and children to his country. An admiring and grateful people will manifest their gratitude to his memory, by adopting the hero's family. General Ross had scarcely exceeded his fortieth year; and his loss would be

most severely felt. In order to show such a sense of gratitude to his valour, skill, and judgement, as must be honourable to the country by whom it was conferred, and gratifying to his family and friends, he should move, that an address be presented to the prince regent, praying that his royal highness would be pleased to order a monument to the memory of general Ross in St. Paul's.

Mr. W. Keene observed, that if there was one man more likely than another to imitate Wellington, general Ross was that man. He did not say to his troops, *Go*, and do such a thing; he said *Come*, and do it. He hoped provision would be made for his wife and children.

Mr. Ponsonby knew so much of gen. Ross's character, that he could not give a silent vote. No man ever acquired greater confidence and affection from those with whom he served, and in private life he displayed every amiable quality. The right honourable gentleman had talked of a provision for his family, but he (Mr. P.) could state that they did not wish to become a charge upon the country. They hoped the house would not be troubled on their account; but this modesty would furnish an additional reason for protecting them. He lamented that we had pursued measures at Washington which civilized nations must abhor; it was possible they might have been provoked, but he was sorry it fell to gen. Ross to execute them, as no man was less inclined to destruction. In other respects, he was glad that gen. Ross had been appointed to this duty, because there was no man who could execute it with more moderation.

The chancellor of the exchequer said no applications had been made

on the part of the family; what had been stated was an additional motive to protect them.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that though not acquainted with gen. Ross, except as every other person must be acquainted with such a man, he was persuaded that the task which he had to perform could not have been executed with more moderation. He deserved the approbation of his country.

Motion carried—Adjourned.

House of lords, November 15.—The commissioners of the customs presented their annual accounts, pursuant to act of parliament.—Laid on the table.

Lord Darnley rose, pursuant to notice, to move for certain papers relative to the conduct of the naval department in the course of the American contest. This he did for the purpose of affording an opportunity to the noble viscount at the head of that department to make good the assertions which he had made in his defence on the first day of the session. A very general opinion prevailed, that blame existed somewhere; and therefore it must be desirable for those who had the management of the naval department at home, to have an opportunity of showing, if they could, that the blame did not rest with them. He could therefore hardly anticipate any objection to the motions which he was about to submit to their lordships, especially after the candid and fair manner in which the noble viscount had treated the subject on the first day of the session. First, then, in order to give the noble viscount the opportunity of proving, by official returns, the accuracy of his statements with respect to the number of seamen taken from the Americans in the course of the contest, he should move "for a return

a return of the number of seamen so taken, specifying the years in which they had been taken respectively." The noble viscount had also made a statement respecting the amount of ships of war taken from the Americans in the course of the present war with America. With respect to the American ships, it was material to observe that their ships had a great advantage over ours of the same class, not only in point of numbers of seamen, but also in the quality of these seamen. The crews on board their ships of war were all prime seamen, while in ours a great proportion, even in the best-manned vessels, consisted of landsmen and boys. If this arose from a deficiency of seamen on our side for the various purposes for which they were required, it might be worth while to consider whether a supply might not be procured by putting out of commission a great number of vessels, which, as he understood, though employed, were of very little use; which, to use the sea phrase, could neither fight nor run. In order to have the best possible information as to the state of the American ships, he should move for "an account of the number of ships of war taken from the Americans, or destroyed, in the course of the contest—specifying the number of guns, seamen, and boys on board of each vessel." He should then move for "a like account of British ships of war taken or destroyed by the Americans." The noble viscount had stated on the first day of the session, the number of American merchant ships said to have been taken from the Americans: and in order to give him an opportunity of verifying that part of his statement, he should move for "an account of the number of merchant ships taken from

the Americans, or destroyed, in the course of the contest, specifying the amount of tonnage of each vessel." The noble viscount had adverted to the rate of insurance during the present war with America, as a criterion by which to judge of the protection afforded to our trade, and the little advantage the Americans had over us in point of captures: but it was not sufficient to ascertain what was the rate of insurance at one or two particular periods: it was requisite that the average rate should be given, calculated upon the time during which the war had continued. He therefore would move for "an account of the average rate of insurance since the commencement of the contest with America." The noble viscount must be aware that very strong representations had been made to the admiralty on the subject of convoys. A general impression appeared to prevail, that in this respect the admiralty had been very deficient, and had returned but very unsatisfactory answers to the representations which were made to them on the subject. It was proper that this matter, too, should be brought under the consideration of parliament; and he should therefore move for "copies of the correspondence between the board of admiralty and the British merchants on the subject of convoys, and the protection of trade and the coasts." The noble viscount had stated, on the first day of the session, that all the requisitions for supplies in Canada had been anticipated by double the amount. But in whatever manner ministers might share the blame with others, it was clear that they were responsible in the first instance; and notwithstanding what had passed last night, he thought it right to move for "an account of the supplies

ships furnished for the armaments on the Lakes, the state of the American armaments there at the commencement of the contest, the preparations made on the part of Great Britain to meet them, and the state of the British armaments at the close of each campaign." There could be no reasonable objection to give this account up to the close of the last campaign. He assured the noble viscount that he would be very happy if the admiralty could clear themselves, and show that, as far as depended on them, the naval department had been conducted in the best possible manner. But certainly an impression to the contrary very generally prevailed, and therefore it was the more incumbent on the noble viscount to agree to these motions, and to any others that might be necessary for the purposes of full and complete investigation. The noble viscount had candidly expressed his willingness to furnish information and meet inquiry, and he hoped no objection would now be made to the production of the papers for which he was about to move; and for his own part, he promised to proceed in the inquiry, with an unprejudiced, impartial, and, if he might so express himself, a judicial mind. He concluded by moving an address to the prince regent, praying that there be laid on the table of that house, an account of the number of seamen taken from the Americans, &c.

Lord Melville.—The noble earl had done him no more than justice, in admitting that he had always professed himself willing to make out the facts which he had stated on the first day of the session. He was ready to give the noble earl every possible information on the subject; and if he objected to any of these motions, it would not be from any

wish to withhold any documents or evidence that could throw light on the points to which the attention of their lordships had been called, but because they required information relative to particulars about which no official information could be given. The noble earl had observed, that a very general impression prevailed in the public mind that the admiralty had not done its duty, especially as far as respected convoys and the protection of trade and the coasts. That representations on that head had been made to the admiralty was perfectly well known; but when the noble earl said, that a general impression of neglect of duty in the admiralty existed, he was convinced that, as far as regarded those who were best informed on the subject, the noble earl was very much mistaken. Neither their lordships nor the noble earl himself, he presumed, wished him to go into any detail on that head at present; but he should be fully prepared to justify the conduct of the admiralty when the proper time arrived. Following the example of the noble earl, he should now say a few words as to each of these motions, without waiting till they were separately put. The first motion was for an account of the number of seamen taken from the Americans in the course of the contest, specifying the years in which they were taken respectively. To this motion he had no objection, with the exception of the last part of it, which could not be made out without extraordinary labour and attention on the part of the office which might be called upon to furnish it. Still, if the noble earl insisted upon it, that too might be supplied. With respect to the American ships of war taken and destroyed, he had no objection to that motion.

motion. The noble earl had there introduced some observations relative to the manner in which the American ships were manned, compared with the mode in which the crews of the British ships were made up. He had no accurate information as to the method pursued by the Americans as to the number of boys on board their ships, though he had heard something on that subject : but as far as regarded the British ships, it had always been the practice to have a considerable proportion of boys on board the ships of war ; and it was a system which ought not to be discontinued, for he was convinced that this was the best source of supply of prime seamen for the navy. The noble earl had also observed, that he understood there were a great number of almost useless vessels in commission, which might be withdrawn, and the men turned over into the more serviceable ships ; but the noble earl was very much mistaken, if he imagined that the description of vessels to which he had alluded were useless. Though not employed as cruizers, yet they were very useful on convoys, and the number ought, perhaps, if it were convenient, to be rather increased than diminished. With respect to the motion for an account of the British ships of war taken or destroyed by the Americans, he had no objection to that. The next motion was for an account of the number of merchant ships taken or destroyed by the Americans, with the number of men and amount of tonnage in each. Here it must be observed, that it was impossible to furnish a regular account of those vessels that had been taken by privateers, of which there were a great number on the American coast. All that could be done was, to present an account of such as had

been taken by his majesty's ships, and "reported to the admiralty," and therefore he proposed to add these words to the motion. This would give the noble earl an advantage upon which he might fairly argue, and he was welcome to that advantage. But he repeated the statements which he had made on the first day of the session, as to the number of seamen taken which admitted of official proof, and also as to the number of vessels of war, of guns, and of merchant ships taken and destroyed, which would be partly proved by official documents, though something must be derived with respect to the merchant ships from other sources. The next motion was, for a like account of the British merchant ships taken by the Americans. To this he must decidedly object, because there was no office from which it could be furnished. Then followed the motion respecting the rate of insurance, to which he had precisely the same objection : but the noble earl could be at no loss in getting that information from other sources. As to the subject of the Canadian supplies, he had said on a former occasion that these supplies had been anticipated in double the amount required ; but when he said so, he must be understood as speaking of the general supplies, for it was impossible for him to speak with certainty as to each particular requisition. The general statement he adhered to, and was ready to prove ; but when he professed himself ready to do so, he did not mean to pledge himself to agree to go into a committee of inquiry, and to hear evidence at the bar. All he meant was, that he would willingly give the noble earl all the information possible on the subject ; and when that came before the house, it would be for their

lordships to judge whether any further proceedings ought to be entered into or adopted. He conceived that this motion respecting the Canadian supplies had better be withdrawn for the present, as their lordships had already agreed to postpone the investigation of the subject. Then as to copies of the correspondence of the board of admiralty with merchants on the subject of convoys, it was perfectly impossible to prepare such a mass of papers in any reasonable time. If the noble earl was desirous to have the representations to the admiralty produced, or any particular paper or papers, these might be furnished; but there was hardly a day on which some correspondence did not take place on the subject of convoys, and the whole would form a mass which could not be prepared in the course of the present session. He concluded by repeating, that it was his anxious wish to give every information in his power relative to the conduct of the admiralty, and he was willing to agree to the motions, with the exceptions and under the limitations stated. This was agreed to.

House of commons, Nov. 15.—

Mr. Baring, in rising to move for a paper relative to the agreement of this country to grant a subsidy to the Spanish government, observed, that the way in which this money had been granted deserved particular consideration. There was no authority of parliament for any such grant, nor had any communication been made to the house respecting it; which he considered extremely improper and disrespectful. This subject required minute investigation, for he thought it would appear that money had been paid to the court of Spain subsequent to the treaty of Paris and the restoration of Ferdinand VII.; whereas Spain in fact

owed to this country a very large sum. His object, therefore, was to ascertain this fact, and to know in what manner the money had been applied. If the money had been granted to Spain during a time of military operation, or in order to induce that country to make peculiar exertions against the enemy, he would have been the last person to require the production of this paper: but he apprehended it would appear that government had advanced money to Spain after the war had ceased,—after the Spanish troops had returned home,—when Ferdinand was restored, and tranquillity prevailed in the country. This was exceedingly improper, more particularly when we considered the situation of the Spanish government, and its conduct towards ourselves. He was more anxious to call for this paper, on account of rumours that prevailed of the measures adopted by our government in relation to Spain. It had been frequently stated in the French papers, that Spain was encouraged and supported in its violent proceedings by this country. He agreed, as a general maxim, that it did not become us to interfere with the administration of any country; but in the case of Spain we ought to forget this principle, because we had contributed to establish a government there, of which he knew not how to speak as it deserved. If government, then, had at all induced or encouraged Spain to those acts of tyranny and oppression which she had exercised, they ought to account to the house for the part they had sustained. One of the first acts of gratitude which Spain had shown towards this country was to prohibit the introduction of our goods; but whether she did not wait till she had obtained the last sixpence from us, before she committed

committed this hospitality towards our commerce, the production of the paper would demonstrate. He should therefore move, that a humble address be presented to the prince regent, praying that his royal highness would be pleased to order the copy of any agreement entered into between sir Henry Wellesley and the Spanish government, for payment of a subsidy to Spain, or any other purposes, since the treaty of Paris, to be laid before the house.

The motion being seconded,

Mr. W. Pole rose, and said that he could not understand upon what new principle the honourable gentleman was proceeding. It was known to the house and the country that we had agreed to grant the Spanish government a certain sum, to enable it to pay and equip an army, and the money in question was part of what we had undertaken to advance. The honourable gentleman had however stated, that the house had received no communication upon the subject: did the honourable gentleman then forget that in the last session one million had been voted to Spain, and two millions to Portugal, in order to enable them to prosecute the war? The money issued to the Spanish government was for the payment of their troops; this went on till the end of the war, and then it became necessary to send the troops home, and to disembody them. No money, therefore, had been paid to Spain unknown to the house; it was only two months' arrears upon our undertaking. But the honourable gentleman asked why money had been paid to the Spanish government, when in fact that government was indebted to us. But how did this fact stand? No account has yet been settled between the two countries; and would it therefore

have been proper to have said to Spain, without knowing whether she was indebted to us or not, and in the particular circumstances in which she stood, You shall not receive one farthing until every thing is adjusted between us? As to what the honourable gentleman had stated, that the British government was suspected of having instigated Spain to all the acts of violence which she had exercised—

Mr. Baring said, that what he meant was, that the king of Spain had been encouraged by this country to get rid of some of the most eminent of his subjects, and to restore the old order of affairs.

Mr. W. Pole then understood, that the honourable gentleman did not intend to charge administration with having encouraged the Spanish government to oppress the people. He (Mr. P.) positively denied, in the most unqualified manner, that government had ever been concerned in those matters. He agreed with the honourable gentleman that it would not be proper to interfere with the internal regulations of foreign governments: but if government should ever be tempted to interfere, it ought only to be from the desire of ameliorating, and not of oppressing the subjects.

Mr. Whitbread believed it would appear that sir H. Wellesley had issued a sum of money prior to the date of the paper. The object stated was, to enable the troops to return into Spain; but he begged the house to remember the situation of the Spanish armies. There were four Spanish armies, three within Spain, and a fourth engaged at Thoulouse. This latter consisted of about 14 or 15,000 men; and he feared that the money we had furnished was rather to assist Ferdinand in subjugating his people, than to enable this army to return;

return; for it appeared that, after the money had been paid, they were obliged to be fed by the English commissariat, or would otherwise have starved. It was our duty to have employed accredited persons to see that the money was faithfully applied. Speaking from that source of information, the press,—which the Spanish government was desirous of exterminating from the face of the earth,—he must declare his conviction, that if it had not been for the money which England had supplied, the patriots who had fought for the salvation of their country would not have been dragged to exile and the galleys. He understood, that the British ambassador sir H. Wellesley was actually with general Elio's army at the time that king Ferdinand arrived at Valencia. He wished now to learn, whether that was actually the fact? He wished to know what officers bearing British commissions were with this army? He understood that the money paid by this country to the Spanish government was not applied for the purpose of bringing the Spanish troops from France, as was pretended; but that it was applied in moving general Elio's army to Madrid for the purpose of subverting the existing government. This certainly appeared to be an indirect interference of our government in favour of the measures which king Ferdinand had pursued. He did not mean to accuse either the government, or any individual connected with it, of countenancing or approving the persecutions and atrocities which had since taken place in Spain. He did not believe that there was any man to be found in this country base enough to countenance or even connive at such atrocities. He thought that the right honourable gentleman

could not see any objection to give the house information as to the sums so paid to the Spanish government, together with the dates of such payments, and the agreement under which they were made.

The chancellor of the exchequer conceived, from the course that the discussion had taken, that it would meet the object of the honourable gentleman to show, by extracts from the agreement of lord Castlereagh, to what period after the conclusion of the peace the payments were to be made to the Spanish government. It appeared that before that agreement the British ambassador had agreed to advance 100,000*l.* to the Spanish government, on account of that aid which the country had for several years afforded to Spain. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Baring,) in speaking of the convention with the other powers, had dexterously kept out of sight that Austria, Russia and Prussia were bound not only to keep up the number of men stipulated in that convention, but that they were to keep up a force to that amount, disposable and applicable to the purposes expressed in the convention. Nothing was more common than this in the many subsidiary treaties which this country had made. A certain allowance was made as a sort of retaining for keeping up a number of disposable troops, as expressed in the treaties. As to Spain, no subsidiary treaty had ever been concluded with that country, because we could never depend on the means of the Spanish government for keeping up the number of troops to be subsidized. We therefore kept in our own hands the application of the money which was intended to be applied in aid of the exertions of the Spanish government. Supposing that at the conclusion of the war

war, the whole of the Spanish troops were within their frontiers, still he should not think that it would have been proper immediately to discontinue the allowances to them. After Spain had been so long torn to pieces by a merciless and unrelenting foe, it was notorious that the Spanish government did not then possess the means of even disbanding its troops.

He should now advert to a subject which had been mentioned on a former day, respecting the arrest of two Spanish gentlemen at Gibraltar, and their being given up to their own government. It appeared that on the 6th of May sir James Duff wrote from Cadiz to the British commander at Gibraltar (general Smith), informing him that certain persons had fled to Gibraltar for security, and that one of them was the person who had circulated the most infamous libels on the British character, in the account given of the conduct of our troops at St. Sebastian's. In consequence of this letter, general Smith identified two of the persons, who had been taken up on their entrance into the garrison under fictitious names. Those two persons were surrendered to the Spanish government. He should mention not as an excuse, but as a vindication in some degree, of the conduct of the British officer, that it had been a long established usage between the Spanish generals and the governors of Gibraltar, to give up, when required, such criminals as had fled for protection. If all Spanish criminals were immediately to find protection in that garrison, Gibraltar would indeed be an intolerable nuisance to Spain. If, to make the case our own, we were to suppose that the Isle of Wight had for a long time belonged to any foreign power, and that all our cri-

minals were sure of protection when they arrived there, we should certainly feel it an intolerable nuisance. If the governor had considered the subject with more attention, he should probably have refused to give the men up; but finding that they were hostile both to the British and to the Spanish governments, and that they had entered the garrison under false pretences, he had conceived himself authorized to give them up to their own government. Of the four that had been required to be given up, two had made their escape. When Lord Bathurst, however, was informed of this transaction, he wrote on the 24th of June last to general Smith, cautioning him against proceeding in a similar way in future, and not to give up any persons, except for notorious crimes against morality and society. The general's answer was received in the month of August, in which he promised strictly to conform to those instructions for the future. It was, therefore, pretty certain that no such proceedings would again take place at Gibraltar; and it could not be said that the government had in any degree encouraged it. There were some of the accounts which the honourable gentleman had moved for, which he had no objection to, as far as they could be made up. As to the sums due from Spain, they were principally on account of warlike stores furnished by this country. He concluded by reading an extract of a letter from lord Castlereagh to sir H. Wellesley, which he would wish to substitute for the paper moved for by the honourable gentleman.

Mr. Baring having at the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer withdrawn his first resolution, the following papers were ordered:—

1st.

1st. An extract of lord Castlereagh's letter of the 30th of July, together with the letter of sir H. Wellesley to which it was an answer.

2dly. An account of all sums paid to the Spanish government since the restoration of peace, with the dates.

3dly. A statement of the money due from Spain to this country.

Mr. Tierney, in pursuance of his notice, rose to move for several papers relative to the civil list expenditure. As he was not apprised whether it was the intention of the right honourable gentleman to oppose the production of these accounts, he did not deem it necessary to preface his motion by any observations; and should therefore merely move in the first place for "an account of the charges on the civil list at the years ending in October 1813 and October 1814."

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the course now pursued by the right honourable gentleman opposite was so wholly foreign to the usual practice of the house, that he believed there was not on record a single instance in which the house had called for such accounts, except after some previous steps taken by the crown, either in the speech at the commencement of the session, or in a subsequent message to that house. The act of parliament, which passed about ten years ago, had indeed provided, that whenever the charge should exceed a certain sum, the accounts should be submitted to parliamentary inspection. It was impossible, however, that these accounts should be made up, or the precise amount of the excess ascertained, before the current year should have elapsed. The first quarter subsequent to the last settlement, on removing the restrictions from the prince regent's

authority, expired in April, and the annual accounts had of course since closed on the 5th day of that month. He knew no reason, nor could he divine what grounds the right honourable gentleman was prepared to state for now departing from what had been the unvaried and constant practice of the house in reference to this subject. It was not for him to set forth the public inconvenience and delay that must result from the establishment of a different rule. It was for the right honourable gentleman who proposed the deviation, to convince the house of the advantages to be derived from it.

Mr. Tierney said, he had not the slightest objection to state to the house the reasons which had induced him to recommend this proceeding to them. In the first place, he must remark that the practice alluded to, was a practice dictated by no general rule or standing order, and which had therefore grown up because it had never before been discovered to be inconvenient. Now he could easily conceive that it was a very proper and convenient practice to be pursued, when there happened to be no excess of expenditure on the civil list for 40 or 50 years together: but when the case had been so lamentably altered of late years, when the civil list had broken through every attempt to guard it against confusion, and when it had become a mere mockery to call it an agreement between parliament and the crown, was he to be precluded from all inquiry into its new and growing burthens? The state of that civil list, even as regulated by act of parliament, was a curious one. When the restrictions were taken off the prince regent, parliament had recognised, but without justifying, a large excess of arrears in

in that branch of the public expenditure. The accounts then showed upon an average of the preceding seven years an annual excess of 124,000*l*. This excess, Mr. Percival for reasons best known to himself, instead of fairly meeting, thought fit, and the house, notwithstanding his objections, thought fit to agree with him, to recognise by an act of parliament, in providing that if there should be any subsequent excess beyond this average excess of 124,000*l*., though it should be no more than 10,000*l*., parliament should be immediately acquainted with it. And thus it was that they had since remained entirely in the dark. At least, however, he was not inconsistent in now endeavouring to let in a little light upon this subject. What was now the case? The last two years abundantly showed that the crown had taken full advantage of that act, and that arrears had accumulated till they amounted, not to 124,000*l*. but to 224,000*l*.. Was it to exceed his duty, then, as a member of parliament, to ask the house to look into this affair in good time, whilst they had it yet in their power to check the evil, rather than wait, in order to know the whole extent of their calamity at once? Had nothing occurred in the last quarter which ought to put them on their guard? He regretted that a noble lord was not present (Yarmouth) who had on a former occasion spoken as the representative of the lord chamberlain's department. That noble lord had then distinctly said, that the lord chamberlain did not hold himself responsible in any manner for the expenditure of his department. It thus appeared that there was a great officer appointed by the crown, and over whose administration of his office ministers had no control.

This was quite a matter of recollection, and he must be permitted to set his memory against that of the right honourable gentleman opposite to him. Was it to be wondered at, if there should be confusion in a department in which there was no responsibility, and over which there was no control? When he now wished to know what was the actual over the estimated excess, and was told that he must wait till April, would the right honourable gentleman assure him that the excess at that time would probably not amount to more than 10,000*l*? If he would, he should remain satisfied, and give the house no further trouble. But the right honourable gentleman, he knew, would say no such thing. Would he say that rumour was not a sufficient ground for such a motion as the present? He affirmed that it was but a ground to be taken at the discretion of the member. He did not mean every vague or casual rumour, but such a rumour as amounted to a settled belief in the public mind that there were great and increased outgoings in the expenditure of the crown. He was for a timely application of parliamentary interference; he was against suffering the evil to go its full length. Did the right honourable gentleman doubt that projects of profuse expense were in contemplation? Had he heard of no plan for a superb palace? And was this a time, with such a view of their financial situation as he had the day before disclosed to them, for the construction of superb palaces? If the regent did entertain these schemes of costly magnificence, it was the duty of the house to the country, who must pay for the whole, to interfere and prevent their execution. The residence at Windsor was still going on, and had cost last year 33,000*l*.

88,000*l.* He willingly gave credit to the right honourable gentleman for disapproving of these things; he doubted not that he had made representations against them, and that he had taken every practicable step, except that of his resignation, to restrain them. One fertile head of expense the right honourable gentleman had himself formerly admitted,—the expense of ambassadors; and yet lord Clancarty and Mr. Canning had been sent out since. The allowance to the latter gentleman of 14,000*l.* a year, besides outfit and plate, all proceeded out of the civil list. From what other fund, too, had the 86,000*l.* paid for a house in Paris for the duke of Wellington been taken? He knew that there was a deduction of 2,000*l.* a year from his salary, in consideration of this purchase; but from what fund had the money in the mean time issued? The fact was, that information was never to be got at, except to suit ministerial purposes. Though the act of arrangement passed in the month of February, the annual accounts were not to be had till the May following, when every body was going out of town. If these were not grounds for his motion, he was at a loss to conceive what would induce the house to interfere. The civil list a few years ago amounted in the whole charge to 1,030,000*l.*; it was last year 1,300,000*l.*; and was in all probability now much more. Against the progress of a profusion so alarming, the house ought to oppose itself resolutely, and to show the country, that if the crown had its prerogatives they also had theirs, of which they were not unmindful when the necessities of the state called for their exercise.

The chancellor of the exchequer was of opinion that the right honour-

able gentleman had utterly failed in assigning any reasons for warranting a departure from that course which had been hitherto found advantageous in the conduct of the public business. He was free to admit to the right honourable gentleman, that he had no hopes of being able at the expiration of the year to show any reduction in this branch of the expenditure. On the contrary, he believed there would be found a considerable excess. All the due information would be submitted, according to the provisions of the act, in a short time. (Here Mr. Tierney said that a short time would satisfy him.) He did not mean before the expiration of the year. He certainly did think that once a year was often enough to bring this subject into public discussion. The time, however, having been fixed by parliament, it was still more unadvisable to introduce a new practice. As to new projects of expenditure, and new edifices on a large scale, he agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that if any such plans were in contemplation they were most unseasonable, and must necessarily require the previous sanction of parliament, who alone could authorize them. He could further assure the honourable gentleman, that whenever the time should arrive that his resignation should be necessary for marking his opinion upon such projects, he should not hesitate to take that step. The right honourable gentleman had truly stated his opinion respecting the disbursements in the department of diplomatic agency. This expense, however, it was to be remembered, made no part of the splendour of the sovereign. He had often shown the house that this expense had arisen principally out of the political situation of Europe,

rope, rather than from any needless profusion in any quarter. The appointments of sir C. Stuart and lord Clancarty were of a temporary nature, and took place on unexpected occasions. They entailed upon the country no pensions or after-burthens, and the only satisfaction enjoyed by these persons was the consciousness of having served their country in a splendid, difficult, and unprofitable department. The right honourable gentleman had fallen into one gross misconception which he was happy to have an opportunity to rectify, relative to Mr. Canning's mission to Lisbon. The suggestion that he had hastened his departure in order to screen himself from attack could have very little weight. There was no place where his right honourable friend could be more ready to appear than in that house. But it was said that the mission was of too splendid a character. The facts of the case were these;—It had become necessary to relieve sir Charles Stuart from this situation, and Mr. Sydenham was appointed his successor. The latter gentleman soon implored to be removed on account of the state of his health. It surely, then, could not be improper under these circumstances, at a time when the prince regent of Portugal was about to return to his ancient territory, which had been defended by British valour in his absence, who had himself been protected in his passage by a British fleet, who was himself allied to British interests, and dependent on our power, to appoint a splendid mission to congratulate him on his return! If this was a proper proceeding, there could, he thought, be no objection to the selection of the individual appointed for this purpose. With respect to

the house purchased for the duke of Wellington, it must be the wish of all that he should be respectably lodged; and that the money was in this case well laid out was the opinion of the persons consulted, and among them the duke of Wellington himself. It had been deemed a more convenient, splendid, and eligible residence than any other house to be found in Paris. The purchase money was to be paid within the term of four years. Upon the whole view of the right honourable gentleman's speech, he was satisfied that no peculiar circumstances or considerations of sufficient weight had been stated, to convince the house that there existed any necessity for departing from the course hitherto observed, and now sanctioned by an act of parliament.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the circumstances he had mentioned as rumours were now authenticated as facts by the right honourable gentleman, who had admitted to him what alone he had laboured to prove, that there would be a large excess upon the civil list for the present year. What they were at issue about now, was therefore whether parliament, with the certain knowledge of this, ought not to take some steps to prevent the evil from increasing. As to what had fallen respecting the duke of Wellington's house, it was in his opinion the most extravagant and thoughtless waste of the public money he had ever heard of. It was to be paid for in four years, at the rate of 9,000*l.* a year, so that here alone the house knew that within 1,000*l.* the excess described by the act had been incurred. What was the value of houses here, and what must be their probable value in Paris, to say nothing about the security?

security? The duke had 10,000*l.* salary. Why, then, was he to be saddled with the expense of 2000*l.* a year for a house, and be thus almost justified in exceeding his ordinary allowances? He had been at Paris, and in this had at least an advantage over the right honourable gentleman, and was sure that there was no house worth a rent of 2,000*l.* What he had meant with respect to Mr. Canning's mission, was to show the difference between an ambassador and an ordinary minister, which last had always been found quite adequate to the duties required to be fulfilled at the court of Lisbon. Had Mr. Sydenham desired only leave of absence, or to be removed from the situation? The prince regent was expected when that gentleman was there, yet his allowance had been cut down from 4,000*l.* to 3,500*l.* by lord Castle-reagh, to whom he gave credit for having endeavoured to bring all the diplomatic salaries within a specific sum. No sooner, however, was his back turned, than Mr. Sydenham is recalled. Every body knew that gentleman to be a very able person: whether he was eloquent enough for the occasion, he did not know. At all events he might have got a speech written by somebody else, and have said it off by heart. He comes home, however, on account of ill health, and this immediately raises the price of a congratulator from 3,500*l.* to 14,000*l.* per annum. If he was well informed, however, there was a great probability that the prince regent did not intend to revisit his European dominions: but certainly it would have been time enough to have sent Mr. Canning, if he was the only person capable of bidding him welcome, after he should have set out. But no;

this splendid embassy is sent at a time when we had another minister (lord Strangford), supported at a great expense, actually at the court of the prince regent in the Brazils, and a fresh and totally superfluous addition of 14,000*l.* a year, amounting together with the charges of plate and outfit, to at least 20,000*l.* this year, saddled on the backs of the unfortunate people of this country. The right honourable gentleman had considered the term he had before applied to this transaction as too harsh, and almost unparliamentary. He had undoubtedly called it "a scandalous job." The expression would be frequently found upon the records of the house: it was, indeed, quite the appropriate phrase; it was the very epithet in use upon such occasions among all well-disposed christians: but if it would be more satisfactory to the right honourable gentleman, he would call it "an abominable job." But if it had become necessary to remove Mr. Sydenham, there were many other Mr. Sydenhams who would have been very happy in the appointment, less able perhaps than that gentleman, and of course less eloquent than the present ambassador. He hardly knew how it happened, but there was not one among the partisans of Mr. Canning, not a single friend enlisted in his *squad*, if that was a parliamentary word, who had not contrived to get something. Some who could get nothing better had taken baronetcies, and if he was not greatly deceived, he had then an embryo baronet in his eye. It was like the last lottery, where there were no blanks, but all was prize-money. He had no doubt of Mr. C.'s dexterity in his new office, and that at least he would furnish an abundance

abundance of fine language. Was it not true that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. C.) had declined accepting any post, till he at length consented to go to Lisbon whenever the prince regent should return to Europe? And was it through any suspicion that this event might not take place, that he afterwards listened to the prudent suggestion of accelerating his departure, lest his services should never be required at all? The case was so irresistible, that if the house desired to prove they were in earnest, and were rather determined to stand by the people in their difficulties, than indulge in idle compliments to the crown, they must cheerfully concur with his proposition.—A long debate ensued, in which Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Huskisson and others took a part, and the motion was finally withdrawn.

House of commons; Nov. 18th. In a motion of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that a sum not exceeding eight millions be granted to his majesty to meet the bills drawn on the treasury for the extraordinaries of the army.

Mr. Tierney thought it very extraordinary that the right honourable gentleman should call on them to vote so large a sum, without any information before them of the mode in which it had been applied, or for what objects so large a sum was wanted.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the sum was so great, that nothing less could reconcile them to it, than the very extraordinary circumstances in which the country had been placed during the last year. The accounts would show, that nearly nineteen millions had been drawn in bills on the treasury for extraordinaries, for the service of Guernsey, Jersey, Spain, Portu-

gal, and the south of France, and for Gibraltar, the West Indies, North America, Newfoundland, and South America. It would appear, when the accounts were made up, that the expense in the Peninsula alone was little short of fifteen millions during the last year. Two years ago the country stood on a precipice, from which it was doubtful whether it could possibly be saved. When France made war on Russia, it was evident to every man that the conqueror must have remained master of the field. It was evident that at that moment was the crisis of this country, and that it was necessary to exert all our means. In doing so, we had fortunately succeeded; but without the application of those extraordinary means, we had no reason to look forward to so favourable a result. In 1812, after the disaster of that year, lord Wellington wrote that it was impossible to do any thing great, without more money and means. Without more means he was unable to advance. He would require, he stated, 100,000*l.* a month, to enable him to do any thing efficient. We accordingly furnished him with that supply. In the first year we sent him 150,000*l.* a month, which was increased during last year, and this year we had sent him 4 or 500,000*l.* a month. Remittances had been sent in specie to the amount of 3,300,000*l.* besides the sums sent to equip the troops that left the south of France for America, of about 410,000*l.* Not less than four millions, therefore, had been sent in specie in less than half a year.—The exertions had been beyond all ordinary calculations; but in estimating these we were to look at the results. In stating the sums granted in aid of the allies, he referred to the sanction

of parliament. By the treaty of Chaumont five millions were to be provided for Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Two months pay was to be granted to Austria and Prussia, in order to enable them to take home their troops, and four months pay to Russia, to whom a considerable balance was still due on account of the Russian fleet. The amount of balance was to be settled at Vienna. Five hundred and twenty two thousand pounds were due to Austria and Prussia, and 3,250,000*l.* due to Russia. The disputed sum for the fleet due to Russia was 100,000*l.* Sweden was to receive pay for three months, amounting to 300,000*l.* The sum already paid was 300,000*l.* Denmark had 130,000*l.* annually paid; and his Sicilian majesty 400,000*l.* Two millions a year to Portugal, of which a proportion had been paid this year; and to Spain one million a year. The debt due to Spain was for military and other stores, which were also supplied, but with an understanding that they should be repaid. There was also a subsidiary corps of imperial troops, consisting of 15,000 men, that had served under the crown prince of Sweden till they had joined the allies in the Netherlands. To these troops seven months subsidy had been already paid, and only two months were due to take them home; but they had as yet been continued as part of the troops stipulated to be kept on foot. The total due to Prussia, therefore, might be about 917,000*l.* and the whole due from this country about seven millions. He conceived the present sum would be adequate to the demand. However glorious the result, the expense was no doubt great; but what situation would the country have been in, had the result been

otherwise. To our exertions we owed the wonderful changes that had taken place in the situation and prospects of Europe.

Mr. Tierney wished to know if two millions more would cover the whole of the extraordinary expense.

The chancellor of the exchequer.—So far as I can judge, two millions more will make the whole good. He considered the expense now would be two millions a month less than last year. When we shall have brought the American war to a close, our expenses will be still further diminished. At present, however, we must look for great exertions, and provide accordingly.

Mr. Tierney said, he had now to ask respecting the 75,000 men to be kept on foot, if the 15,000 Hanoverian troops formed a part of that number, and if they were to be no burthen to this country.

The chancellor of the exchequer we understood to say, that half was paid by this country.

Mr. Tierney.—Because Hanover is to be erected into a kingdom, with an addition of territory, was it reasonable that we should bear the expense of it? If there was any sum of the prince regent in this country as elector of Hanover, it ought to be applied to defray the expense. Was it fair that every farthing for the support of Hanover should be going out of this country? It must afterwards be laid on in taxes on the people of this country. The Russian ships came here for safety, and it seems we are to pay them a subsidy, as if we had wanted their services.

Mr. Whitbread said, upon the present state of the war with America, he thought the fullest information should be given. He had good reasons to believe that government was in possession of the official

official account of sir George Prevost's unhappy affair at Plattsburg, not one tittle of which had been communicated to the public. He had reason to believe that the retreat of sir George Prevost had been most disastrous, without any actual attack having been made by the enemy.—He had been informed that sir G. Prevost advanced in six days to Plattsburg with 10,000 men, and that he retreated over the same ground in two days with the loss of 2000 troops—troops too, not of the militia of the country, but of those who were styled, by way of pre-eminence, Wellingtonians. He was informed, and believed, that a degree of inflammation prevailed in the public mind in Canada, which nothing could satisfy but the recall of sir George Prevost.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted that government were in possession of dispatches from sir G. Prevost, and such parts of them as were deemed advisable would be published.

Mr. Ponsonby was informed not only that the disaster stated by Mr. W. had taken place, but that it was found necessary to raise the siege of Fort Erie.

The chancellor of the exchequer said that there was no mention of troops having deserted during the retreat, in the dispatch of sir George Prevost, and therefore he supposed it was wholly unfounded. He confirmed the truth of the siege of Fort Erie having been raised by general Drummond, but under such circumstances that no loss was suffered on the occasion.—Adjourned.

CHAPTER II.

Debate on the Army Estimates—Mr. Whitbread on Spanish Prisoners—Duke of Norfolk on the State of Affairs in America—Mr. Horner on the Slave-Trade—Debate on the Supplies—on the Irish Peace Preservation Bill—on the Orange Societies—Lord Donoughmore on the Congress at Vienna—Debates on the Question of Adjournment.

HOUSE of commons, Nov. 21.
—Lord Palmerston moved that the house resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the estimates for the army service.

Mr. Whitbread could not consent to the speaker's leaving the chair until the house should receive some information that might enable them to judge what the amount of force was, which the political situation of the country required. On a former night he had complained that this was withheld with respect to America, and he now thought it necessary that it should be communicated as to the state of

Europe, unless cogent reasons could be adduced why such information should not be given. He had before stated that an honourable engagement, and the more binding because it was so, had been entered into by our ministers with the person who now fills the throne of Naples. Of this the right honourable gentleman had intimated that he knew nothing. He would therefore repeat, that by a written note signed by lord Castlereagh and by lord W. Bentinck, we had become parties to the treaty between Joachim and the court of Vienna, on the ground that his force was wanted
D E before

before time could be allotted to the framing of a formal treaty. He (Mr. Whitbread) wished to inquire too, whether a treaty with Spain had not been entered into, and ratified in August last, which had never been produced? He inquired into this as another of those circumstances which were known to every body except the house of commons. He wished to know, likewise, whether a paper purporting to be a proclamation from prince Repnin, which had been published in all the newspapers, calling on the people of Saxony to submit to the Prussian government, but which was stated to have been since recalled, and which certainly bore upon it the stamp of authenticity, was or was not a fabrication? He was desirous that the house should know whether the honour and character of the country had been committed to an act so unjust in itself, so disgraceful in its motives, so mischievous in its example. If the proclamation was authentic, and the statement of its recall correct, had the name of the British minister ever been affixed to the instrument of this usurpation? There were other things recently published to the world, so derogatory to the high character, to the illustrious name acquired by the emperor of Russia, that he was anxious to withhold his belief. It had been represented, that by command of the emperor, generals Lecoq and Thielman had been arrested and imprisoned for presenting a remonstrance against the seizure of Saxony. It would be recollected that it was under the conduct of these same generals that the event of the battle of Leipsic was so materially influenced by the accession of the Saxon force to the allied army. He regretted, too, the probable fate of most of the smaller states of Eu-

rope, and could anticipate no permanent tranquillity, when he saw attached to all the greater powers a focus of discontent; when he saw Genoa united to Piedmont, Venice to Austria, Belgium to Holland, Saxony to Prussia, and Poland to Russia. Upon all these topics explanations were yet to be received. The news from America must naturally incline the house to ask, were the negotiations at Ghent still proceeding? Melancholy it was to reflect, that it now appeared on the authority of members themselves, that at the commencement of the contest a large proportion of the American population were decidedly with us; but that we had so fought and so negotiated, that party had become extinct in the United States, and that but one common mind existed for directing the whole force of the republic against this country. Upon all these points he desired to be better informed before he gave his vote for going into the committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he did not think himself at liberty to give an answer to many of the questions put by the honourable gentleman; but to such of them as he deemed an answer fitting, he would be extremely ready to communicate every degree of information to the house that it was in his power to do. It gave him great satisfaction to say, that the conferences at Ghent were not broken off. With respect to the engagement with the king of Naples, it had been already answered more than once. As to the article mentioned by the honourable gentleman relative to the note of prince Repnin, he could answer nothing; he had received no information on the subject. There was one treaty he could mention that had not been yet laid before the house,

house, and that was with Spain ; but it was merely a treaty of amity. In regard to America he did not think it necessary to say any thing at present.

Sir C. Monck complained of the manner in which the Ionian Islands had been given up to Austria.

Mr. Stephen said, as this question related to the policy of Europe, he was surprised that the honourable gentlemen on the other side should ground their statements and arguments on anonymous pamphlets. There was a constitutional way of obtaining information, by coming forward, and moving an address to the crown for the copies of any documents which they might deem it necessary to be laid before the house. He could not avoid thinking it would be a practice very inconvenient for the house, to have questions of this sort daily put to ministers. Some gentlemen seemed to expect from the courtesy and good nature of the ministers, that they could get information from them, which if they were to give, those gentlemen would consider them guilty of great weakness. It was too much to think that every statement in a pamphlet or newspaper was sufficient ground to call upon ministers to divulge the most important information.

Mr. Horner thought that nothing could show more clearly the change that had lately taken place in the practice of parliamentary proceedings, than to find a gentleman of the experience and ability of the honourable member who spoke last, condemn the practice of seeking information of ministers. What had become of the functions of that house, if, when ministers demanded a large supply of money, gentlemen should be told that it was irregular to ask for what purpose it was want-

ed? If, indeed, there were any irregularity in this practice, it proceeded from the much greater irregularity that had lately been introduced on the other side of the house, in proposing large grants of money, and great armies to be kept up in time of peace, without condescending to inform the house for what purposes they were wanted. The right honourable gentleman desired them to wait with patience till some future day, when those subjects might be discussed with more regularity. He, however, conceived that the house had a right to be informed generally of the state of our foreign relations, although they knew that negotiations actually pending could not with propriety be communicated. His honourable friend, however, had not asked about any thing that was doing, but about things actually done. They did not ask what crimes were meditating, but they wished to be informed about crimes actually perpetrated. They did not inquire about an act of prince Repnin alone, but they asked whether this act had not been sanctioned by lord Castlereagh, and whether this country was not thereby already committed. He saw no difference in the principle, between the annexations that were now making, and the tyrannical acts of that government that we had been so long contending against. The only difference that he could see was, that instead of being the work of one great spoliator, it was the work of many. His honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread) had been much misunderstood, if it was supposed that he had quoted from the pamphlet as his only authority. He had expressly stated that he had made inquiries, and believed his information correct. As to the proposal of a grant of

money on account of the Russian fleet, it had given him the greatest surprise. He never recollected to have before heard of any idea of paying Russia for her fleet coming to our ports. He had heard a great deal of the compliment that Russia was paying this country by reposing so great a confidence in us: but when we were now asked to pay 500,000*l.* on that account, he wished to know what it was for? Was it on account of the compliment that Russia had paid us, or was it on account of the aid that our navy received or was to receive from them? We had heard many things of late, respecting which we must feel ashamed; and which, he believed, had wrung the hearts of our navy; but he did not know any thing that would be more mortifying than to say, that when Spain had no navy against us, and France had very little, the British navy wanted the aid of the Russian fleet against that little. As to the subject of America; the news that had lately come from that country had naturally produced the greatest anxiety and uneasiness. He was, however, happy to hear that the negotiations were still going on at Ghent, and he hoped sincerely that ministers had relinquished all the pretensions that they had set up with respect to the boundaries. As long as the contest with America turned upon the question of our maritime rights, government were certain of the support of the house and the country; but if the principle of the war was entirely changed, and it was now wished to make conquests from America, he believed that the war would not meet with the same support from the feelings of the house or the public.—A very long and spirited conversation ensued; after which the resolutions were all carried;

Nov. 22.—Mr. Whitbread rose to call the attention of the house to the circumstances lately mentioned, relative to the arrest and delivering up of two Spanish subjects at Gibraltar, who had taken refuge there from the persecution of their own government. That this surrender was as illegal and unjust as it was inhuman, he presumed very little doubt could exist. His object was to follow up the production of the correspondence upon this subject, if that production should not be opposed, by some motion that should mark the sense entertained by the house concerning that transaction. Every one knew what had been the conduct of the present Spanish government, and by what a course of vindictive persecution the base ingratitude of Ferdinand had been signalised. So early as during his stay at Valencia, the resolution was formed of getting rid of the cortes, and of rendering despotism all-powerful in Spain. On the night of the 10th of May several members of the cortes had been dragged from their homes, others pursued into different parts of the country, many of whom became exposed to the active vigilance of sir James Duff. The judges constituted to try these offenders were three persons who had opposed all the proceedings of the patriots from the outset, and had shown themselves hostile to every measure that had for its object an effectual resistance to the arms of France. One of the judges appointed to sit upon these men had been the chief judge under Joseph Bonaparte. Among other eminent patriots who had been persecuted and compelled to fly, was the marquis Matarrosa, one of the most distinguished champions of the Spanish independence, who had exposed his life and fortunes in the service

service of his country. He had fled from Madrid into the Asturias; his persecutors had followed him to his country-seat, and had terrified the countess his mother so, that she had died in consequence of her apprehensions for his safety; he had come to England, where he was safe: luckily for him he had not gone to Gibraltar, for there he would have been delivered up. It was dreadful to consider that Ferdinand had profited so little by his sufferings, as to come back to his country after an exile of five years, and begin his career by injuries to the very men who had been his benefactors. He had visited them with inflictions far severer than any which had fallen upon himself. He had enjoyed air and exercise, and the free use of his limbs; they were confined in dreary dungeons without air, ill-fed, without the common decent comforts of nature; even the doors of their dungeons were kept closed, that they might not have the benefit of the refreshing atmosphere. Under such circumstances, two persons had fled from Cadiz to Gibraltar; they had indeed been stated to be seditious and dangerous to the British garrison. The fact was otherwise. One was a retired officer, the other a scholar totally immersed in his studies, and never mixing in political concerns. The only works which he had published were a Hebrew grammar, and a treatise against the Inquisition, called "The Inquisition Unmasked." They took refuge in Gibraltar; but on the representation of the Spanish government they were given up; they were cast into prison, where one still lingered, though the other, he believed, had been released. In the course of inquiry into this subject, he had discovered that this was not the first time that the government at Gibralt-

ar had given up persons to the vengeance of Spain. It therefore became peremptorily necessary on the house of commons to hold up such conduct to detestation. Before the treaty of Amiens, he was aware that there was a sort of compact, by which murderers, robbers, and deserters were to be reciprocally surrendered, though even there it was stipulated that the deserters should not be punished. Nay, even murderers had not always been given up. In 1801, a baker at Cadiz had stabbed the judge on the bench; he fled to Gibraltar; application was made for him, but he was not surrendered. During his inquiries he had further discovered, that some others who had escaped from Ceuta to Gibraltar had likewise been given up, and also that 300 peasants who, when the regency ordered a conscription, had taken refuge there, were likewise sent back. Of sir James Duff he knew nothing, except what was connected with these proceedings; but he could see nothing which could justify or extenuate his conduct. He had made himself the active instrument of the persecutions of the Spanish government; and when a convoy of British ships were sailing for England, he had taken the most active measures to prevent the escape of a single Spaniard. Only one, by name Estrada, had been able to escape, and he was now in this country. Sir James Duff had gone so far as to make the masters of ships take an oath, that not a Spaniard was on board. He had thus lent himself to the Spanish tyranny, and consented to commit the English name in transactions abhorrent to the English character. In June last, when this subject was mentioned in parliament, lord Castlereagh had professed himself totally ignorant of it, as was

no doubt the fact: in July, however, lord Bathurst had written to general Smith on this matter. Yet in the beginning of this session the right honourable gentleman knew nothing about it, till he had gone and consulted his colleagues; and then he had offered such an excuse as he trusted would not be admitted by the house. Circumstances had arisen which made it supposed that the English government and the English embassy were not-unconcerned in these transactions. Let the matter be well sifted, and let it appear that the representatives of the English government, if they had not interfered for good, had at least not interfered for evil. He concluded by moving for copies of the communications between our consul at Cadiz and the commander at Gibraltar, and also of the correspondence between the latter officer and the British government.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that all he should say with respect to the conduct of the Spanish government was, that this country had never interposed to support or sanction any of the violent measures which were going on in Spain. It was a gross calumny to assert that the British government had so interfered. Their only interference had been on the side of the sufferers and the oppressed; and as far as assistance could be afforded without aggravating the misfortunes of the victims, such assistance had been readily supplied by this government. As to the papers alluded to by the honourable mover, he thought that his object would be better attained by giving such extracts only as related to the particular transaction. These extracts would fully explain all that was sought for. The feelings of this country had been strongly and properly excited by the op-

pressions of the Spanish government; and to show that his majesty's ministers had concurred in this just sentiment, he would refer to the letter written by lord Bathurst to general Smith, in which he cautioned that officer against a repetition of his conduct. Lord Bathurst in that letter mentioned the information which was given in parliament last session: he stated himself unwilling to believe it true, but demanded explanations. He further expressed that it was the direct command of the prince regent, that if any other Spaniards should take refuge at Gibraltar, general Smith should refuse to give them up until he had previously communicated with the English ambassador at Madrid. General Smith sent an answer in August, in which he acknowledged the information to be correct, and explained his conduct by reference to the letters which he had received from the Spanish governor and the English consul at Cadiz. It would not be necessary to read the whole letter of the Spanish officer: a great deal of it was in the usual hyperbolical style of his nation; but he insisted very strongly on the surrender of some troublesome persons whom he named, and who, he said, had no means of living except by sowing discord by their writings and conversation: he earnestly requested that they might be sent back to Cadiz, if they should seek refuge in Gibraltar. The letter of sir James Duff did not demand their surrender, but recommended the utmost vigilance to prevent their residence in Gibraltar. He stated that one of the persons described had written libels on the conduct of the British troops at St. Sebastian. General Smith, after this recapitulation, proceeded to relate, that soon after the

the receipt of these letters, two persons answering the description had entered the garrison of Gibraltar without permission. They were arrested, and proved to be two of the persons intended: they were therefore immediately sent to sir James Duff at Cadiz. He observed that the motive of his conduct was his discovery that such a species of surrender had been the practice of the two governments, and that he could not find any precedent to the contrary. He professed himself most anxiously ready to comply with the instructions then sent him as to his future conduct in such matters. The honourable mover had alluded to another case, that had happened under the government of general Campbell, and did not reach the ears of administration till after the death of that officer. The British ministry had, however, made all the reparation in its power: it had re-demanded the person so given up. He hoped that the house would feel that the government had interfered as much as possible. With respect to general Smith, though his conduct was not entirely justifiable, yet it seemed to arise naturally out of that exceeding caution always observed in the garrison of Gibraltar. Even in time of peace, any foreigner who entered it without leave was immediately carried to the guard-house and sent away. If he had merely sent away these two refugees, he would have been justifiable; but he went further, and sent them to Spain: there he was wrong: but his error had been caused by the strong representations of sir James Duff; and he did not suppose that it would be maintained that in all cases we were bound to harbour all persons who should be obnoxious to the Spanish government (*Hear,*

hear, from Mr. Whitbread.) Suppose a foreign power had possession of the Isle of Wight, would it be justified in giving shelter to all the rebels of this country? (*Hear, hear, as before.*) At any rate, the house would see that no act of oppression of the Spanish government had come to the knowledge of the ministry of this country, without an immediate attention being paid to it, as far as it was proper for one nation to interfere with another. He should suggest an amendment, asking for extracts instead of the entire copies.

Mr. Wellesley Pole declared that he felt exactly with the honourable gentleman who brought forward the motion, and approved of all the sentiments he had delivered this night. He could assure the house that ministers were entirely averse from the Spanish proceedings now complained of, and had ever held them in the utmost abhorrence. The only reason which induced him to intrude on the patience of the house, on the present occasion, was what had fallen from the honourable gentleman on a former night, when, speaking on this very subject, he had seemed to express his surprise, that our ambassador had appeared to countenance the proceedings of the Spanish government since the return of Ferdinand VII. He had on that occasion said, that our ambassador was merely with the king's court, as he was bound to be by the customary rules and regulations prescribed to persons bearing such high offices near the persons of sovereigns. He was sorry to think that any gentleman could for a moment suppose his honourable relative could be capable of such a conduct. The very blood which flowed in his veins would, he should have

have hoped, have guarded him from the slightest suspicion of his being capable of countenancing such arbitrary and detestable proceedings. He was always confident of this himself; but in order to be more assured, he had this day particularly examined the papers received from sir H. Wellesley, and he was convinced from them, that no man could entertain sentiments more directly opposite to such a course as had been adopted by the Spanish government.

Mr. Whitbread declared he had never entertained the slightest idea of conveying, in what he had said, the shadow of a censure on sir H. Wellesley; all he meant to say was, that his being present with the court at that identical and unfortunate period, must naturally convey an *apparence* to the world, that the proceedings then adopted by the Spanish government were not disapproved by him: the present declaration, however, of the right honourable gentleman, so natural for him to make, and to which he was ready to give the most implicit credence, gave him the highest satisfaction. He was happy to hear from the right honourable gentleman, that his honourable relative had, neither in the commencement nor the ulterior part of the proceedings, ever failed to express his dissatisfaction at them. He would only, therefore, trouble the house with one or two observations on the consequences likely to result from what had happened. Monsieur Valdez, the governor of Cadiz, had followed the politics and the fortunes of the duke of Wellington, and as such ought to have been crowned with honours and rewards; instead of which, from the politics of the Spanish government being now changed, he was liable to be dragged

to a dungeon, and to be loaded with reproach and disgrace. At Barcelona, as he was informed, a tribunal had been erected, before which every person who presumed to talk of the affairs of Spain was liable to be dragged, and to receive the most despotic sentence in the course of twenty-four hours. This was not only the tyranny of Bonaparte, but it was that most odious tyranny sublimed by folly; and he was happy to hear, that as soon as it was understood in Spanish America, that Ferdinand refused to adhere to the constitution established by the cortes, it had caused a universal unanimity among all parties, and God send they might succeed! He protested against the doctrine of the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, that even at Gibraltar we must not do any thing obnoxious to the Spanish government. He called on the ministers to inquire into the conduct of sir James Duff, and hoped he would be made to answer for the same.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied he had ever maintained any such doctrine as that imputed to him. He had never said that any persons ought to be given up, but those who had been guilty of heinous crimes.

The question was then put, and the motion as amended agreed to.

House of lords, November 24.—

On the reading of one of the exchequer bills, the duke of Norfolk took occasion to advert to the state of affairs in America. The speech of the prince regent at the commencement of the session had stated the anxious desire of his royal highness to put an end to hostilities with America; and if such was the desire of government, they would naturally refrain from every unnecessary expression which was calcu-

calculated to irritate, instead of producing reconciliation. In the speech it was stated, that in the war the Americans had been the unprovoked aggressors. Without disputing about the question, whether this was or was not the fact, the expression might have been spared; and where the object was to conciliate, it ought not to have been inserted. However, the speech went on to state, that the war had been carried on with success; and in that respect the country had certainly been disappointed, as evidently appeared from the subsequent disasters on Lake Champlain and in other quarters. There were reports, too, that the war was carried on not for the support of our maritime rights, or of any great principle, but merely for the aggrandizement of our territories in that country. A war carried on with such views, if they could be supposed to be the views of the British government, could not be expected soon to terminate, and could hardly be attended with ultimate success. The expense of such a war might be greater than the value of the whole of our possessions in America; and he therefore hoped that the British government would not insist upon any unreasonable concessions, but conduct the negotiation in that manner and with those views which were best calculated to attain the grand object of the speedy and honourable termination of the contest. The noble duke also wished to know why the official accounts of the transactions at Plattsburgh were withheld from the public. It was the duty of the government to communicate them, whenever they arrived in an authentic shape from the proper officer.

The earl of Liverpool was not aware that there was any thing in the observations of the noble duke

that called upon him to trouble their lordships at any length. But as to the affair on Lake Champlain, it was known when the prince regent's speech was delivered, and particularly referred to in that speech. As to the non-publication of the dispatches relative to the transactions at Plattsburgh government had some time ago received the accounts of the one description of service, but the publication had (for reasons of which the noble duke must be aware) been delayed till the accounts of the other description of service arrived. He had now, however, to inform the noble duke, that accounts of both services had been received, and that those of the military and the naval service would appear in the Gazette of Saturday.

House of commons, Nov. 24.—

Mr. Horner rose to ask for some information upon the points connected with the abolition of the slave trade. His right honourable friend (Mr. Vansittart), he well knew, felt as much anxiety as himself for the accomplishment of that object; but he could not share in all the confidence reposed by him in the exertions of his noble colleague at Vienna. What, however, he would wish more immediately to advert to, was a statement published under the authority of the American government, in which it was asserted that negroes had been seduced from the southern states by British officers, carried to the West Indies, and there sold. He need hardly say that he considered this as a charge of the heaviest nature, both as it affected the individuals concerned, and as it affected the character of the country, at a time, too, when the reluctance of France to co-operate with us in our endeavours to put an end to the traffic in slaves, was chiefly justified by her suspicions

suspensions of our sincerity. The charge was, however, now made in the face of the world; by the American secretary of state; and he was anxious to know from his right honourable friend, whether there was any foundation for it, or whether he was disposed to make the necessary inquiries. A fair opportunity now presented itself for the latter purpose, Mr. Monroe having stated that he had full possession of the proofs, and that it was his intention to transmit them to the American commissioners at Ghent. He apprehended a disclosure of these circumstances might be made to our commissioners without exceeding the instructions which had been received, or endangering any of the leading objects of the negotiation. There was another point in his opinion of yet greater importance, inasmuch as it regarded the cause of abolition prospectively, whilst the other related to an infringement of laws already in existence. It had been lately stated, that a treaty of amity had been concluded between the British government and Ferdinand VII. The house in answer to their various addresses had received assurances from the throne, that no opportunity would be lost, of inducing his majesty's allies to consent to an abolition of the slave trade in their dominions. This treaty must, he should apprehend, have furnished an opportunity of considering the situation in which Spain stood towards this country, of procuring her assent to at least some restrictions and limitations of the trade. He trusted that this opportunity had been seen, and used effectually.

The chancellor of the exchequer had to express some regret, that his honourable and learned friend should have thought it right to connect with questions which it was

perfectly proper to put, any reflections on the supposed want of zeal in his noble friend for the final success of the abolition. Undoubtedly the honourable and learned gentleman had done him no more than justice in admitting his anxiety on that subject; but it was an anxiety felt equally by all his colleagues, and more especially by his noble friend, to whose labours and ability this country and Europe were so much indebted. In answer to the first question, (and a more interesting one could not be put to him or any man,) he had to state that his majesty's ministers had received no information whatever of the fact asserted by the American government. The house must see that it was at least extremely improbable, that it was hardly possible, that British officers should be guilty of so black and so base a crime, in the face of those heavy penalties which the legislature had now annexed to offences of this description (*Hear, hear*). Neither could the house entertain any doubt of the disposition of ministers to institute every inquiry into the circumstances, and to follow up the detection of real guilt with the most exemplary punishment. In the mean time he trusted they would not give credit to a statement, the object of which probably was to deter the slaves in America from quitting their habitations. Unjustifiable as the means were, it was more likely that they should have been adopted, than that so foul a charge should have foundation in fact. With respect to the other point, he lamented that it was not in his power to give an equally satisfactory explanation: There was no provision in the late treaty of amity with Spain upon the subject of the slave trade. It was found impossible to bring the court of Spain to a sense in this instance

of its true interest and honour. No exertion had been left untried to effect this purpose, but the endeavour was unavailing. With all the other states of Europe the same efforts had been made to procure their compliance with the just expectations of this country.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee of supply; which being read, he moved that the accounts of the commissioners relative to American claimants be referred to the said committee.—Ordered.

On the question that the speaker do leave the chair,

Mr. Whitbread rose and said, that as he understood it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to move the adjournment of the house in the course of next week, and the adjournment would be to a remote period, (he meant remote *comparatively* when it was considered what very important subjects must engage the consideration of the house after the recess, and previous to the conclusion of the session,) he felt it a duty incumbent on him to seize this only opportunity that would be afforded him by the subject of the supply, of once more reverting to the affairs of the continent, and for the fourth time to those very extraordinary and contradictory treaties which subsisted between this country and our allies. He thought it necessary, also, to call the attention of the house to the subject of the property tax, and to endeavour to learn from the right honourable gentleman, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to propose the continuance of that oppressive tax. It seemed to him, there was too much reason to fear such was their intention; for there had lately ap-

peared a most curious act of the commissioners of that tax; who, as if conscious they should be able to prevail on parliament to continue that act, had issued notices of an assessment which was to take place up to a certain day in the year 1816. This was somewhat remarkable, when it was well known that the existing act was to cease on the 5th of April 1815. He wished also to submit to the consideration of the house, how cautious they should be of voting any more supplies while his majesty's minister on the continent was forming engagements with foreign powers which he did not communicate to the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer; which engagements appeared to be in contradiction to each other, and which showed how wrong it was in that house to grant supplies without having full information as to the manner in which such supplies were to be applied. In consequence of our treaty with Sicily, money had been voted to carry on a war against Joachim Murat, king of Naples: and by a treaty which Austria had entered into with the king of Naples, and which lord Castlereagh had agreed to confirm on the part of this government, another part of the supply was to be employed to enable king Joachim to carry on the war against the king of Sicily, our august and long-standing ally. In the conferences at Châtillon the minister of Napoleon proposed certain regulations respecting different towns and cities in Italy; but it was announced by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia, that France had no right to interfere as to any part of the Italian states. Lord Wm. Bentinck entered into several stipulations with the king of Naples and the Genoese, which lord Castlereagh

through had counteracted: and by a letter which Mr. W. read extracts from, lord Castlereagh finds fault with what had been done by lord W. Bentinck as contrary to the opinion of the British government on the continent, and desires him to communicate this opinion to the English government in London. All that had been done by lord W. Bentinck was for the purpose of securing the co-operation of king Joachim Murat, who at that time had a powerful army, and many important places in his possession; but they soon showed they had not the most cordial liking for their new ally, of whom they became jealous, and to whom they thought too much had been conceded. As soon as Bonaparte had fallen, they thought they could do without the king of Naples, and therefore what had been done by lord W. Bentinck was to be set aside. In the same manner, when Dumourier deserted the French armies, prince Cobourg wrote a letter, in which he praised that general to the skies: but it no sooner appeared that Dumourier had come without his host, and that the French army had refused to follow him, than prince Cobourg, in a second letter respecting the same general, honoured him with epithets the very reverse of what were contained in the first letter. He wished also to draw the attention of the house to the present state of affairs on the continent. It was well known to the house that our minister to the congress at Vienna had now left this country for several months, and it was somewhat extraordinary that in all that time nothing appeared to have been done. He should be glad to know, therefore, whether up to this month any progress had been made in the negotiations for that peace, the con-

clusion of which was to bring so many blessings to this country. If no progress had been made up to that time, then the proclamation of prince Repnin might, as the right honourable gentleman had styled it, be only a military order, and the fate of Saxony might not be yet decided. If no progress had been made, the fate of Poland might still be undecided—Poland, whose independence was so essential to the future peace of Europe. If there can be a period more desirable than another, this (said he) is the moment for the re-establishment of the independence of Poland. All the powers in Europe are interested in the event: but, if the accounts from Vienna were true, the emperor Alexander was the only person who stood forward to support the independence of Poland, and our minister there was the only person who threw in objections, and endeavoured to thwart him in his designs. If ministers knew these things, he should deem them highly culpable, and would arraign their conduct at the bar of that house, for having concealed from them matters so important while they were asking for such extraordinary and continued supplies.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that with respect to any measures that were passing in the congress at Vienna, if he even knew what they were, and the honourable gentleman should put questions to him about them a third, fourth, or even a tenth time, he should feel it his duty not to answer one of them. With respect to Naples and Sicily, the two treaties were very reconcilable. We paid a subsidy to Sicily to defend that island against any attempt of the king of Naples. We had guaranteed the kingdom of Naples to king Murat,

Murat, and were to pay him not to make war on Sicily, but for a certain co-operation with our forces, at a time when his services were of the highest importance to the allied powers. Austria had made the treaty, and our minister had guaranteed it. The cases of the last treaties between Spain and Napoleon, and between Austria and France against Russia, were in a similar predicament. Spain was at peace with us, and, by her treaty with France, was to furnish a certain number of men. She did furnish that number; but was told that, if she furnished a single soldier beyond it, such addition would be deemed a declaration of war against us. But as she furnished no more than the number stipulated, she still continued at peace with us, though we were at war with France. It was exactly the same between Austria and Napoleon. The emperor Francis furnished the number stipulated by the treaty, which Napoleon led on against Russia: but Austria and Russia still remained at peace with each other. The honourable gentleman had called the attention of the house to the intended adjournment, and had intimated a supposition that it would be a protracted one. He could assure the house it would not be extended beyond the period which would give sufficient time for the fair and full discussion of all those important subjects which were likely to be submitted to its consideration, of which the propriety and expediency of the continuation of the property tax would most likely make one. With respect to what the honourable gentleman said as to the assessment which was to take place in 1816, if I should be consulted about it, I should have thought that the assessments were directed to be made from two

years to two years, and that which went into 1816 was made long before it could be known that the act would cease on the 5th of April next.

Mr. Ponsonby did not conceive that either of the cases quoted by the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) had any similitude to the present case. In the present case, there was a treaty between Austria and Naples, to which England had agreed, expressly guarantying the throne of Naples to Murat. Since that treaty, the king of Sicily had issued a proclamation, stating that he would carry on the war, not for such objects as were the customary causes of war among sovereigns, but for the express purpose of conquering the kingdom of Naples. We were now called upon to give a subsidy to the king of Sicily, for the express purpose of assisting him to dethrone that very sovereign whose dominions we had guaranteed. It was true that we only gave half the former subsidy; and were thus putting the king of Sicily upon half-pay: but still this subsidy was to be employed, not only against an ally, but against ourselves as guaranties of the treaty. The right honourable gentleman said, that he would tell the house nothing upon the various matters on which information had been sought for; and that as to the statement made by his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread), he would neither admit it nor deny it. He thought it impossible that the most cautious minister that ever lived in this country (and a more cautious man than the right honourable gentleman, or one more afraid of answering questions, he never knew,) could avoid denying such a statement, if it could have been denied. He therefore should consider that statement as perfectly correct.

correct. It appeared to him the most absurd (he would not call it dishonourable) conduct on the part of our government, first to make a treaty with Murat, engaging to keep him on the throne of Naples, and then to pay a subsidy to king Ferdinand, to be applied to drive him off the throne. He could not see any pretence for this subsidy. If it were to be applied to carry on war with Naples, it would be contrary to our engagements with Murat: and if it was stated to be for procuring indemnities, we were powerful enough to procure those for him without giving the subsidy. The right honourable gentleman promised that when ministers should come to explain their conduct, they would produce a triumphant justification. He hoped most sincerely that they would, not out of any particular affection he bore to those ministers, but because he considered the cause of England to be the cause of justice and right. He hoped that the final settlement of affairs at the congress would rather be after the old notions of right and justice, than after the new French system, by which all the states in Europe had been torn to pieces, plundered and oppressed. If ministers should be able to show that the cause of justice and of right had succeeded in the negotiations, then, indeed, they would produce a triumphant justification: if the contrary should have taken place; then, instead of triumphant justification, they must encounter an infamous condemnation.

Mr. Bathurst said, that when the proper time for explanation should come, he had no doubt but it would appear that the government of England had never ceased to advocate the cause of justice and of right. It

must, however, be obvious to the house, that this was a subject which must be examined upon the whole, and not taken to pieces, night after night, whenever any gentleman thought proper to put questions to his majesty's ministers. The house would be aware of the situation in which the country was placed at the present moment; and when the selection of the noble lord (lord Castlereagh) had been so much approved by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), he did not see how it was to be reconciled to fairness and candour, to disapprove of the whole of his conduct on such imperfect information. The day would come when ministers must be responsible for the conduct of the negotiation. As to Sicily, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) said that the king of Sicily was at war for the purpose of conquering Naples. It might be as well said, that the king of Naples was at war for the purpose of conquering Sicily. The fact was, that Sicily was now at war with Naples, and we were bound by our former treaty to give her a subsidy.

House of lords, Nov. 29.—The earl of Liverpool moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Irish peace preservation act amendment bill.

The earl of Donoughmore.—He did not rise for the purpose of giving any opposition to this bill; but he repeated his former statement, that the act of which this purported to be an amendment was altogether an inefficient measure, and that it was not in any degree calculated to restore peace in any country, where disturbances existed. It ought to be called not an act for the better preservation of the peace in Ireland, but an act for placing additional patronage in the hands of government.

government. It was not a bill for putting an end to disturbances, but a bill of patronage. He did not mean to say, however, that the government had made use of it for that purpose; but that it placed the power to do so in the hands of government, if they chose to exercise it. He still insisted that government had not acted wisely, even in the instance in which they had attempted to put the act in execution. Supposing it had been necessary to have resorted to it in the county of Tipperary, a magistrate and constables ought to have been chosen who were completely acquainted with the country, and who could therefore have more effectually apprehended the disturbers of the public peace. Instead of this, they had robbed the police of Dublin, and employed a number of disbanded sergeants of dragoons, from whom, on account of their want of local knowledge, offenders found it no difficult matter to make their escape. The police of Dublin had been injured, too, for the purpose of bringing those into Tipperary who could have been much more effectually employed in Dublin. If it was necessary to keep up the present establishment of the Dublin police, it must be improper to take away any part of that establishment, and therefore the Dublin police must have been robbed of what was a necessary part of it, without a corresponding advantage in any other quarter. But the measure itself was altogether inefficient for its purpose. Such was his opinion of the measure, and of the mode in which the government had attempted to carry it into effect. This bill was brought in for the purpose, and had the appearance of making it better; but he repeated that the measure was not at all calculated to restore to a

state of peace any country where disturbances had previously existed. He differed from high authority on this subject; but, where an assertion rested upon mere personal authority, he always considered it as of greater or less weight, according to the degree of information which he conceived the assessor to have on the particular subject. He still maintained his opinion, that the measure had not produced the effects which had been ascribed to it; but as to the amendment of it by the present bill, he did not think it necessary to give that amendment any opposition. He only maintained generally, that the measure was altogether inefficient, and that the statements which had been given of its beneficial effects were certainly overcharged.

The earl of Liverpool.—He rose merely for the purpose of saying a very few words. After what had passed on a former night, he did not conceive it necessary to enter into any detailed observations as to the arguments brought forward by the noble earl on that occasion. The state of the question appeared to be this: The noble earl did not object to the present bill, which was a mere amendment, or corollary arising out of the act of last session, called The Irish peace preservation act. The noble earl's object appeared to be, to point out the inefficiency of the measure in general. Now upon that point he should only say, that the act had been passed with almost as much unanimity as could be expected upon any measure of the kind. Much serious objection had been felt and urged, both in this and the other house of parliament, to the act which was called The Irish insurrection act; because, wherever the necessity of putting that act in force arose, the constitution

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was in reality suspended for the time, in the quarter where it was carried into operation. But The Irish peace preservation act had, on the contrary, passed with very general approbation. It had been supported by many who were adverse to the other measure, and supported, as he conceived, on this principle, that, even when carried into effect, it did not suspend the ordinary constitution and laws, but only afforded an additional stimulus for carrying the existing laws into more active operation. Such had been the idea entertained of that act: and it certainly had been maintained by persons whose authority ought to have weight on the subject, that it had been attended with very beneficial consequences, both directly where it had been carried into operation, and indirectly by producing an increase of vigilance and activity in other quarters, to prevent the necessity of putting the act in execution in these places. But this, it was said, was a measure merely of patronage, and on that point he should only say, that patronage certainly was not the motive for passing the act; and even the noble earl himself had admitted that the government had not made use of it for any such purpose. It was, indeed, difficult to conceive how any such measure of which the management must be left with government, could be so contrived as not to place some additional patronage in the power of government. But the measure, it was evident, had not been used for any such purpose; and it had not been adopted with any view to increase the government patronage. It had at the time of passing been very generally regarded as a sound and proper measure; and therefore, even supposing the noble earl to be perfectly

well founded in his statements, supposing all his observations to be perfectly correct and just, and that he were borne out in every one of them, still he should say, that as the measure had been originally so generally conceived to be sound and proper, they had not sufficient experience with regard to its effects, to render it expedient to repeal it. Even granting the noble earl all that he contended for, still they ought to wait some time further before they proceeded to repeal such a measure passed upon due and mature deliberation, and very generally admitted at the time to be a wise and proper one. He had said so much merely to impress on the minds of their lordships the expediency of at least postponing any decided opinion upon its efficiency or inefficiency, till they had some further experience respecting it. As to the particular bill now before the house, he did not understand the noble earl to have objected to it, and therefore it was unnecessary to go further than to throw out these few observations with regard to the general measure which it was the object of the present bill to improve.

The earl of Donoughmore.—He certainly never had it in contemplation to propose a repeal of the act in the present session. The discussion had originated from a statement in another place from a high authority, from which it appeared that government had taken much greater credit to itself for the efficiency of that measure, than in his apprehension it deserved. He had consequently been induced to lay before their lordships his own view of the subject, and to prevent the public from placing too much reliance upon a statement which in his opinion was overcharged. He had

had succeeded in his object; for he had proved by the admission of the secretary of state for the home department, that the statement, as it had met the public eye, was overcharged; but he had never intended to propose a repeal of the measure in the present session. The bill was then read a third time and passed, as were many others.

House of commons, Nov. 29, —Sir John Newport prefaced his motion by observing, that after the opinion which the house had expressed almost unanimously in 1813, on the subject of Orange lodges, he had hoped that the abettors of such associations would have been repressed, and that the people would have been convinced of the truth of an assertion made by a noble lord, that it was better to live under the dominion of the law, than of clubs and associations. For a time, indeed, the voice of parliament, thus unanimously uttered, had considerably discouraged such societies, and had checked those intemperate manifestations of loyalty which meant nothing more than a triumph over their fellow-citizens. He was astonished to find that a person in high official situation had given sanction to these lodges. It was full time that Ireland should know on what footing these societies stood, which had been denounced as illegal by judges on the bench, and had been noticed with approbation by the chief secretary. A noble lord in the debate on this subject had said, that whatever might have been the motives of the founders of these societies, yet illegality had been stamped upon them by the act of 1799. A right honourable gentleman now on embassy had further said, that those who encouraged or belonged to such asso-

ciations were guilty of an offence against the peace of the empire. No resolution was indeed passed that night, but all, with one only exception, thought that what then occurred would effectually put a stop to such societies in future. But when after this, he saw that addresses from such lodges were presented to the chief secretary for Ireland, and were answered by him in commendatory terms; when grand juries had praised him for his encouragement of such lodges, and were answered in a similar strain of commendation, it was high time that the people should understand whether such societies were legal or illegal. The grand jury, to whose address he particularly alluded, was not eminent for its loyalty, at least for that genuine loyalty which consists in a constant obedience to the laws. They had long had a contest with the judges, and had refused or hesitated to comply with the salutary provisions of the prison-act for Ireland. For three years they had maintained this struggle against the performance of what had been enjoined upon them. Such men might perhaps be deemed loyal; but he must again assert, that he knew of no loyalty except that which had been excellently defined by lord Avonmore to be compliance with the laws. He concluded with moving for "Copies of all addresses from Orange lodges to the Irish secretary, and his answers thereto;" also, for "Addresses from grand juries on the subject of Orange lodges, and his answers thereto."

Mr. Peel rose to second the motion. Though, perhaps, it might be questioned, if such papers actually existed, whether it was usual to call for them in parliament, yet no such objection should come from him.

him. He could not divine the object of the right honourable baronet's motion, unless it were the following :—The right honourable baronet had complained of much misrepresentation, which had appeared against him in the newspapers, and had shown himself very anxious to wipe off these aspersions : having, therefore, a few nights ago supported The Irish peace preservation bill, and having last session proclaimed his descent from the Dutch guards of king William, he was, perhaps, in an alarm lest he should be mistaken for an Orange man (*a laud*), and so made the present motion to prevent such a misconception. Such a supposition was not altogether improbable, as some persons had been called Orange papists on no better ground than their having given a vote for a protestant member. The right honourable baronet had charged him with encouraging the Orange lodges. On what grounds and from what documents did he bring such a charge? The house would listen to an explanation on this subject. Last session some petitions were presented to parliament by an honourable baronet, member for Queen's County, on the subject of Orange lodges; and he (Mr. Peele) had taken that opportunity of vindicating these societies against some of the misrepresentations current against them. Did this warrant an imputation that he was an encourager of such associations? On his return to Ireland, the grand jury of Fermanagh (a body for whose opinion he felt the highest respect) had addressed him, and he had answered that address. This was the only address, and the only answer on the subject mentioned by the right honourable gentleman. The

address thanked him for correcting the misrepresentations which had gone abroad as to the Orange meetings, and he in his answer stated, that he believed that many misrepresentations prevailed; and while he disclaimed all intention of encouraging or countenancing such societies, he had recommended to them the most peaceable and tranquil demeanour. And this was the document on which he was charged with encouraging such associations. There was no other document; at least as far as he recollected, there was not a single communication any way relating to this subject, except, perhaps, the Dublin address might be so called, in which he had been thanked for replying to the slanders of disappointed ambition, and which address he had shortly answered by expressing his gratitude at their approval of his conduct. He could undertake to say that there had been nothing else: and as to any addresses from Orange lodges, there was not the slightest foundation for such an insinuation. While, however, he said this, he did not wish to retract any expression which he had before uttered in deprecation of the usual abuse against the motives of these associations. He hoped that the right honourable baronet would be able, in his reply, to state some further and better ground for his motion; that he would refer to some particular document, some distinct proceeding of the Irish government, and not leave his motion so ludicrously bare as it was at present. He concluded by vindicating the grand jury of Fermanagh from the charge brought against them: as well as he recollected, they had been empowered to choose a chaplain, and had merely disputed about the fitness of a man who had been appointed

pointed to that situation. The right honourable baronet had stated that they had acted illegally : it was incumbent upon him to adduce the grounds of such a charge.

Mr. Croker submitted to the house whether, after the explanation contained in the answer of the honourable secretary, it would not be better to dispose of this matter by the previous question. The address which had been mentioned merely referred to the conduct of the secretary as an individual member of parliament; and he conceived that parliament could not take notice of such a document (unofficial as it was) without infringing its own privileges.

Mr. Fitzgerald thought that, however informal the motion might be, it was better to let it pass, in order to the more satisfactory clearing of the honourable secretary.

Mr. Croker observed, that his only object in the motion which he offered to the house, was a consideration that the allowance of the original motion (however desirable in other respects) might have a tendency to shackle the duties of members of parliament.

Mr. W. Pole supported the original motion. His right honourable friend (Mr. Peele) naturally wished, in vindication of his character, that every paper should be produced that was in existence on that subject. When those papers should be before the house, they would then be enabled to judge of the correctness or incorrectness of the charge brought forward by the honourable baronet. He would allow that a mere address from a grand jury to an individual member of parliament, with his answer to it, might not, in ordinary cases, be conceived worthy of being produced before the house: but when a

considerable weight in the house, chose to make such a paper a ground of serious charge against a person holding the high situation his right honourable friend did, he wished the paper to be produced.

Mr. Bankes conceived that this was at present a mere controversy between two individual members, but that no parliamentary grounds had been laid for the house to order the production of those papers. He really thought that, after the explanation given by the right honourable gentleman, there appeared no ground for the motion. He would ask the right honourable baronet himself whether, after that statement, he did not feel satisfied that there were no such memorials in existence as he had supposed? The chief secretary for Ireland had expressly said, that he had received no addresses from Orange lodges, although he had received one from a grand jury (of Fermanagh), and one from a corporation. Unless the honourable baronet still believed that there really had been such addresses, he should remain satisfied with the explanation which had been given.

Sir J. Newport said, that it was in the recollection of the house, that he had stated, that it was in consequence of his seeing in a newspaper an article purporting to be an address from an Orange lodge to the right honourable gentleman, that he thought it was fit that the subject should be brought before the consideration of the house. He had cut the paragraph out of the paper, but had since mislaid it. After the right honourable gentleman had, however, disclaimed all knowledge of such addresses, he could not for a moment longer believe that they existed. He wished, however, that the amendment might not be car-

ried, and that such papers as there were might be laid before the house; as he wished to call the attention of the house to the subject of Orange lodges. The mischiefs produced by these societies in Ireland were great and obvious. At the last assizes at Downpatrick, before the learned solicitor-general of Ireland, a verdict had been returned which was, in his opinion, contrary to the clearest evidence. In fact, there was decisive evidence on one side, and no evidence at all on the other. The verdict could only be attributed to strong party feelings. It was to the existence of those Orange societies, that he attributed the association of Ribbon-men and other associations which disturbed the peace of the country, and occasioned perpetual feuds and animosities. He was convinced, however, that the right honourable gentleman did not wish to encourage those animosities; and after the statement he had made, he could not believe that any such addresses existed as he had been led to suppose by the printed paper he had seen.—The original motion was carried.

House of lords, Dec. 1.—The earl of Donoughmore.—As the house had been summoned on his motion, (The congress at Vienna,) it might be considered as incumbent on him to explain the reasons why he did not think proper to press the resolution which, as he had given notice, it was at one time his purpose to move: but though he now refrained from submitting the resolution for their lordships' adoption, he was anxious to have it understood that he did not the less see the propriety of having such a declaration of their lordships' opinion as that for which he was to have called, had there been such an attendance as could have rendered that decla-

ration really a solemn and deliberate opinion of the great body of their lordships' house. Every thing that had occurred since he gave the notice,—every circumstance that had intervened between that time and the present,—had only served to impress more strongly on his mind the absolute necessity for some authentic declaration of the opinion of their lordships' house on the subject of the negotiations now carrying on at Vienna. The notice he had hoped was sufficient to have induced the noble lords connected with the ministry to have attended; and he had endeavoured by all the means in his power to procure a full attendance. Still the attendance was not such as to justify him in bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice. He did not, however, complain that the attendance was not so full as he had at one time expected. Several noble lords had left town, thinking that all the general business was over for the present; and others, thinking it, perhaps, sufficient to give an opinion when the whole of these matters should be brought before them on the termination of the negotiations. The state of the house was, therefore, so thin, that it would be perfectly absurd in him to move his resolution, with any hope that it could be considered, if adopted, as the solemn, serious, and deliberate opinion of the great body of their lordships' house; and therefore he should not trouble their lordships by entering upon the subject at present, or giving any detailed opinion upon it. But, for his own justification, it was necessary for him to show that he had not been so absurd as to have given a notice on such a question without having previously considered the subject, and settled in his own mind the principles upon which

which it appeared to him their lordships' opinion ought to proceed. He now desired no opinion from their lordships on the subject; but he would take the liberty to state the principles which it was at one time his intention to have laid before their lordships, as in his opinion the proper basis for the opinion of the house, if there had been such an attendance as to have rendered it expedient and useful to have brought forward the subject at all. It had then been his intention to have proposed to their lordships to declare,—first, how gratifying it would be to the feelings of that house, if their lordships could receive from his royal highness the prince regent, any authentic declaration that the power of this country had not been employed in the subjugation of Norway, and that Norway had not been compelled to submit to a foreign dominion by the fear of a blockade by a British fleet, which would have produced a famine in Norway; 2d, how gratifying it would be to the feelings of this house, if it could receive any authentic declaration from the same quarter, that our engagements with the sovereigns of Sicily and Naples were not so inconsistent and contradictory as to place this country in the situation of paying subsidies to the one to enable him to employ hostile means against the possessions and crown of the other; 3d, how gratifying it would be to receive assurances that our minister had been instructed not to consent to any arrangement that should not guaranty Saxony under its present king as a separate independent state; 4th, that our minister had been instructed to endeavour to secure the independence of Poland, as a bulwark against the aggressions of France, and every

other European power; 5th, that our minister had been instructed not to be diverted from objects of special policy, by the lure of additional territories to Hanover, as that feeble power would never be sufficiently strong to stand by itself, and might be the cause of involving Great Britain as a principal in every continental war; and he intended to have concluded with a supplication to his royal highness to call to the attention of the allied powers their own declarations when they passed the frontiers of France, and when they were at the gates of Paris, and to remind them of their declared purpose and object, to rescue others from oppression; and to express their lordships' hope that those powers would not now become sharers in the spoils of the weak and the unprotected. These were the points on which he intended to have called for their lordships' opinion, if the house had been so full as to have given such a declaration of opinion the weight which it ought to have. He had merely stated them, to show that he had been prepared with those principles upon which it had been his intention to have recommended it to their lordships to act. In making that statement he had done his duty. These principles had impressed themselves strongly on his own mind as equally just and important, and he believed that nothing would do away their influence. He therefore gave notice, that after the recess he should still call their lordships' attention to the subject, or to such parts of it as might then be properly matter for their lordships' consideration, unless some other person of more authority, who ought to take the lead on subjects of this importance,

should choose to take it up. In the mean time he had done all that his duty called upon him to do.

Lord Grenville.—He had received the notification of his noble friend's intended motion, and if that motion had been made, it should have met with his entire approbation. He did not mean now to enter upon that subject, but there were other matters to which he was desirous to call their lordships' attention. This, however, he could more properly do on the question of adjournment, and should therefore reserve what he had to say till that question should be put.

The earl of Liverpool then moved that the house adjourn, after its rising this day, till Thursday the 9th of February next.

Lord Grenville.—To that motion he must decidedly object. When the noble earl made such a motion, a motion to adjourn for a period of from two to three months, it would have been but becoming to have stated some grounds for so extraordinary a proceeding; but the noble earl barely put the question of adjournment, without assigning a single reason to induce their lordships to adopt a course so unusual, and had therefore yielded it to him to state the grounds upon which he thought such a course, at this moment, highly improper. Their lordships had been called together in times when legislative deliberation was more than usually necessary. Though the grand difficulties under which this country had struggled so long, had now been removed; yet it might be justly said, that this was a session of more urgent business than any session that the oldest among their lordships could possibly remember. He had on a former occasion expressed his regret,

that it had not been thought proper to call their attention in the old constitutional manner to the circumstances of Europe, and the result which was likely to follow from the desperate efforts that had been made by this country. But even if it had been justifiable to throw a veil over those transactions which were going on abroad,—transactions, he grieved to say, which did not appear to bode well for the future peace of Europe,—still, a veil ought not to be thrown over the internal situation of the country. They were now called upon to review the state of the country after a series of tremendous efforts, such as had never before been made by any nation, which had closed the struggle without the loss of its political existence. They were called upon to consider how they could best repair the damage that had been done,—how they could best apply a remedy to the evils which the magnitude of our efforts had necessarily produced. In the present situation of the country, the duties of parliament were numerous, weighty, and pressing. There was hardly a branch of the public administration that did not require the maturest deliberation on the part of the legislature; and yet under these circumstances, an adjournment for two, or from two to three months was proposed, without a single reason assigned for that extraordinary proposition. At an early period of the session he had mentioned one great subject which ought to have received from parliament—mature, certainly, but—unremitting deliberation; a matter, of all others, of the highest importance; a subject immediately connected with the food of the people. He had then adverted to the dangerous and impo-

litic.

the course, as he conceived it to be, which had been adopted with respect to that object of primary importance, and he had stated his own opinion in that house with freedom: he regretted that he differed upon that question with many for whose opinions in general he had the highest possible respect; but he came there to state his own opinions with freedom. Their lordships would do well to consider, whether, with the impression which the agitation of such a question in parliament, which the interposition of the legislature on such a subject, were likely to create, it was fitting that parliament should turn their backs on that subject, and suspend the investigation for two or three months. If the agricultural interest was hard pressed, and who could deny that it was so? if the manufacturing interest was also pressed; if a measure was under consideration which immediately concerned the food of the people; if there was danger in adopting any course that should have a tendency to make that food dearer; and if it was of the highest importance to consider well, whether it was not wiser to leave that matter to itself without any legislative interposition than to enact new restraints; if it was necessary at any rate, that parliament should come to a decision on the subject either one way or other; why was it now proposed that the house should adjourn for a period of between two and three months? It was of the last consequence to the welfare of the community, that the legislature should at any rate decide whether they were to innovate, or to leave matters as they were; for the state in which those questions were at present allowed to remain was fraught with the evils which belonged to both conditions. Was this a

situation in which that subject ought to be left? Was it fitting that parliament should turn its back upon it for such a long period? Was it becoming or decent that parliament should separate without having taken any step in the matter—without having paid it any attention, except the single sentence which he had uttered respecting it at the opening of the session? Yet, now the house was called upon to separate, to refuse to give attention to the public business upon which their sovereign had called upon them to deliberate. The house, under these circumstances, was desired to turn its back upon the public business for two or nearly three months, and that not by the act of the sovereign, who by prerogative might, under ministerial responsibility, have put an end to the session; but by its own act, in opposition to the declared wish of the sovereign, in disobedience to his express commands, and its utter disregard of the duties which they had been called upon to discharge. There was another subject to which the attention of parliament ought to be called without delay,—he meant the state of the circulating medium of the country; a subject which on some future occasion must be well considered and fully debated. On former occasions, when it was proposed to bring that question before parliament, it was said that the nation was at war, and that a measure, which in theory no one approved, was necessary for self-defence, and the preservation of the country;—he meant that law by which the subject was compelled to accept payments in a depreciated paper currency. If he had been asked whether this had been necessary for carrying on the war, he should have said—No, It had been contended, that our efforts could

could not be supported without that measure ; but, in his opinion, they were rather cramped than aided by the continuance of that regulation. Be that however as it might, these efforts were now over, and they had to consider how they could best put an end to a system which no one was hardy enough to say ought to be continued. That question must be attended to, and speedily, if they meant to give the landlord—to give the manufacturer—to give every one, in short, that security which all ought to have,—namely, that they should receive in payment that for which they really stipulated by their contracts, and not that which the very existence of the law proved to be not in their eyes of equal value. If they considered what that situation of things must be in which no one could receive in payment that which he stipulated for by his contract, they must soon attend seriously to the subject, unless they meant to abandon the very name of honesty and justice. Never was there a subject with respect to which they were more called upon to retrace their steps ; never did there exist a subject where more mature deliberation, more strict caution were necessary, in deciding upon the steps by which they ought to return to the paths of honesty and justice. Yet, under all these difficulties—under all this real pressure of public business, parliament was called upon to suspend its deliberations, to give up all attention to its public duties, for a period of from two to three months, merely for the personal convenience of some of the servants of the crown. There was another subject which ought not to be forgotten,—he meant the finances of the country. Had any of their lordships reflected upon

the importance of an early and deliberate consideration of that subject ? Their lordships knew the value of the sinking fund, and remembered the wisdom by which that system was matured and perfected. Their lordships must be aware of the importance of leaving that fund untouched. Yet, by the efforts of last year, a great inroad had been made on the sinking fund ; and the wanton waste of this year would strike so deep, that hardly any resource would remain except taxation for our expediture ; or the removal of any part of that load of debt which lay so heavy on the community. The legislature had to consider, too, how our immense establishments ought to be reduced, that, with the name, they might at last have some of the advantages of peace. Was this, he repeated, a situation of things in which, for reasons of private convenience, they ought to turn their backs on their public duties, and tell the country that for two or three months it must shift for itself ? Were their lordships to separate while the state of affairs was such that we had still a force on the continent ? Or were they to receive no light on the subject of our sustaining 75,000 men in arms there, when the great enemy, the source of all our disquietudes, was extinguished ? Or were they finally to discover, that after all our declarations, that force was sustained for projects of aggrandisement, for the ruin of feeble states, for the enlargement of powerful ones, until all resistance, all hope of independence, all chance of restoration, was undone ? that, in short, when the great oppressor had been extinguished, we were to adopt his principles, and oppress, or lend our strength to oppression in others. There was another topic

pic which, when he (lord Grenville) was entering into public life, was conceived of a nature sufficient to call all the attention and exert all the resources of the empire,—the contest with America; yet now we were plunging deeper in that fatal contest, while we still had the burthen of continental affairs upon us. He for one would admit, that when America declared war after the repeal of the orders in council, he considered her fully the aggressor at that period, and gave his support, such as that might be, to the war. But its objects had changed; all for which the war began had merged in other objects; and those objects of an order, that while their pursuit naturally involved us with the whole American people, their attainment would be actually injurious or useless to ourselves. The publication of the papers of the American envoys had thrown this light upon the subject. Our demands were all absurd and impolitic. We had, without conquest or previous right, demanded a portion of independent Indian territory. If there was one measure more than another which would convey uneasiness to every house and every cottage in America, it was this stipulation. And it was accompanied by the only circumstance that could increase its alarm;—no British subject was to purchase in that line of territory. What, then, must be the consequence? It must be a common refuge for the outlaw and the fugitive, for the abandoned and the desperate, an injury and danger to the states, and not less so to Canada. And from whom did we take that barrier?—From the states hitherto friendly to us, at least preserving an appearance of conciliation. How were we justified in requiring this

of America? We had a water barrier, and we wanted a land one; but we had a water barrier against France, and what would be the spirit of a demand that could insist also on a portion of her territory within that barrier? Our objects had changed: this was a war of aggrandisement, and it violated all the principles on which the world had been called to congratulate a new æra in legislation. He must oppose the adjournment.

Lord Liverpool felt himself called on to make some remarks: they should, however, be as brief as possible. On the subject of adjournment, he should only say, that there was an error in considering it as encroaching on the time usually given to the session. The fact was, that instead of wasting between two and three months; as was said, the house, until the last session, had not for a considerable period met before the middle of January, not above three weeks before the time to which the adjournment was to extend. If, indeed, this measure was conceived merely for the purpose of personal indulgence to the prince regent's ministers, they ought to be greatly ashamed of acting on such an object; but it was quite the contrary. They were ready to give their attendance. But it was in one sense for the convenience of the house: the adjournment would give opportunities of parliamentary attendance more suitable to private considerations. It was obviously of national importance that the public business should not be disposed of in thin houses; and one reason of the usual late commencement of the session was its admitting of a fuller attendance by noble lords, who till about that period were usually absent. The adjournment would have the same effect

effect in the present instance. But besides, from the position of public affairs at this moment, great advantages in debate upon them must be obtained by that delay, larger information would be acquired, more perfect views would be disclosed, and the vagueness and uncertainty of the present illustrations which might be given, would probably by that time be exchanged for satisfactory knowledge. On the points to which the noble lord alluded, he (lord Liverpool) was not at all insensible of the importance of early and final decision. But the internal concerns of the empire were too closely connected with the external to be disposed of without reference to each other; and further information must transpire of foreign interests, before those could be adequately before their lordships. On the agriculture of the country no one was more aware of the importance of coming to a decision, and that such should be full and final. Of the bullion question there would necessarily be also a full examination; but for that sufficient opportunities must occur, and he should not now enlarge on the subject. He must, however, even here repel a charge of the noble lord, that the present state of the currency involved injustice. He (lord Liverpool) was of totally the opposite opinion: he was prepared with his proof from facts; and from every testimony of which the subject was capable, he was convinced, and relied on convincing the house at the due period, that the depreciation, as it was called, was merely nominal, and that no injustice was done. He was even further disposed to look upon the measure of the bank restriction as one of the most memorable among the whole number of

the eminent services of that great man whom we all deplored, one of the most characteristic of his genius, one bearing the strongest impression of that magnanimous spirit, which, knowing the evil interpretation and obloquy of the measure, was yet prepared to encounter prejudice for the public welfare. To that measure he (lord Liverpool) could not help looking as the source of our most successful efforts in the general cause,—as in no slight degree the very means of national salvation. He knew the alarm with which it must be looked on in its commencement,—the strong prejudice,—the dark forebodings to which so new and formidable a step must give rise, and could not sufficiently admire and applaud the spirit which looked through all those consequences, and resolved upon it at once. On the subject of the troops on the continent he should say little. The ground was one not yet fit to be fully examined. The time for that, too, would come. But he would declare absolutely, that their objects were British, their presence on the continent for the security of British interests, and that aggrandisement had nothing to do with their being placed there. As to negotiations, their lordships would of course not require him to speak at length. The adjournment would probably prepare them for the discussion. But where great interests were still pending, nothing could be more injudicious and unsuitable than disclosures of the order required by the noble lord on the opposite side. On the American negotiation he would preserve the same silence, entreating that opinion should be suspended till the whole documents could be perused. One charge here, too, he must repel. Their lordships

lordships might rely upon it, that aggrandisement on the part of this country formed no feature of that negotiation. But opinion must be suspended until circumstances should allow of that more perfect information which he was most desirous of furnishing to their lordships.

The duke of Sussex was happy to find by the noble lord's (Liverpool) concluding declaration, that there was no idea of aggrandisement mingling with the councils of his majesty's government; but as that noble lord had refused to give information to the house, it was still their duty to require it, and let their opinions stand on record to the extent of the information which they had. He remembered it to have been said in the speech from the throne, that particular circumstances had delayed the meeting of the congress. On looking over the treaties which had already transpired, he had found that by that of the 30th of May, the settlements on the coast of Africa were to be delivered up within three months, and those to the east of the Cape in six. Those settlements, then, would have been all surrendered before the assemblage of congress. Thus much was at least information which they could obtain for themselves. In going over the different treaties, previous to that of Paris, he found that when Guadaloupe was given to Sweden, by the fourth additional article of the Swedish treaty, he found it stipulated that the slave trade should not be recommenced in that island, and an observation of the Swedish government made upon it, that there was the less difficulty in complying with that article, as the kingdom was not in the habits of that traffic. But by the 9th article of the treaty of Paris, he found the

island given up, and no stipulation against the trade. Surely this ought to have made the matter of a strict article in the latter case as in the former. He found by the same treaty Guiana restored to France. Their lordships would remember the treaty of Amiens, and the long discussions then upon the subject. He hoped that the interest which so closely united the court of Brazil to this country would suffer no injury; and that the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht on that point would be kept in mind. With respect to Naples, he hoped we should not forget an old ally, nor suffer the same excuse of prior arrangements, as in the case of Norway, to make us coincide in and sanction the seizure of the richest jewel of the crown of an ally. Next, as to Poland and Saxony. Poland was always dear to his recollections; he was anxious for her restoration to her rank among nations. We had at least one claim to merit an influence on this occasion; we had never openly at least sanctioned her partition. This had been allowed by even our enemies. When that man who was now removed for the peace of the world, had gone into Poland, boasting that France had never given her sanction to that iniquitous act, he admitted that England too had been, of all the other nations, the freest from that imputation. As to Saxony, he hoped that no usurpation would take place there, and that the people would not be turned over to a stranger without their own consent. On those points he would not trouble the house further. The noble lord opposite (Liverpool) had promised to throw additional knowledge on their discussion when they met again; but unless that noble lord's health was better than his own, he might

might not be enabled to meet their lordships; and he was anxious to give his sentiments even briefly as he did now, as he might not be enabled to offer them at any future time.

The earl of Donoughmore reproached the anxiety shown by ministers for the adjournment of parliament. When the supplies were in progress, then the house were told that nothing else could be taken into consideration; when the money bills were passed, then they were told it would be improper to detain members in town any longer. There was no time allowed for discussing the important interests of the country. The existence of the congress was the only answer which the noble lord assigned for his silence. His noble friend had said, that in the mean time parliament might take up the consideration of the agriculture of the country, or of the bullion question; but, Oh! no; we were told, Wait for the deliberations of the congress of Vienna! This was the general answer to every question that related to the interests of the country. The truth was, he feared, that it was still a question with the noble lord, whether, after all the deliberations of the congress, peace or war would be the result, and hence no change was contemplated in our establishments. He repeated, that

it seemed as if nothing but taxation was the business of parliament; for, as soon as the supply bills were passed, the house was dismissed. Their lordships were told, that the time proposed was the usual time of adjournment; but could this be called in any respect an usual time? Was the country ever in a more critical conjuncture than the present? The weighty concerns now under discussion at Vienna were precisely the reason why parliament should be near ministers to give them advice, and check them if necessary in their mad career. To judge from the proceedings now taking place, and the transference of allegiance from one sovereign to another, so that the people of Saxony were even forbidden to put up prayers for their unhappy monarch, he feared that the congress, instead of settling Europe, would completely unsettle it, and give rise to new wars as ruinous as the last. Why should ministers be so anxious to get rid of parliament, and wish to have still more responsibility on their already overburthened shoulders? Their language to parliament was tantamount to this,—You are very good executive instruments of taxation, but we do not want you as advisers.

The question was then put and carried; when the house accordingly adjourned to the 9th of February,

CHAPTER III.

Property Tax—Congress at Vienna—Sir Samuel Romilly on Freehold Estates—New Post Office—Sir James Duff—Corn Laws—Genoa—New Taxes—Bank Restriction Bill—Lord Cochrane.

THE houses of parliament assembled on Thursday the 9th of February, 1815. In the house of lords, no business of importance was transacted

acted on that day. In the commons, the property tax formed the first subject of inquiry. On the presentation of the Guildford petition against that tax, Mr. Ponsonby requested to know whether it was the intention of the chancellor of the exchequer to propose the renewal of the property tax, which was to expire on the 5th of April next.

Mr. Vansittart replied, that his financial arrangements did not include the property tax, unless the house should refuse to accede to the measures which he should suggest.—On being further pressed by Mr. Ponsonby on the subject, he said, the renewal of the property tax was not one of the measures which he had an intention to propose, but he had other measures to propose in lieu of it.

Mr. Whitbread made some remarks on these statements, which he said differed materially from each other in the construction that might be put upon them. He therefore asked, “did the right honourable gentleman propose the property tax as an alternative, which it would be necessary to accept, if his financial propositions were not agreed to? or did he mean to say, that neither in that event, nor in any other, would the property tax be renewed?”

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that on the 17th instant the house would have to consider a financial scheme, of which the renewal of the property tax would form no part: the house would then determine if that scheme were preferable to a modification or renewal of the property tax.

Mr. Whitbread said the property tax was, then, to be the alternative.

General Gascoyne declared, he was not perfectly satisfied with the explanation of the chancellor of the

exchequer. He had a petition to present on the same subject, and he believed there was never one more numerous signed, presented in behalf of the town which he represented; he believed that there were not above seven or eight individuals paying the tax in that town (Liverpool) by whom the petition against it was not signed. He had expected that day to have heard a positive declaration on the part of the chancellor of the exchequer, that, as he saw the tax was so disagreeable to the country, he should not attempt to propose its revival. The circumstances which had attended the adoption of the petition which he had to present, were so extraordinary, that he could not suffer the question to pass without mentioning them, as they proved, that before Christmas the ministry had not determined whether they should not prolong the existence of the property tax beyond the 5th of April next, or rather that they had determined to continue it for one year; for a letter written soon after the recess, from a person too closely in the confidence of the prince regent to leave any doubt on the subject, and which was sent to Liverpool, stated that it was the intention of the ministry to propose the continuation of the property tax for one year, even on the supposition that the treaty of peace was ratified by the American government. This letter was sent to many parts of the kingdom; indeed, it was so general, that it was acted upon. The town of Liverpool, which would not otherwise have met, had been called together; and at that meeting the petition against the property tax, which he had to present, had been agreed on by all present; with the exception of two or three individuals. He was then instructed

instructed to inquire what the intentions of his majesty's ministers were? He had, of course, no right to demand what those intentions were; but he should have wished to have been informed on that subject; to know whether he should propose that the petition be referred to a committee, or simply that it be laid on the table. It would be most consistent with the character of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Vansittart) to declare absolutely that he should not propose the renewal of the tax. But although the explanation which had been given was not perfectly satisfactory, he did not think fit to propose a committee.—The petition was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that since a plan of general finance was to be submitted so early as the 17th, it must be concluded that his majesty's government were apprized of the existing state of Europe. Lord Castlereagh had undoubtedly transmitted the particulars of passing events, Congress was not ended, but the leading points were surely adjusted. He would be glad to know whether ministers had any information which would enable them to disavow, on the part of this country, any participation in the proceedings of prince Repnin. He would also ask if the state of Geneva was finally arranged, and how far they could look towards the ultimate security of peace. Mr. W. then referred to some of what he termed the disgraceful acts of congress; every day consigning millions to one power, making up the equipoise with so many additional subjects of another, with perfect indifference to the habits or feelings of the people of whose rights and liberties they were disposing. Did

these potentates conceive that the continental nations were so appalled, that the people would submit with tacit compliance to such transfers? Did they think that such fantastic tricks could be played with impunity in the present state and temper of the world?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that as his noble friend lord Castlereagh was daily expected, he would refrain, until his arrival, from any explanations upon the political events which had been alluded to.

Mr. Whitbread reminded Mr. Vansittart, that previous to the late adjournment he had promised that, if the noble lord had not returned when they had re-assembled, he should feel it his duty to give every explanation in his power to that house.

Mr. Ponsonby remarked, that if the state of things at Vienna required financial efforts, it was surely the proper course to give the house some information on the continental affairs, before a question of general finance could be considered. He was, however, persuaded that the house would echo back the feelings of the country, which loudly called for public retrenchment; and he trusted that the country, seeing the operation of its united voice in the property tax, would persevere in the course of constitutional exertions, to procure a reduction of the national establishments to such a scale as would be found consistent with the honour and security of the country.

House of lords, Feb. 18.—The earl of Hardwicke presented three petitions, from farmers, landholders, and others, for an early revision of the corn laws. The noble earl said it was not intended to renew the corn committee. The abundant importations, and information obtained,

obtained respecting the growth and price of grain on the continent, had placed the question of the corn trade in a situation differing from that of last session of parliament; and he was happy to add, there was a disposition on the part of the executive government to relieve the committees, by taking the question out of their hands.

Lord Grenville did not himself entertain the least hope that any new evidence could be essentially serviceable. The intended measures on the subject of corn, would in his opinion be far from removing the difficulties of the country. Those measures would only have the effect of lifting the burden from those who ought to bear it, to those who ought not to bear it, and to increase the difficulties under which they unfortunately labour.

Lord Lauderdale considered the question as relating to the preservation and improvement of capital, one that called for the adoption of the executive, which was bound to see justice done to persons who had so large an interest in the country.

Lord Grenville heard with regret that a body so powerful as the executive government had agreed to advocate a change, which he could not consider beneficial to the country.—Adjourned.

Feb. 15.—Several petitions were presented, praying for a consideration of the corn laws;—as were certain petitions against the property tax.

The duke of Norfolk presented one from the city, and observed, that a tax upon income, properly modified, was one of the wisest and most equal that could be adopted, and preferable to the mode of making up for so large a deficiency by an addition to the assessed taxes. At 1815.

all events, he had much rather that the income tax should be continued, than that the grand stay of public credit, the sinking fund, should be improperly touched.

Earl Fitzwilliam said, that the government had kept the militia embodied when there was no law to authorize it. According to the system now pursued, government was making an inroad on the constitution, for the militia would be converted into a permanent standing army in time of peace. The only causes of keeping the militia embodied were, insurrection, rebellion, invasion, or imminent danger of invasion. His lordship then alluded to certain statements of grievances relative to the militia service, which had reached him. He deprecated the idea of a standing army thus endeavoured to be introduced; and concluded by moving an address to the prince regent for the immediate disembodying of the militia.

Lord Sidmouth was surprised that, considering the supposed importance of the subject, it had not been brought forward earlier. Nothing had been done in it since October. And now when the militia were actually disembodying, the motion was to be made. His majesty's ministers had, however, violated no law. The spirit and letter of the whole body of militia acts, for they were all embodied in the 42d of the king, sustained them.

Lord Grenville was peculiarly surprised at the paper which had been laid on the table. It contained the opinion of the law officers of the crown on the act. But he recollected a period when the judges had been called on for extra-judicial opinions, and they recommended the raising of ship money, if it pleased the crown. The crown law officers

officers had given crown law of this nature within his own memory, but it could not stand a moment in the courts.

The lord chancellor considered the interpretation of the noble lord as unsound. In this very 42d of the present reign, it was enacted, That the king, on calling out the militia, may and shall communicate the same to parliament, or assemble it for the purpose, within fourteen days. But in no part of the act which thus guarded against the royal authority in calling out, was there a word as to disembodiment.

Lord Ellenborough said, if the statutes were silent on the subject of disembodiment the militia, what was undefined certainly left to the crown a power to exercise its discretion, which was to be exercised with an anxious regard to proper feelings and to public justice.

The earl of Liverpool observed, that under all the circumstances, and with the utmost desire to disembody the militia, ministers had thought it best to proceed by degrees. Accordingly, during the recess some additional regiments were disembodied, others were in a course of being disembodied, and all would actually be so as circumstances permitted.

The house then divided; when there appeared,—against the address 27; for it 12.—Majority, 15.—Adjourned.

House of commons, Feb. 13.—

Mr. Whitbread said, that in the month of November last a discussion took place upon the subject of a proclamation issued by prince Reppin at Dresden, in which he transfers the Saxons to the dominion of Prussia. But it was denied by ministers that the British negotiator was a party to it. He (Mr. Whitbread) would now assert upon

authority, that the noble lord was a party to this public act, and that he afterwards delivered in a note against this measure, to which he had formally subscribed his name. The inconsistent conduct of the noble lord could easily be accounted for. In the first instance, he lent his sanction to this inequitable usurpation; but when the state of public feeling in this country induced his colleagues to send out fresh instructions on the subject, he protested against it by delivering in a note. What was the conduct of the British government upon points notoriously decided, authenticated by public documents, and by the conduct of British commanders? He would instance the annexation of Genoa to Sardinia.—Recollecting the public professions of moderation made by the allies in the commencement of their career, the invectives they had poured upon the unprincipled usurpations and annexations of Bonaparte (who, however, did not, like them, dispense with the formality of deliberation and the assignment of some cause,)—recollecting all this, was it possible not to feel shame, indignation, and disgust, at the conduct of this unhallowed congress? When lord William Bentinck landed in Tuscany, bearing upon his banners liberty and independence to the people of Italy, a proclamation was sent forth, calling upon the Italians to rally round the British standard for the recovery of their honour, independence, and all those holy rights that are dear to men. They are invited in this proclamation to aspire to the glorious destiny of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Sicily, which were redeemed by England and by their own patriotism from a foreign yoke. This proclamation was dated March 1814.

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In November a similar proclamation was issued to the people of Genoa, professing to restore the ancient constitution of the republic. If ever a nation pledged its faith to maintain the independence of another, under the sacred obligation of national honour, it was in this instance: yet, in 1815 its provisional government is dissolved, their hopes of independence are dissipated, they are grossly betrayed, and the public faith of England is eternally dishonoured. From April 1814, when the British commander took possession, to January 1815, the Genoese hear nothing of lord Castlereagh's movements at the congress up to this impolitic and inhuman act, by which they are delivered to the king of Sardinia. They then find that every promise was delusion, that their fate is fixed, and that they were selected as the first victims to the ambition of the allies. Even in the wildest moments of the revolution, the French disguised conquest and oppression under the name of fraternizing—they did not act wholly without a pretence. This annexation of Genoa is effected by a British commander professing to act in obedience to the orders of the prince regent. He (Mr. Whitbread) should like to see this order produced in the house. After this disgraceful deed ministers may well shroud themselves in silence;—a deed which the union of all the powers on earth could not justify, and which is perpetrated only because the sufferers are too feeble to resist. Will ministers declare these things to be true, or pledge themselves that they are false; or will they still sit silent under the guilt and shame of this odious transaction? Let gentlemen turn their eyes to Italy, and what would they

find to be the condition of that nation? A profound but desperate silence, waiting for vengeance with characteristic determination, is every where observable. What has been the conduct of that power in whose capital the congress is held? Austria took conditional possession of Italy by an agreement with the viceroy Eugene Beauharnois, a person whose honour and valour had procured him the enthusiastic attachment of the Italians, in spite of the tyranny exercised over them by Bonaparte. In pursuance of the treaty with this prince, general Bellegarde took possession of Italy in the name not of Austria, but of the allies. But Austria considers her possession of Italy so absolute, that she is anxious to place a garrison in Turin, the capital of the mighty monarch whose august protection is guarantied to the Genoese! Austria takes absolute possession of the Venetian territories, of the republic of Lucca, contrary to the avowed principle of restoring the ancient governments of the Milanese, before the final arrangements, when alone she could assert her ancient title; and at the same moment that these flagrant usurpations are committed by Austria, England is paying 75,000 troops on the continent, "for the protection of states." He readily admitted the right of Austria to the Milanese; but even there, what has been the consequence of Austrian dominion? What has been the fruit of this tree of salvation, so studiously contrasted with the tree of liberty? Exactions, imprisonments, tortures, and executions; every freeman denounced as a traitor, and subjected to tribunals without authority to judge them, and of a character as dark and sanguinary as even the Inquisition. The troops of Italy are

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dragged

dragged into Germany contrary to the treaty; but before their arrival at their destination, the skeletons of each regiment only remain. He hoped there was still virtue enough remaining in Europe to protest against this disgraceful policy. He hoped that there was still in the British cabinet, even constituted as it now is, enough of British feeling to resist this career of usurpation and oppression—he hoped there was still humanity enough to interfere for the preservation of those unhappy men who were dragged before unauthorized and unrelenting tribunals. He should trouble the house with only a few words more. No objection, he trusted, would be felt by ministers to communicate the information he had formerly demanded respecting the expense of the fortresses in Belgium; and also whether the still more extraordinary measure was adopted, of erecting intrenched camps between each fortress. Ministers no doubt had the necessary papers. If he was correctly informed, a movement of Prussian troops had taken place on the left bank of the Rhine, by which Belgium was exposed to the French. It required only a glance at the map, to perceive that this would be the direct consequence of such a movement. Had the allies but given to Belgium a constitution worth defending, neither fortresses nor camps would have been necessary for its defence. If no satisfactory contradiction were given, he (Mr. Whitbread) should consider the British minister at the congress as having sanctioned measures the most impolitic in regard to Europe, and most disgraceful to England.

The chancellor of the exchequer could assure the honourable gentle-

man, that his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) would be fully prepared to meet those charges in his place: and with respect to the questions put by the honourable gentleman, no answer would be given to them. The present was not the time for explanation; when the proper period arrived, they should be fully given.

Mr. Ponsonby beseeched the speaker to cast his eye over the treasury bench, and declare whether he had ever seen ministers in a condition more forlorn, or more truly objects of melancholy pity. It was not for him (Mr. Ponsonby) to say whether any portion of contempt might mingle with his feelings of commiseration.—Adjourned.

Feb. 14.—Mr. Bennet moved for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of gaol fees, and certain other fees received in the prisons of Great Britain. The bill which he proposed to introduce was a copy of that which had unanimously passed that house last session, with the exception only of certain clauses which he thought proper to omit, because they were objected to elsewhere. From his own personal observation in the course of a pretty extensive tour which he had lately taken, he could entertain no doubt that the fees and other exactions complained of in our prisons, were one of the greatest practical evils which justice and humanity had to deplore in this country.

Mr. Alderman Shaw asked the honourable mover, whether it was his intention to include all the gaols in the kingdom?

Mr. Bennet replied, that it was his intention to comprehend all the gaols, excepting only those of the King's Bench, the Fleet, and the Marshalsea, which were under the direction of the superior courts of law—

law—but even with respect to these prisons, he had it in contemplation to propose the appointment of a committee, to inquire into their state and conduct, especially upon the subject of fees.—The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Robinson moved that the house should on Friday resolve into a committee to consider the report of the committee of last session, upon the subject of the corn trade.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that in consequence of the urgency of the question to which his honourable friend's notice referred, he should postpone the motion of which he had given notice for Friday upon the subject of finance.

Mr. Robinson presented copies of the correspondence between earl Bathurst and sir James Duff, respecting certain conduct of the latter in Spain.

Mr. Whitbread said, that one of the Spanish gentlemen so unjustly surrendered at Gibraltar had arrived in England, and thought proper to state his own case with respect to that surrender, in which statement he had given a direct contradiction to the grounds upon which general Smith professed to justify the arrest of that gentleman. The general stated that Mr. Puigblanch and his companion had entered Gibraltar without permission, under feigned names, and that by thus violating the standing orders of the garrison they became liable to arrest:—but these two points are distinctly denied by Mr. Puigblanch, who had, after his surrender, been pronounced innocent by the tribunal to which his case was referred, even at Cadiz, since which acquitted he had found his way to England. This gentleman alleged, that so far from having entered Gibraltar without permission, and un-

der a feigned name, he entered that garrison in his proper name, with a passport signed in the usual form. But even were general Smith's statement correct, as to Mr. Puigblanch's mode of entering Gibraltar, that would not justify the surrender of this gentleman and his companion to the Spanish government. For that surrender, however, he understood that a precedent was quoted in the case of general Campbell, who delivered up to the governor of Ceuta four persons who had escaped from the dungeons of that governor. But he (Mr. W.) had obtained such information with respect to the treatment of these four persons, as must, he was sure, excite the horror of every man in England, and in Europe, who did not, like sir James Duff, devote himself to the detestable government of Spain. These persons, who were highly respectable, had surrendered by capitulation to general Monteverde, in South America, and one of the articles of that capitulation was the immunity of their persons; yet, by a most scandalous breach of faith, they were sent in irons to the dungeons of Ceuta, from which they contrived to escape to Gibraltar, encouraged to hope, that when they reached any place blest with the name of English, they should be secure from tyranny and persecution. But, vain the delusion, they were basely surrendered to the governor of Ceuta, in whose dungeons they still languished, unless relieved from their sufferings by death. Such, then, was the precedent pleaded to justify general Smith.

Mr. Goulburn said, that he had not heard of the statement of the Spanish gentleman whom the honourable member had mentioned; but upon reporting that case to the

proper office, he could not think that there would be any hesitation to inquire into the subject.—The papers were ordered to be printed.

Sir S. Romilly rose, to move for leave to bring in a bill to render the freehold estates of persons dying in debt, liable to simple contract debts. The measure, he said, was precisely similar to one which had passed that house with a considerable majority last session, and therefore it would not be necessary for him to dwell upon its character at any length. The only object of the bill was, to give to simple contract creditors the same remedy against real estates as specialty creditors now had; the claims of specialty creditors being always first satisfied. If he should be so fortunate as to carry his measure, he hoped some other individual, more fortunate than he had been in his endeavours to amend our legislative code, would follow it up by other remedies, which the general state of our debtor and creditor laws required. The law in England proceeded upon a most extraordinary principle with respect to debtors; a principle of the greatest rigour against the person of the debtor, and the greatest lenity towards his property. It punished a man for not paying his debts, and yet left his property, which could pay them, untouched. Imprisonment for debt too often became imprisonment for life; and so far as the late enactments remedied that monstrous evil, they had his cordial approbation. He hoped, however, those enactments would only be the beginning, and would be followed by others which would rectify the numerous deficiencies in that part of our laws. While the case of the debtor was considered, that of the creditor ought also to occupy the

attention of parliament. He hoped some means would be devised to put down the many artifices by which the fair creditor was now deprived of his just claims. Those who were opulent and profligate enough, might, as the law now stood, protract the payment of their debts by writs of error, bills in chancery, and various other sham pleas. He trusted they would not, by repealing the insolvent acts of last session, bring us back to that barbarous state of the laws in which we were before they were passed. Among the evils which have been described as flowing from those acts, one was, that they diminished credit; but, paradoxical as it might appear, he confessed he was not sorry to see that sort of credit which they affected, diminished. It was not the great commercial credit of the country that was touched; it was those little debts, the facility of contracting which added much to the general misery and depravity of society. The honourable and learned member then concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to subject the freehold estates of persons dying in debt to the claims of simple contract creditors.

Mr. serjeant Best said, no person was more an enemy to perpetual imprisonment for debt than he was; and indeed such rigour never could be exercised, for temporary insolvent acts were frequently passed, and liberated those individuals who were so circumstanced. While, however, he deprecated severe imprisonment for debt, he did not think it right they should be discharged with so trifling a punishment as was now substituted.

Mr. Horner observed, that in his opinion nothing could be more lamentable, than that the term of the imprisonment of a debtor should be

be extended for a single week after the complete and satisfactory disclosure of his property.

Mr. Lockhart adverted to the insolvent act, contending that it had been extremely mischievous. Many persons would never hesitate to run in debt, if they knew that an imprisonment of three months would exonerate them from their obligations. In his opinion the insolvent bill had destroyed credit, not only where it was injurious, but where it was eminently serviceable, and indeed almost indispensable.

Leave was then granted. Sir S. Romilly immediately brought in the bill.—Adjourned.

February 15.—Captain Bennet brought in his bill for the abolition of gaol fees, which was read a first time.

The sheriffs of the city of London brought up a petition from the common council, praying for leave to present a petition (notwithstanding the regular period for presenting private petitions was past) for the improvement of the great communication with the North road by St. Martin's-le-grand, and by the intended site of the post-office.

On the question that this be agreed to—

The speaker observed, that it involved a question of public money, and asked whether it had the consent of the crown?

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to signify that assent; at the same time he must vindicate himself from the reports that had been spread, of his having threatened to remove the post-office out of the city, and by this means prevailing upon them to agree to its being placed in the situation which had been mentioned near St. Martin's-le-grand. The fact was, that from full investigation, he was convinced that the business of the department

could not be carried on adequately in the present post-office, and it became necessary to build another. Several other situations in the city had been pointed out, but all of them had been found more or less inconvenient. The situation pointed out was the most convenient for a post-office that could be found within the city of London.

Mr. Baring thought that, independent of the accommodation to be given from the post-office being placed in one situation rather than another, the house should take into its consideration the great public expense to be incurred by the proposed plan. The chancellor of the exchequer well knew the objections of the merchants of London to the proposed removal of the post-office. Independent, however, of the accommodation, there was this great objection to the new plan, that it would be found to cost the country no less than 800,000*l.* which was an expenditure that in the present financial state of the country he thought the house would not be disposed to sanction.

Sir W. Curtis said, that if it was absolutely necessary to have a new post-office, he did not care much whether it cost 800,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* As to himself in particular, there were but few men in the city that would feel more personal convenience than himself in the post-office remaining where it was. He should, however, support the proposed removal, for the purpose of general accommodation.

Mr. Grenfell thought that the convenience of other people should be attended to, as well as the convenience of those who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Lombard-street. He believed that a very great proportion of the merchants of London lived west of Lombard-street.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought the plan proposed the most economical that could be adopted, and that it would come cheaper than rebuilding the present post-office.

Mr. H. Sumner was convinced, that at a much less expense than was proposed for this new building, the present post-office might be made sufficient for all purposes.

Sir J. Shaw said that the city of London had but a small interest in the question, except that they naturally felt interested for the improvement of their capital.

The house then divided on the receiving the petition—Ayes, 71.—Noes, 24.—Majority 47.

The petition was then presented, and referred to a committee.

Some conversation then took place on the propriety of producing not only the estimate and plans of the new post-office, but likewise of the expense attending the plan of rendering the present establishment sufficiently commodious.

Feb. 16.—The house resolved itself into a committee, when the chancellor of the exchequer said, he thought that it would be generally agreed, that, in the present circumstances of the country, it would be neither proper nor indeed possible for the bank to resume its payments in specie. It would be necessary first to know the exact amount of our foreign credit and expenditure. It would be necessary to wait until the course of exchanges had taken another turn. The circumstances of the last year did indeed afford a very promising prospect for the future. The reduction of the price of bullion, as well as the favourable turn that the exchanges had taken, had placed us in such a situation, that we might fairly hope for the restoration of our former circula-

tion, which was so much desired by many persons. He concluded by moving, "that the chairman of the committee be directed to move for leave to bring in a bill to continue the bank restriction act for a time to be limited."

Mr. Tierney agreed with the right hon. gent. in thinking that the bank restriction act ought to be continued "for a time to be limited." The motion was then agreed to.—Adjourned.

Feb. 17.—Mr. Whitbread wished to know whether lord Bathurst had ordered any inquiries to be made as to the correctness of the statement of Mr. Puigblanch, which contradicted materially the statement of general Smith. Mr. Correa, whom they gave up to the barbarity of his persecutors, was a most distinguished officer, who had fought in many battles for the restoration of king Ferdinand. At the time he was delivered up at Gibraltar, he had two sons, both officers, prisoners in France. One of them had received eleven wounds, and the other four, in fighting for their country and the restoration of king Ferdinand. The only charge that was brought against this distinguished and meritorious officer was, that he had written a very temperate letter to king Ferdinand, pointing out the benefit that would result to him and the monarchy from agreeing to the constitution. "And now (said Mr. W.) let sir James Duff and general Smith, and the rest of them, know what it was they did when they gave up this unfortunate gentleman to the rage of his persecutors! Mr. Correa had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment at Ceuta, on board the galleys, and there he now is in the greatest misery. I contend that the country is bound in honour to obtain his release."

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The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it would have been far more desirable to have a regular motion made upon the papers before the house, than for the honourable gentleman to make a speech full of invective and declamation, without any authority at all.

Mr. Whitbread replied, that those remarks which the right honourable gentleman had called "investive and declamation," were founded on the papers presented to the house. If the right honourable gentleman did not think the honour of the nation involved in this transaction, as well as the characters of individual officers, he should at no distant day call the attention of the house most seriously to this question.

The order of the day was then read for the house going into a committee on the corn laws.—It was ordered, that the reports of the lords and commons of the last session should be referred to the committee.

The house having resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. Robinson rose. He said that he should not attempt to disguise it from the house, that the question was one of extreme difficulty. In fact, it was so surrounded with difficulties, that a choice among difficulties was all that was left for them to determine on. He could not avoid seeing that many evils must unavoidably follow the determination of the question, in whatever way it might be decided. He believed, however, that many objections which were made at first to the measure were now removed. He believed, in particular, that the misrepresentations which had been industriously circulated, as to the motives and objects of those gentlemen who originated the measure, had

died away, and that no such impression any longer existed in the public mind. If he could have an idea that the measure originated in any views so mean, so base and paltry, as had been attributed to the landholders of the country; if he could suppose that there was any idea of protecting a privileged class in making exorbitant profits to the detriment of the community; he most solemnly declared to God, that he should have had no hand in bringing this measure forward. His only feeling upon the subject was a wish to do good to all parties. We were not now in the situation of considering, for the first time, whether a system of restrictions ought to be adopted or not. In almost every branch of our trade, restrictions had been introduced. When restriction had been so long incorporated with our whole system, it could not be easily torn from one part of it, without a revulsion which might produce the most serious mischief. Those who contended most strongly against the measure, had themselves, in many instances, the benefit of that protection which was derived from a system of restrictions. If the importation of corn from abroad was to be absolutely prohibited, this would undoubtedly greatly increase the price of agricultural produce, as it was well known that the good land in this country, which was capable of producing corn with little labour, was of but limited extent. If the demand, however, should exceed the supply which this country could raise, the deficiency must be made up by foreign importation. Without some precautionary measure of this kind, we might have to contend against the double difficulty of a deficiency at home, and a suspension of our supplies

plies from abroad. To make corn ultimately cheap, as well as to guard against an evil of this kind, it was necessary to extend a legislative encouragement to its production at home. It was worthy of observation, too, that there was no branch of commerce with respect to which France had shown a greater jealousy than the trade in corn. It was a hazard that ought not to be incurred, of France prohibiting her produce to be sent here at a season when we should stand most in need of it. Suppose that an event of this nature should happen, and in a moment of difficulty, with no remedy at hand, and an increasing population to be supported,—and was it possible to deny that the consequences must be as fatal to the commercial and manufacturing, as the cause had previously been to the agricultural classes? Let the house look, too, at the peculiar state of Ireland,—of Ireland essentially agricultural, with a population greater than was generally imagined, and growing much more food than was necessary for her own consumption, as well as of a different kind! What was to become of Ireland, if no market was to be found for her superfluous produce, and she was to be driven from her natural home market in this country, by an unequal competition?—It was impossible for us to rely with safety upon an importation of foreign grain: the necessary effect of such a reliance must be a great diminution of our agricultural produce; and when the fatal moment arrived which should show that this reliance had been illusory, the effect must be extreme misery and confusion, and the reverse of all those benefits anticipated from a system of free importation. The next point was, what ought

to be the extent of the protection afforded to the British grower; and with respect to this there might prevail a considerable difference of opinion. Some were for a higher price than that without which the farmer could not raise the produce; and others for a lower, on the ground of a removal of a particular burthen. The price which he had to propose to the house was 80s. for wheat, and a proportionate price for other grain. In conformity with the recommendation of the committee which sat last session, he should, in his first resolution, propose that every species of grain, corn, meal, and flour should be allowed to be landed and warehoused, duty free, (except with regard to flour in Ireland, which was at present prohibited by law,) and should be as freely exported at all times. The next was, that when the average price of wheat, according to the former rule of calculation, shall have reached 80s. importation should be entirely free, and pay no duty at all. With respect to our North American colonies, he should propose, in adherence to the same principle, that the import should be free after the price was 67s. being the same increase on the present standard of 59s. which 80 was upon 69s. the existing maximum against the admission of foreign grain to the British market. In the resolutions which he was about to submit would be found nothing intricate, or calculated to perplex the attention of the house. The first question was that which involved the general principle; and the next, whether the price he had adopted was or was not a proper protection to the agriculture of the country? As it was not his intention to call on the house for any definitive vote on this occasion, he trusted he should stand

stand excused for declining at present to go into any wider latitude of discussion. Before, however, he moved the first resolution, he wished to explain an observation he had made as to the calculation of the averages upon the present system. The rule at present was to take the price from an average of the last six weeks, and then apply this average to the three following months. On the import from the Baltic, and on account of the distance and other circumstances, he should suggest some alteration; but with regard to the coast from the Garonne to the Eyder, including France, Holland, Flanders, and part of Germany, he should propose, that if the price of corn should fall below 80s. within six weeks of the term at which from the average home prices foreign corn had been admitted, it might be then excluded for the remainder of the three months. He should conclude by moving his first resolution, "that all sorts of foreign grain, corn, meal, and flour be imported, duty free, for the purpose of being warehoused and afterwards exported."

Mr. Phillips could not avoid feeling surprised at the object of their present deliberations. They were deliberating on what? To find a remedy for the low price of corn. That which had been considered in every other age and country as a national advantage, was now represented as an evil imperiously calling for parliamentary interference. What was now proposed was to prevent this fluctuation in price, by preventing corn of foreign growth from supplying the deficiencies of our own produce. To him it appeared that no measure could be so well calculated as this for producing a directly opposite effect. But they were told of the possibility

that our foreign supplies might fail us, and at a time when there was an unusual deficiency at home. Such a danger he could not help regarding as chimerical, when he recollected that all the power and all the edicts of Bonaparte, when he gave law to nearly the whole of Europe, had never succeeded in putting a stop to the export of corn from the continent to this country. The real danger, in his opinion, was, that our corn laws might deter other nations from growing corn for our market, under all the restrictions and exclusions those laws impose, and the time and measure of applying which it is impossible for them to foresee. Nature had made this country commercial; it was her commerce that had diffused fertility over her soil, and promoted the improvement of her agriculture; any material discouragement to that commerce might put a fatal stop to the progress of her national wealth. He knew that some inconveniences attended every considerable change. A great change had taken place, and a panic had seized the country gentlemen. They now claimed the interference of parliament, under the same mistake in which foreigners were so prone to fall; that an exclusive restriction on foreign produce was the real cause of our commercial greatness. No import of corn could take place without a corresponding export of our own produce: no intercourse of this kind could be maintained without an encouragement to our manufactures, and an increase of our population; and it was in that increase that the surest demand and the best protection would be found for the agricultural produce of the country.

Mr. Western contended, that the proposition submitted by a right honourable

honourable gentleman (Mr. Robinson) was not new in its principle: it was only following up a system already established in this country. His honourable friend said, that the present measure, if adopted, would advance the price of the necessities of life. He, on the contrary, would contend, that by giving adequate encouragement to internal agriculture, its effect would be to render bread cheaper and more steady in price.

Mr. Baring said, that no gentleman who had duly reflected on the subject could think that the object of the measure was to produce low prices. On the contrary, the intention clearly was, to produce steady prices, or, rather, steadier prices than those which now exist. The object, in fact, was high price. In the present situation of affairs, it was quite premature to call on parliament, on the sudden, to fix any thing like a permanent system. At the same time, he was perfectly aware that the agricultural interest laboured under very great difficulties, and that it was the duty of that house to consider them fully, and to remedy them if possible. But a distinction must be drawn between those difficulties which were temporary, and those which required a permanent cure. The remedy at present wanted was a temporary one. Agricultural persons were certainly as well entitled to relief as those engaged in manufactures and merchandize.—As to the probability of other nations shutting their doors against us, that must be looked at on the ground of experience. During twenty years of French domination, we imported three times as much grain as we had from the year 1697. The facts showed the groundlessness of fears on this subject. If we could send

money, we were sure to have corn. The present endeavour was to prop and bolster up the artificial state of things which exists, and which it would be contrary to the interest of the country to agree to. He was rather inclined to propose the rate of 75s. for twelve months, and to let that rate fall back two shillings per annum till it should descend to the present price. Perhaps the committee might sit *pro forma* on Monday; and then he should propose counter resolutions to that effect.

Mr. Rose said, that all that he had heard or learned on the subject only confirmed his opinion. That he had not spoken, allowed of no inference as to his sentiments. He should be sorry if any thing prevented a full and free discussion of the subject; and he should be ready on a future opportunity to deliver his opinions fully.

Mr. Brand said, that if the object of the measure was not to make prices low, it certainly was to prevent them from ever being excessively high, and from leaving the country at the risk of foreign supply; it was to make our own agriculture independent. Foreigners might not be able to supply us. He had heard nothing, either from the right honourable gentleman or any one else, that was actually an argument against the principle of the measure, and for that reason it should have his cordial support.

Mr. Marryat thought the resolutions, if adopted, would be highly injurious to some of the most valuable interests of the country, and was of opinion that the reasons assigned for adopting the proposed measure were by no means founded in fact. He would support the measure as far as 75s. but could not agree to 80s.

Sir W. Curtis said, that as rents had

had in all cases doubled, and in many trebled, during the war, he saw no rate of taxation which could justify the interference of parliament as to the importation of corn.

The resolutions were then severally read, and agreed to.

After a long conversation as to the propriety of postponing the discussion till Friday, it was agreed, that the resolutions should be reported to the house, and that the report should be received on Monday, and taken into further consideration on Wednesday. In the mean time the resolutions were to be printed.—Adjourned to Monday.

Feb. 20.—The right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the ways and means for the present year. The speaker having left the chair, the right honourable gentleman observed, that on the 5th of April next the property tax, and about two months afterwards the other war taxes, would expire. It was not his intention to propose any further continuance of the property tax, before Christmas last, some doubt existed as to whether the tax would legally cease in April next; but the peace with America, and its probable ratification by the American government, had removed every doubt of this description. He was satisfied, however, that the house, in abandoning that great measure of finance, did not consider itself at all precluded from resorting to it again, whenever the necessities of the country should render it expedient. Its renewal, under all the circumstances of our financial situation, it was not his intention to recommend; but he felt it to be his duty, in proposing the substitution of other measures, to call the attention of the house to the im-

portant service which this tax had been the means of rendering to the country. He had himself been a party to its introduction; and he could assure the committee, that there was no circumstance of his public life on which he looked back with greater satisfaction. In conjunction with the other war taxes, it had supported the public credit, and finally enabled us to assist materially in effecting the deliverance of Europe. They had saved a funded debt of between 2 and 300,000,000*l.* and an annual charge of 14,000,000*l.* The property tax alone had produced 150,000,000*l.* and had saved a burthen of 180,000,000*l.* of debt, with 9,000,000*l.* of permanent taxes. In laying before the committee the amount of supplies wanted for the service of the year, it was impossible for him to state any precise sum, until intelligence of the ratification of the treaty of peace by America should enable him to ascertain the period within which our fleets and armies could be recalled. The view, therefore, which he was about to take of the financial situation of the country would be less adapted to a peace establishment than to a state of gradation from a war to a peace establishment. It would certainly be necessary to borrow to a large amount, but this amount must depend on the time within which it would be possible to limit the war expenditure. The cessation of the property tax must of course render a considerable augmentation of the loan necessary. Looking forward beyond the present year, it might be desirable to indulge for a moment in a more extended view of our situation. Upon the whole, he considered the prospect as very satisfactory. On the 5th of January last our income amounted to 40,962,000*l.*

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The principal charge upon this was the interest of the funded debt, or 35,420,000*l.* which, with the imperial loan, made a total of 35,773,000*l.* and, with the addition of the other charges, amounted to 37,544,000*l.* leaving a permanent surplus of 8,418,000*l.* If to this were to be added the annual taxes substituted for the land and malt, a sum total of 6,418,000*l.* would be found applicable to the support of the establishments of the country, a much greater sum than that with which we began the war. We had at that time, besides, a sinking fund of 1,300,000*l.* only; we had now one of more than 11,000,000*l.* The debt, indeed, was much larger, but our means of meeting it had increased in a fourfold proportion. Considerable exertions, however, were still necessary. The house must be aware of the requisite extension of our military establishment, and it would be found, that the peace military establishment would not be far short of what it was at the commencement of the war. When also it was recollected, that our navy had been engaged in an arduous war for twenty years, it must be seen at once that very extensive repairs were necessary. The house, therefore, would probably hear without surprise, that the expense of the peace establishment would be eighteen or nineteen millions, including the Irish establishment. He sincerely hoped, that at no distant period some reduction might be possible; but at present he must assume that amount as the sum demanded, which subtracting two millions for Ireland, would leave 17 millions for Great Britain. To meet this demand, there were in the first place about 6½ millions of permanent annual taxes: he should propose a continuance of the war taxes, the customs, and excise, for a limited time,

which would produce a further sum of 6 millions; and he should lay before the house a plan for new taxes to the amount of 5 millions, making in the whole 17 millions and a half. But the house would recollect, that the charges of the loan must be defrayed out of these taxes; and, indeed, even if the expenditure could be reduced to 13 millions, still there must be a necessity for new taxes, unless the sinking fund were to be resorted to, an expedient particularly to be avoided. The present war expenses could not be wound up within a shorter period than four years, that is, till 1819, and till that time he supposed some loan might be necessary each year. The first resource, then, would be a continuance of the war taxes. Part of these had already expired at Christmas, namely, the tax on tonnage of goods carried coast-wise: no renewal of these was intended; nor was it the intention of the government to continue the duty on cotton-wool, if imported in British ships, especially as this indulgence might operate as an encouragement to the improvement of our plantations. Without any detail, he should merely state, that the total amount of the war taxes was 9,867,000*l.*; from which, deducting the amount of the expired taxes, and the 2,632,000*l.* pledged for the loan, the amount to be continued would be 6,516,000*l.* He now came to the new taxes. The assessed taxes would be naturally looked too. He did not intend to move any addition to the window duty in inhabited houses, as this would fall hard on many classes who could least afford it: but he should propose a tax of a similar nature on green-houses, hot-houses, and conservatories. The estimate would be made on their superficial extent, and 48 square feet of surface would be

be considered as equal to a window, and rated at 3s. 6d. Thus, suppose a green-house to be 60 feet in length and 12 feet in height, its surface would be equal to 15 windows, which at the rate of the window tax would be 9l. 7s. 6d. He supposed that few gentlemen would be inclined to object to this tax. Considering, on the other hand, how much the trading branches would be relieved by the removal of the property tax, he conceived that tradesmen would not object to such a substitute as he should now propose, which was a tax on the windows of shops and warehouses, in the same proportion of 3s. 6d. a window. It was difficult to procure an accurate calculation of the amount of a new tax, but it was estimated that the produce would be about 50,000l. a year. The next tax related to inhabited houses: he should propose an augmentation of 30 per cent. on the present tax on the rents of inhabited houses, and the rent of warehouses would be charged in the same manner. It was reckoned that the first measure would produce 396,500l., and that the warehouse tax would produce 150,000l. The next class of taxation would embrace servants, carriages, and horses used for pleasure and luxury: a considerable addition would be imposed on them, namely, about 80 per cent. The increase on servants was estimated at 410,000l.; on carriages, at 363,000l.; on horses, at 632,500l.; men and horses employed in husbandry were not included, but an addition of 30l. or 40l. per cent. on horses used in trade would amount to about 85,500l., and on men to about 148,000l. An increase on the tax on dogs would amount to 105,500l. An increase also on the duty on game-

certificates was reckoned at 42,000l. He should propose that all unmarried men who already pay an additional rate on servants and horses, should pay a still further rate of 50l. per cent. on their servants, horses and carriages; which would produce 120,000l. The aggregate amount of these several sums was two millions and a half. He came now to the customs; and here he intended an additional duty on tobacco; and this the rather, because there was reason to believe that peace with America would make tobacco cheaper. The duty would be at the rate of 6d. in the pound, and would produce 300,000l. An additional duty of 20l. a ton would be imposed on foreign wine, and an increase would be laid on the licenses to dealers in excisable articles. He was aware that this last impost was not free from objection, as it might be said to affect small trades; but when its moderate nature was considered, and also that it referred to persons who had hitherto been liable to the property tax, he thought it was a computation not much to be complained of, and that it would be more agreeable than the tax from which they were relieved. It was estimated at 500,000l. and yet it would be seen on investigation that the persons paying it would not, in fact, pay in so large a proportion as at the beginning of the war. The aggregate amount of these several items was 950,000l. It was also intended to impose a small duty connected with the post-office. A tax of 1d. would be laid on every newspaper sent by the general post. It might perhaps be thought, that the stamp duty would be affected by this arrangement; but those gentlemen, who, when in the country, indulge themselves with

with a London paper, would hardly forgo the luxury for the mere sake of the additional penny. Members of the house were exempt to the amount of an ounce weight, and, if it were thought necessary, might be still further exempted. This duty would produce 50,000*l*. Other measures which would hereafter be detailed were in contemplation with respect to the post-office, as to the foreign postage, and especially regarding the carriage of letters to the East Indies. The amount of all the taxes now detailed would be 3,728,000*l*. but five millions were wanted. On a future occasion he would give the details of the rest of the intended taxation: he would now merely state what would be effected by the proposed taxation. A considerable advance was intended on stamp duties (not relating to law proceedings), which it was calculated would produce about 700,000*l*.; but the process of collecting the amount of stamps was so complicated, that gentlemen would not be surprised that no schedule could yet be completed. About 600,000*l*. still remained to be supplied, and he hoped that the system of bounties and drawbacks would be able to meet it. He proposed particularly a continuance of this system as to printed cotton and sugars. There was another subject, on which he had received repeated applications; he alluded to the great article of beer. A considerable increase had some time ago been imposed on the price of beer: the public at present seemed to be convinced, and he was disposed to agree with them, that this price was now too high. He was certainly unwilling to increase the price of this article, and would rather relieve the public than add to their

burthen. He hoped, therefore, that the hint now thrown out would not be lost. Upon the whole, it was thought advisable not to touch the sinking fund, but allow it to increase for four years at compound interest; so that, if so unfortunate a result should happen, it might be a resource for future wars; and, on the other hand, might extinguish the debt at simple interest within forty-five years. It would be a constantly growing resource. At the same time, he hoped that peace would be consolidated and secured; and that the hostile spirit, generated by so long a war, would subside every year, even every month. It was with no small satisfaction that he now looked back upon the late war, and congratulated the house on the expiration of a mass of taxation. Nine millions were now removed! He must also congratulate the house on the progressive increase of the revenue (independently of the property tax) within the last three years, which promised the best results for the future. The three last years presented the following progress: the first of them produced 47,000,000*l*.; the second 48,468,000*l*.; the last, 51,000,000*l*. The country might now be proud that it had achieved all its great objects, while it was at the same time in the most flourishing condition. He must beg leave of the committee to tell a story which had relation to the present subject. The late Mr. Burke, on some occasion at the beginning of the French war, being among his friends, drank success to "the long war." The company on expecting the war to be long, expressed some surprise; but Mr. Burke repeated his sentiment, telling them that it must be long, adding, "*Durée,*

et vosmet rebus servate secundis."—

Such was the opinion of that great statesman; he felt that all that was to be feared was a feverish impatience on the part of the people at the necessary burthen. The country, however, had borne all; it had nobly persevered, and it now remained for it to enjoy the prosperity resulting from that perseverance. The right honourable gentleman then moved his resolutions, according to the tenour of his speech.

Mr. Whitbread said, the right honourable gentleman had this night offered his plan of finance, and many were of opinion that one of his articles for raising the money he wanted would be a tax on beer. The right honourable gentleman had kept every circumstance relative to his plan exceedingly snug and close. All inquiries made by himself or his friends had been fruitless. He would not give the smallest hint in answer by which to guess at; so that the trade to which he belonged could not form any true judgement by which they were to act, as to the continuance of the present prices of beer, till they were able to ascertain what the intentions of the right honourable gentleman would be. Now they were possessed of that, they would take their measures within 48 hours. With respect to the plan of the right honourable gentleman, he should reserve his opinion for some future occasion.

Mr. Tierney said, the right honourable gentleman had given the house the consolatory information, that 21 millions a year of war taxes would be necessary for the peace establishment. The right honourable gentleman had warmly eulogized the patience, the fortitude, and the patriotic perseverance of the people, by which they had en-

abled the government to bring the war to a glorious conclusion; and what was the effect and consequence of all this? Why, no less than this—that this very people, who had fondly flattered themselves they should be relieved by a peace, would now find that eleven millions of the war taxes were to be continued; and if they could place any confidence in the forebodings of the right honourable gentleman, they had every reason to flatter themselves that in the short period of four years they might again expect the happiness of being once more called upon to exert their utmost energies in the same sort of warfare by which they had gained so much honour and praise from the right honourable gentleman! How such information should happen to be deemed such a "*God send*," as by the cheers it received it appeared to be to a great part of the house, he was at a loss to conceive.

Mr. Ponsöby could not consent to give his vote for the present war taxes in time of profound peace, without being authorized to do so by the report of a committee.

Mr. Baring thought that the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded on the idea that the taxes would continue to be equally productive. The change in the situation of the country must, however, produce a different state of things, as it regarded the productiveness of the revenue. After having presented petitions against the property tax, he could not admit the panegyric passed upon it by the chancellor of the exchequer. The tax was inquisitorial in the highest degree. People might as well go before the bench of bishops to state their faith, as before the income-tax commissioners to make a declaration of their affairs.

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Mr.

Mr. Freemantle could not conceive that such an enormous sum as nineteen millions and a half could properly be called a peace establishment; yet this was the sum which the minister required for four years. What reward was now given to the people of this country for the fortitude and patience they had exhibited in bearing the burthens of a twenty years' war? The only boon that we proposed to give them was eleven millions of taxes, and to raise the price of the staple commodity of human life. What reductions did we see taking place? None. The people to whom we owed so much gratitude, now found that peace brought no alleviation to their burthens.

Mr. Huskisson said, the honourable gentleman had been extremely warm, and had exhibited that warmth on a most delicate point. Did he really wish to tell the people out of doors, that the only boon for them was increased taxes and expenses of life? When the resolutions came to be debated, he should be glad to hear his reasons for those assertions.—Adjourned.

Feb. 22.—The house of commons having gone into a committee on the corn laws, Mr. Baring proceeded to urge his objections against the proposed resolutions: he contended, that by the proposed system of forcing an independent supply, we should be abandoning all those resources which we derived from our industry in every part of the empire. Whether this additional 15s. on the quarter would drive the cotton, iron, and other manufactures out of the country, he would not pretend to say—but this he would say, that every advance on the price of corn, and consequently in the price of labour, was giving an advantage to our

competitors in the market of Europe, and that we ought to be on our guard how we hazarded any measures which might have the effect of ruining any branch of our industry, and thus sacrificed the means which had already contributed so much to our wealth and prosperity.—He was quite convinced, that only a moderate sacrifice on the part of the owners of land would produce all the advantages sought by the present measure. All men would acknowledge that the improvements in the situation, habits, and comforts of the tenants had kept pace with those of the landlords: formerly a farmer thought it a high luxury if he was rich enough to enjoy his ale; but now, on entering their houses, you were not only treated with a bottle of port, but sometimes even with Madeira. The sons of these wealthy agriculturists were all fine gentlemen; instead of following the plough, they were following the hounds; and the daughters, instead of milking the cows, were using cosmetics to their hands, that they might look delicate while strumming on the harpsichord. He had a great objection to propping and bolstering up any system, whether mercantile or agricultural; and that it might not continue longer than was necessary, he should propose, as his first amendment, that the words "for a time to be limited" should be inserted in the third resolution. The other questions respecting the sum to be fixed for importation would afterwards be arranged, when it would be of less moment. He concluded by moving his amendment for a temporary measure, intimating his intention of proposing 76s. as the sum above which corn might be obtained from foreign countries.

Mr.

Mr. Preston, sir F. Flood, and lord Binning, all spoke on the other side of the question. His lordship begged the house to consider the country from which corn could now be imported on the cheapest terms, and to compare the state of that country with their own. France, with a population of 25 millions, was subject only to a taxation of 25 millions per annum, which was about one pound per man; and the debt of France was only about 70 millions; while this country, with a population of about 12½ millions, was subject to a taxation of 60,000,000*l.* per annum, which was about 5*l.* a man; and its debt was between 8 and 900 millions. This comparison must suggest important considerations to the mind of any statesman, as to the propriety of protecting the interests of every class of our people, and especially our agriculturists, against the competition of a country so circumstanced, particularly when it was considered that that country was France, our old and formidable rival. The noble lord commented upon what he deemed the invidious allusion which the house had heard to the mode of living among farmers, and the luxuries enjoyed by country gentlemen. For himself, he rejoiced in the capacity which all orders possessed in this happy country to enjoy the comforts of life, and he could not conceive the ground upon which farmers and country gentlemen were not as much entitled to partake of those enjoyments which they owed to their honest industry, as merchants or manufacturers. He firmly believed that the import price of corn could not be less than 80*s.*

Mr. Ponsonby perfectly concurred in the principle of the resolutions, though they might perhaps

be unpopular out of doors, and he was prepared to take his full share of that unpopularity. He certainly did think it of the utmost importance that every country should raise an independent supply, and he considered the present measure as one likely to accomplish that end.

Mr. Whitbread thought a community to which he belonged had been rather hardly dealt with by the chancellor of the exchequer, on a former evening. The reproach that had been cast upon them (most unmeritedly, he would say,) he hoped now to do away, by informing the house that the price of beer had been lowered that day; not in consequence of the threat of the chancellor of the exchequer, or the clamour out of doors, but in consequence of certain measures that had been taken, and which waited to be put in execution only till it was known what were to be the plans of the right honourable gentleman. The price would have been lowered before, had those plans been known before. He wished to advert to what had been said of the great profits of brewers. The price of a barrel of beer was fifteen shillings more at present than it was in 1761, and of those fifteen shillings government took eleven: while the real increase of profit upon every pot of beer to the brewer, comparing the present period with that of 1761, was only about the four fifths of one halfpenny. And yet, if the right honourable gentleman would take away the taxes, the brewers would be most happy to sell their beer still lower. Having thus vindicated them, he would now vindicate the landholders and farmers.—It had been said, and most unjustly, that the present measure was a combination among the great land-

ed proprietors to keep up the rents of the country at a most exorbitant rate. It was no such thing; or if it were, indeed, a combination, it was a combination to prevent the depreciation of rent beyond its just value, and with it, the depreciation of all other property. The clamour that had been raised against high rents, was a most unfounded and a most unwise clamour, and had always excited his indignation. Taking the country through, the rents had not been raised beyond what they ought, according to existing circumstances; and it should never be forgotten, that the landed interest was inseparable from our commercial prosperity. He felt at every step the difficulty of legislating upon the subject; and the more he considered it, the more he was convinced that no plans of legislation could accomplish what was anticipated. What ought to be the object of the house? To do the greatest good to the whole community. They had no right to insist on wheat's being grown at a lower price than that at which it would afford a fair profit to the grower. On the subject of wages, he had some years ago delivered an opinion, to which, however unpopular it might be, he still adhered; namely, that more human misery was produced by overpayment than by underpayment. Large wages led to idleness, extravagance, and dissipation. The wages of the agricultural labourer had lately risen—the price of corn had fallen—he was, therefore, left in a better situation than that which he had until recently enjoyed. He by no means thought those wages too high at present; on the contrary, he thought that when corn became higher they would be too low. On the other side of the question, great exagge-

ration had taken place. The philosophers did not quite satisfy him. It was, however, evident that any superabundant production of corn in the country would produce an increased population. Nor was a want of habitations a check to population. He remembered a young woman having called on him, and told him that she had lately married, and wanted a house on his estate. He told her that he had no house to give her, and asked her why she had not thought of that before she married? "Lord bless you, sir," was the reply, "I was thinking of something else!" The population of the country was working up in every way. How much would it be increased by the return of the disbanded soldiers and paid-off sailors, whose wives would be much more prolific when in their keeping than they had been while in the keeping of the right honourable gentlemen opposite.—Much apprehension had been expressed lest we should be inundated with foreign corn. For his part, he did not fear our being overwhelmed with foreign corn, although in times of scarcity we might obtain a supply that would be very serviceable. In his opinion, governments and legislatures had no more control over such matters than they had over the air. What could be more vigorous, vigilant, and omnipresent than the power of Bonaparte while it endured? yet, when he attempted to prevent us (in imitation of our disgraceful example) from receiving sustenance from France, he failed. The French wanted money more than corn, we wanted corn more than money; the elastic force of the raw material burst its bands, and French ships arrived in British ports laden with that forbidden cargo. Some people among us, who could

could not sell their wheat quite so well as they did formerly, were almost induced to exclaim, "that it would be better to set Boney up again." They considered him as an ingredient which tended to enhance the money market. If this spirit were permitted to gain head, he was afraid, if he might use such contradictory terms, that the right honourable gentleman opposite must declare war again, in order to keep the peace. For his part, he (Mr. W.) could not agree to the proposed resolutions, unless some more correct mode of obtaining the averages were resorted to. In the first place he would say, "take the averages better, and the ports will sooner be shut." In the second place, "now the ports are shut, wait until you see the effect before you adopt any new measures."

On the suggestion of Mr. Ponsonby, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the adjournment of the debate, which was agreed to; and at half-past two the house adjourned.

Feb. 23.—The debate on the subject of the corn laws was renewed, and kept up till four in the morning. Mr. Baring's motion was withdrawn; a motion for adjournment was afterwards negatived; and the house divided on the price proposed by Mr. Protheroe of 76s. which was negatived by a majority of 209 to 65; and the original sum of 80s. with some other resolutions, was finally carried.

Mr. W. Burrell, Lord Jocelyn, Mr. Findlay, sir J. Newport, Mr. F. Lewis, lord Proby, sir N. Colthurst, Mr. Morris, sir E. Brydges, sir J. Stewart, Mr. Lockhart, lord Compton, Mr. J. P. Grant, and Mr. Huskisson, supported the resolutions; which were opposed by Mr. Protheroe, sir W. Curtis, Mr.

Horner (who thought the wisest plan would be to do nothing at all), Mr. Calcraft, and Mr. Whitbread, who wished that more time should be allowed for procuring information on the subject.—Adjourned.

Feb. 24.—Sir J. Shaw, in presenting a petition from the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, praying that no alteration might take place in the corn laws, took that opportunity of offering a few remarks upon the general question. The effect of the proposed measure, he said, would be to increase the price of bread to a greater amount than what had been its average price during the last ten years of war.—And was the house prepared to go that length? If the present measure should pass, and a rise take place in the price of wheat to 80s. the quarter, which would increase the price of flour from 95 to 100 shillings, the quarter loaf would then be at sixteen pence. He hoped they would consider that plain statement of facts, which spoke volumes upon the subject.—He then moved that there be laid before the house a return of the average prices of wheat, flour, and quartern loaves, within the bills of mortality, from the year 1804 to the year 1813, distinguishing the price in each year. He said that his object was to show, that, by the resolution of last night, it is probable that bread would be fixed at a higher price than had been paid for it in the city of London during the last ten years of war, notwithstanding we were at peace, and had a right to expect a diminution in its value, particularly when it was considered, in opposition to the claims of the agriculturist, that labour was cheaper, that iron was cheaper, &c. &c. Nevertheless, parliament appeared to be about to

pass a law which would raise the price of bread to the inhabitants of the metropolis, comprehending a tenth of the population of the island. —The motion was agreed to.

The house resolved itself into a committee on the further consideration of the corn laws; when the resolutions relative to the importation of corn from our North American colonies, &c. were agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

A short conversation ensued as to the manner in which the business of the house next week should be arranged. Eventually it seemed to be understood that the report of the committee on the corn laws should be brought up on Monday; that sir S. Romilly's motion respecting the disbanding of the militia should take place on Tuesday; that Mr. Whitbread should move for papers respecting sir James Duff on Wednesday; and that lord A. Hamilton should make his motion relative to specie on Thursday, which last should be considered as involving a discussion on one of the stages of the bank restriction bill.

Sir H. Heron brought in a bill to amend the act of last session, for repealing the local acts relative to the regulation and maintenance of the poor.—Adjourned.

In order to give a connected view of the subject, we shall insert the resolutions on the corn laws.

Feb. 17.—1. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that any sort of foreign corn, meal or flour, which may by law be imported into the united kingdom, shall at all times be allowed to be brought to the united kingdom, and to be warehoused there, without payment of any duty whatever.

2. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such

corn, meal, and flour, so warehoused, may at all times be taken out of the warehouse, and be exported, without payment of any duty whatever.

3. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such corn, meal or flour, so warehoused, may be taken out of the warehouse, and be entered for home consumption in the united kingdom, without payment of any duty whatever, whenever foreign corn, meal or flour, of the same sort, shall by law be admissible into the united kingdom for home consumption.

4. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such foreign corn, meal, or flour, shall be permitted to be imported into the united kingdom for home consumption, without payment of any duty, whenever the average prices of the several sorts of British corn, made up and published in the manner now by law required, shall be at or above the prices hereafter specified; viz.

Wheat	80s. per qr.
Rye, peas, & beans	53s.
Barley, beer, or bigg	40s.
Oats	20s.

But that, whenever the average prices of British corn shall respectively be below the prices above stated, no foreign corn, or meal, or flour, made from any of the respective sorts of foreign corn above enumerated, shall be allowed to be imported, or taken out of warehouse for home consumption; nor shall any foreign flour be at any time imported into Ireland.

5. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the average prices of the several sorts of British corn, by which the importation of foreign corn, meal or flour, into the united kingdom, is to be regulated and governed, shall continue

times to be made up, and published in the manner now required by law; but that, if it shall hereafter at any time appear, that the average prices of British corn, in the six weeks immediately succeeding the 15th February, 15th May, 15th August, and 15th November in each year, shall have fallen below the prices at which foreign corn, meal, or flour, are by law allowed to be imported for home consumption, no such foreign corn, meal or flour, shall be allowed to be imported into the united kingdom for home consumption, from any place between the rivers Eyder and Garonne, both inclusive, until a new average shall be made up and published in the London Gazette, for regulating the importation into the united kingdom for the succeeding quarter.

6. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such corn, meal or flour, being the produce of any British colony or plantation in North America, as may now by law be imported into the united kingdom, may hereafter be imported for home consumption, without payment of any duty, whenever the average prices of British corn, made up and published as by law required, shall be at or above the prices hereafter specified; viz.

Wheat 67s. per qr.

Rye, peas, & beans 44s.

Barley, beer, or bigg 83s.

Oats 22s.

But that, whenever the prices of British corn respectively shall be below the prices above specified, corn, or meal, or flour, made from any of the respective sorts of corn above enumerated, the produce of any British colony or plantation in North America, shall no longer be allowed to be imported into the

united kingdom for home consumption.

7. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such corn, meal or flour, the produce of any British colony or plantation in North America, as may now by law be imported into the united kingdom, shall at all times be permitted to be brought there, and warehoused, without payment of any duty whatever.

8. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such corn, meal or flour, so warehoused, may at all times be taken out of the warehouse, and exported, without payment of any duty whatever.

9. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that such corn, meal or flour, so warehoused, may be taken out of the warehouse, and entered for home consumption in the united kingdom, whenever corn, meal or flour, of the like description, imported direct from any such colony or plantation, shall be admissible for home consumption, but not otherwise.

Upon these the new act was carried triumphantly through both houses.

March 2. Lord Archibald Hamilton said, that the connexion between the government and the bank had always been a subject of jealousy. Was he to regard the late prompt acquiescence of the bank to the minister's proposal, as a price for the continuance of the restrictions? The enormous profits of the bank were notorious, and on this head their interest was evident. Their capital was 11,600,000*l*. When restriction was laid on, their dividend was 7 per cent.; but after 1797, large bonuses were distributed. Though this was a matter of perfect notoriety, it seemed

to have escaped particular remark. The total amount of the bonuses since 1797 came to 56½ per cent. on the capital, and amounted, besides those things of which we had not information, to 7,000,000/. In 1799 the dividend was 10 per cent. Besides this, there had been the property tax; the whole amount making 7,600,000/. He did not censure the bank for making profit; he only regretted that their profits were made at the public expense. The country was unquestionably in greater difficulties in the moment of peace, than during the course of war; and he saw no way so likely to draw it out of its present situation, as by instituting a fair inquiry into the situation of the bank, and the relation in which it stood as to the various dealings which the restrictions had on the most essential interests of the country. He concluded by moving, "That a committee be appointed to examine into and to state the total amount of the issues of paper made by the bank; whether they are in a condition to resume cash payments; and whether they were taking any steps to enable them to do so; to inquire into the connexion between the bank and the government; also into the profits made by the bank; and whether they were willing to replace the tokens they had issued, according to the legal standard of silver; also as to the purchase of gold," &c.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the restrictions when originally framed were by no means a measure of the bank, but an act of the state, for which the bank ought not to be held responsible, but the government only. It was unquestionably necessary that this question should be fully and fairly investigated; and he was desirous a time

should be fixed at which the restrictions should cease. The period he had it in contemplation to propose to this effect would be the 5th of July 1816; that no further measure should be proposed, and that the fullest view of the subject should come under the revision of the house. He was now convinced that the house, by a comparative view of the present rate of exchanges with the former, and of the price of gold now with what it formerly bore, would believe that he was not too sanguine in expressing his sincere hope that the time would arrive at no very distant period when the cash payments might be resumed.

Mr. Rose believed that the price of bullion was now 4*l.* 9*s.* while the mint price, or, as he might say, the bank price, was 3*l.* 17*s.* It was therefore perfectly clear and evident, that while there was such a difference, it would be quite useless for the bank to issue gold.

Mr. Horner thought that there could be no safety for public credit, until the bank took some steps towards resuming their payments. The right hon. gentleman's expectation appeared to him neither founded on nor warranted by experience. His conclusion was, upon the whole review of this question, that our currency was in an artificial depreciated state; a state, the evils of which were too manifest to be denied; and were equally injurious to the public creditor, by diminishing the value of his dividend, and to the private creditor, the value of his legal claim. It appeared to him to be incontrovertible, that this evil existed in consequence of an excessive issue of bank paper; that the bank were accountable for the profits, and were slow to perform this task. He conceived, too, that government held too tight a hand over

over them; and that at all events the restriction ought not to be renewed, without an express enactive declaration, that the condition of its renewal was a speedy return to the sound and natural principles of our circulation.

Mr. Marryat contended, that the bank ought no longer to be allowed the possession of such enormous profits without the participation of the public.

Mr. Tierney should not be disinclined to acquiesce in the proposed bill for the continuance of a restriction, if he could persuade himself that the bank would be able to resume its cash payments in July 1816; but as he felt that he should never live to see that event, even if his life should be prolonged beyond his most sanguine expectations, he thought it became the house to make the most serious inquiries into the subject. The fact was, there must exist some understanding between the chancellor of the exchequer and the bank, that their assistance must be repaid by the continuation of the restrictions. It was a collusion, too, by which the government was a loser; for the facilities of procuring money, caused by the restriction act, made the minister less cautious in his bargains, and more extravagant in his expenditure, than he would be if he were reduced to the legitimate and regular sources of supply. It was the duty of the house, therefore, to interpose, in order to make the chancellor of the exchequer independent of the twenty-four gentlemen in Threadneedle-street, who were now in the way of all his plans. He could not help suspecting that all the promises about the removal of restrictions at a future day meant no more than this: "Don't let us talk any more about this disagreeable subject of the bank for 15 months, and then the same speeches which

we use now, taken in short hand, will do again."

Mr. Huskisson had no hesitation in saying that the currency was depreciated. He would most readily allow that cash payments ought not to remain suspended after the proposed time, unless circumstances should arise as extraordinary as those of the late war. He thought no benefit could result from the proposed inquiry.

Mr. Baring, having been a director, would give his humble opinion, that notwithstanding the expectations held out by the chancellor of the exchequer, there was no more chance of the bank being able to pay in specie in July 12-months, than there was that it would be able to pay in specie to-morrow. He founded this opinion chiefly on the artificial state of our currency, and the avowed determination to raise the import price of corn to 80s. in order to keep up the produce of the taxes at their present amount, and to raise a sum of fifty millions annually for the revenue of the country. While this artificial state lasted, we could not get pounds sterling to pay the interest of our debt.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the weight of the late expensive war must necessarily press upon the country for a considerable time. But he did not augur gloomily: fears about the diminution of trade, and the high price of provisions, had been the bugbears of this country for generations back; and he could quote, from pamphlets a century old, expressions of as great alarm on those accounts as any they had lately heard.

On the division the numbers were—Noes, 134—Ayes, 38—Majority against the motion, 96. An amendment moved by Mr. Grenfell was also rejected.

March

March 3.—Mr. Vansittart then moved the second reading of the corn bill; which brought on another debate, and Mr. Lambton moved that it be read a second time this day six months.—This motion was rejected by a majority of 162; and Mr. Baring's motion, that the bill be committed on Monday week instead of Monday next, was also rejected by a majority of 171.

Lord Milton supported the corn bill, but only as the lesser evil.

Mr. Whitbread not only declared his decided conviction to be, that it would be improper to legislate on the subject, but that great danger would arise from so doing. To those, he said, who contended that the people were not judges of the question, he would remark, that he thought they were much more competent judges of it than they were of theology, and yet it was well known that they had recently signed petitions in great numbers against the renewal of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the establishment of the pope in England! If they adopted the proposed measure, and the consequence should be that in eight months corn should be at a very high price, would not the manufacturer have a right to come in his turn and require redress? And yet to grant a redress adequate to the necessity would in that case be impossible. The fact was, that parliament seemed to him to be emulating the philosopher in *Rasselas*, who fancied that the sun, the wind, and the rain were all under his control, and that at his pleasure he could raise a tempest or produce a calm.

Mr. Huskisson observed, that the object he and those who thought with him had in view, certainly was to raise the price of corn above 55s. a quarter; but by no means

to render it permanently dear in this country. As to the petitions which had been presented on the subject, God forbid that they should not pay attention to the petitions of the people! But it was their duty to weigh the arguments which those petitions contained; and having sifted them to the bottom, then to judge for themselves and act according to the best of their discretion. It would not appear wonderful that the petitions should contain so much answerable matter, when it was recollected that the ground of many of them was the statement said to have been made by the chief magistrate of the metropolis; who declared, that when wheat was 80s. a quarter, the quarter loaf would be 16d.—a fallacy so obvious that he would not occupy the time of the house by repeating its detection.

March 6.—Mr. Whitbread, seeing the noble lord in the blue ribbon in his place, wished to ask, whether it is likely that the noble lord will have to announce the receipt of directions from the prince regent, to make any communication to the house of commons as to the result of the important mission on which he had been employed?

Lord Castlereagh—I shall be happy to give the honourable gentleman and the house any information that can properly be afforded, but I am not empowered to intimate that any particular communication will be made under the authority of his royal highness the prince regent. If the honourable member is desirous of obtaining information by questions, I shall be ready to give him such answers as may appear to me to be fit under the circumstances; but I cannot help thinking, that it would be more satisfactory if he were to take some opportunity

opportunity of more regularly calling for that information; because, I apprehend it would then be obtained in a shape that could be better understood, and more expedient in the present state of the important business. By this mode of proceeding, the house would have the whole statement before them at one view, and the honourable member would be spared the trouble of putting, and the house of hearing, a variety of distinct questions, the answers to which would not have that connexion and reference that might be desirable. Of course I shall have to exercise my own judgement in deciding how far I shall be enabled to give the explanation required, consistently with a due attention to my public duty; for it will be recollected that the great business of the congress is not yet closed, although certainly much has been completed. I have great satisfaction in assuring the house, whatever differences of opinion may exist upon points not yet arranged, that what has been done has been accomplished by a general concurrence among all the great powers of Europe. I have the additional pleasure of stating, that on all those points in the determination upon which this country must feel interested, all the great powers have been disposed to give their assent, for the continuance of that spirit of peace and amity which it was their first object to settle and maintain. All those questions in which Great Britain was peculiarly concerned, have been arranged perfectly to my satisfaction, and I hope it will hereafter be found to the satisfaction of the house.

Mr. Whitbread.—Can the noble lord state, or will the noble lord state, that within any given time he thinks it probable that he will have

any communication to make to parliament, either as a minister of the crown, or as a member of the house?

Lord Castlereagh.—I apprehend that it is unnecessary for me to say more than that it is not possible for me to fix any such time.

Mr. Whitbread said, that as the noble lord was not willing to give any information to the house without a motion, he would, on the first vacant day, give him an opportunity of performing that which he would not do spontaneously.

Mr. Vansittart then moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the corn importation bill. On the question that the speaker should leave the chair, a debate took place, when

General Gascoyne moved as an amendment, that the house do resolve itself into a committee on the first day after the Easter recess.

After some conversation, the house then divided.—For the amendment, 61—Against it, 187—Majority 126.—Another division ensued on the original motion—For the speaker's leaving the chair, 194—Against it, 54—Majority, 140.

The chairman having read all the preceding part of the bill, on his coming to the clause in which the price at which the importation of foreign corn was to be restricted was to be stated,

Mr. Robinson said, that he would not once more repeat all that he had so frequently stated on the subject, but would simply move to fill up the blank in this clause with the words "eighty shillings."

General Gascoyne, in the complete conviction that his opinion on the subject was consonant to that of the community at large, moved, as an amendment, to substitute the words "seventy-four shillings."

Mr.

Mr. Western had just spoken in favour of the motion, when it was announced that there was a military force about the house.

Mr. Lambton rose, and called the attention of the committee to what he deemed a most extraordinary circumstance, which he had just witnessed, namely, that a military force surrounded the several avenues to the house; and this he pronounced to be extremely unconstitutional, calculated to overawe the proceedings of the house, and therefore he moved an immediate adjournment.

Lord Castlereagh expressed his opinion that it would have been as well if the honourable member, before he called the attention of the committee to it, had informed himself whether or not the military force alluded to was under the conduct of a civil magistrate. This force had been called in to aid the civil power in protecting the members of that house, and preventing the house itself from being interrupted or overawed in its deliberations; he apprehended that the civil magistrate who had so employed them had only discharged the duty which he owed to parliament and the public peace. For should that house allow itself to be dictated to or controlled by a mob, it would cease to be the representatives of the nation, but must degenerate and be degraded into a part of that mob itself.

Mr. Lambton thought it peculiarly incumbent upon him promptly to call the attention of the house to this subject, and, in his judgment, it behoved the house to guard its independence as well against a military force as against a mob. Perhaps, indeed, that independence was more likely to be endangered by the one than by the other. The

honourable member concluded with moving that the chairman do leave the chair.

Mr. W. Fitzgerald stated that a friend of his, who was a member of the house, had been with himself obstructed by a mob on their coming to the house to discharge their duty. They had been challenged by the mob to deliver their names, and to state how they meant to vote upon the corn bill. His honourable friend had indeed been with considerable difficulty rescued from his assailants at the very door of the house; and finding that the civil power was inadequate to the protection of the members, he felt it his duty to give information to the speaker; in consequence of whose order to the civil magistrate the military force alluded to had been called in.

Mr. Whitbread had no doubt that the house would be satisfied of the propriety of the proceeding alluded to, but with a view to that inquiry the house must be resumed. He therefore moved that the house should resume, the chairman report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Lord Castlereagh acquiesced in the motion; and the speaker having taken the chair,

Mr. Lambton stated, that in his progress to the house he had been very nearly rode over by a squadron of horse guards; and having never before heard of such a circumstance as the appearance of a military force at the doors of that house, he was naturally surprised; and prompted by a feeling of constitutional jealousy, he thought it his duty to make an immediate communication upon the subject.

Mr. Croker said that in coming to the house his carriage was surrounded by a mob, who demanded his

his name, and requested to know how he proposed to vote, or how he had voted upon the corn bill? But to these questions he declined to make any reply. However, on his arrival at the door of the house, both doors of the carriage were opened and he was dragged out by the collar. He then received several blows, his assailants exclaiming that they would not let him go unless he declared his name, and promised to vote against the corn bill. This promise, however, he refused to give, and endeavoured, with all the strength of which he was capable, to release himself; which he did not think he should have succeeded in effecting if it were not for the violence and confusion that prevailed among the mob, who struck at one another. Thus he contrived to escape from them, and made his way into the house through the coffee-room of the house of lords, there being no other avenue unimpeded by the mob. At the time he was so treated he saw no soldier whatever about the house; and he was sorry to say that he derived no protection from any constables, who indeed seemed not competent to afford any adequate protection. Upon coming into the house he thought it his duty to communicate to the speaker what he had just stated, adding, that he understood several other members had also been ill treated by the mob; and he believed that the introduction of a military force to aid the civil power had been the consequence of such communication. Were not such means taken for the protection of the members, he agreed with his noble friend in thinking that it would be quite absurd to talk of the independence of that house, or to calculate upon the maintenance of

its dignity, or capacity for free deliberation.

The speaker stated that he had taken such precautions as appeared to his judgement necessary to provide for the safety of the house, and the protection of its members. Before he came to the house, he, apprehending the possibility of some disturbance, sent to the civil magistrates, whose duty it was to keep the peace, ordering them to have the several constables at their posts in due time. He also sent to the high bailiff of Westminster, who by the sessional order is directed always to keep the avenues to that house free from all obstruction. Having done so, he directed the serjeant at arms and the messengers to pay the utmost attention to the lobby and the immediate doors of the house, to which their strength was competent, while the city constables were to take care of the stone passages, which constitute the approaches to the lobby. Having done so, he thought he had made adequate provision; but he was surprised to learn that a noble lord, who was, he believed, then present, had escaped with some difficulty from a tumultuous mob which obstructed the usual avenues, using insolent and threatening language, and had made his way into the house through his (the speaker's) apartments. In consequence of this information, he immediately sent for the civil magistrate, and directed him, that if he felt his force insufficient for the performance of his duty, he must call in further aid, enjoining him at all events to keep the avenues clear, and to provide for the protection of the members. In pursuance of this direction, for which he held himself responsible, a military force had been called

called in, the aid of which was, he was assured, indispensably necessary.

The attorney-general stated that he had, on his arrival at Westminster-hall about ten o'clock, in his progress to the house, been questioned by a mob as to his name, and asked to vote against the corn bill. To some of the mob, however, he was evidently not unknown. He was listened to while he exhorted them to desist from their proceedings, refusing however to make any promise as to his vote, but assuring them that he would, after hearing the discussion throughout, vote according to his conscience! His discussion with them continued some time, and they suffered him to enter the house without any further molestation. Nay, some of them advised him not to enter by a particular passage, lest he should experience obstruction.

Mr. Findlay said, that his carriage had been attacked by a numerous mob, and he felt no difficulty in stating that the civil power was not competent to the dispersion of such a mob.

Sir R. Heron stated, that he had been bandied about by the mob just like a shuttlecock between two battledores; and added, that although he had not yet delivered any opinion upon the corn bill, he felt it due to the assertion of his independence now to declare, that the measure brought forward by ministers had his most unqualified approbation.

Sir Frederic Flood declared, that he had been carried above 100 yards on the shoulders of the mob, just like mackerel from Billingsgate-market, and that he thought they meant to quarter him.

After a few words from the

speaker and Mr. C. Wynne, the high bailiff of Westminster was called to the bar. This gentleman stated, that in consequence of an order received yesterday from the speaker, he issued his precept, and had attended since two o'clock with between 40 and 50 constables, and had been aided by several constables from the police-office, under the conduct of Messrs. Baker and Birnie, who were police magistrates.

Mr. Baker, the police magistrate, stated, that he found the civil power insufficient for the protection of the members against the mob, who hollaed after and obstructed them. He therefore felt it his duty to advise, and he received the speaker's order to call in the aid of a military force; in consequence of which he repaired to the Horse Guards and brought a troop of the life guards, which were acting under his orders. He saw no member actually assaulted, but he heard a great deal of hollaing and hooting. He did not attempt to take any one into custody, because it appeared a mere mob, and he could see no one particularly prominent. He had had about 30 constables from his office.

Mr. Kinnaird, the magistrate, had attended through the day with fifty constables. He saw no obstruction to any member, and witnessed nothing more than the ordinary anxiety of a mob.

Mr. Birnie, from Bow-street, witnessed a great deal of tumult about the house, in both New and Old Palace-yard, and thought the civil power quite insufficient to repress the mob. One of his constables had been wounded, within the last half-hour, by a stone; but his assailant had escaped through St. Margaret's churchyard.

After

After some conversation between the speaker, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Wynne, the evidence taken at the bar was ordered to be printed, and the several civil magistrates were ordered to attend on the following Monday, when their conduct would be taken into further consideration.

After some further conversation, the house again resolved into the committee upon the corn bill.

The gallery was not re-opened during the remainder of the evening; but the following members participated in the debate which ensued, viz. Mr. Baring, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Marryat, Mr. alderman Atkins, and lord Castlereagh.—The noble lord strongly advocated the general measure of restriction, and the protecting price of 80s., observing that it was peculiarly the interest of the poor to have a fixed and steady price, a fluctuating one being the greatest danger they had to apprehend. He supported the measure also, because he wished to see agricultural and commercial capital equally protected.—After a few words from Mr. Baring, who characterized the speech of the noble lord as the most declamatory one he had heard upon the subject, the house divided upon the amendment, when the numbers were—Noes, 208—Ayes, 77—Majority, 131.—Adjourned at four o'clock.

March 7.—Mr. Bennett rose to move for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the King's Bench prison, as also into that of the Fleet and the Marshalsea. After stating what were the established regulations in these prisons, and describing the situation of those confined in them, the fees exacted from the debtors going in and coming out of them, and

the nominal emoluments of their governors, he adverted to the case of an unfortunate individual, which had been set forth in a petition presented to the house of lords in 1810 or 1811, who had died in the Marshalsea from want. In some of these prisons there was no jail allowance; and the unhappy man to whom he had alluded, having only two-pence halfpenny in the world when he entered the prison, was forced to live on the bones which were thrown to the dogs, and on the scanty assistance afforded him by his fellow prisoners. These prisoners exhibited not only scenes of misery, but also such disgusting exhibitions of vice and profligacy as were known in no other country. He therefore moved the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the King's Bench, Fleet, and Marshalsea prisons, to report their observations thereon, together with the improvements practicable therein.—The motion was agreed to, and the committee appointed.

March 9.—The bank restriction bill was passed, with the following amendment, moved by Mr. Horner:—"and whereas it is highly desirable that the bank of England should return as speedily as possible to the payment of its notes in specie, but it is expedient that, preparatory thereto, time should be allowed for that purpose."

Mr. Vansittart said, that on Monday he should go through the whole budget. He intended to propose some modifications respecting the tax on windows in manufactories, as in such places many windows were necessary both for light and air. He should divide those manufactories into two classes. In some, there were a considerable number of windows of a small size; in others, there was a great

great range of glass necessary for light, but hardly subdivided into different windows. Instead of 3s. 6d. a window, he intended to propose 1s. 6d.; and when the number exceeded 100, then he should propose to take the duty by superficial measure, as in the case of hot-houses. With respect to warehouses, it was not his intention that the duty should increase in a progressive scale, as with dwelling-houses. Those warehouses should not be so much considered as criteria of wealth, as the instruments by which it was to be acquired. He did not propose that the tax should extend to small shops connected with cottages, which were exempted on account of their poverty.—Adjourned.

Mar. 10.—Sir F. Burdett, in presenting a petition from Westminster against the corn laws, said that he was not a supporter of the corn bill; he believed that government alone was interested in the measure, which arose out of the unnatural and excessive state of taxation; but if proper means were resorted to, there would be no occasion to bolster up the present corrupt system. As to himself, the measure was altogether unimportant; he should neither lower nor advance his rents one penny in consequence; his estate had been on what he might term a peace establishment. It was absurd to come down and discuss what was to be settled by a gross ministerial majority. He considered all the deaths occasioned by the military as so many legal murders: the constitutional civil force should have protected the metropolis, and the soldiery should not have been placed as it were in ambush. But the cause of all the disturbances was, that the people felt they were not properly represented, and therefore

paid no respect to the decisions of large majorities. At the same time, he thought that great mistakes prevailed on both sides as to the good or evil of the corn bill. The labouring classes would not be affected by it, as their wages were regulated by the price of food; and the landed interest would find that the protection would be nugatory. The country gentlemen had been made cats' paws in the hands of ministers; and he saw no kind of remedy for this and all our other evils, but a renovation of the British constitution.

Mr. Robinson expressed his deep regret that so fatal an accident had occurred in the protection of his house, but nothing but the military could have saved the lives of his family from the fury of the populace.

Lord Castlereagh felt himself bound to make some observations. The honourable baronet had taken credit to himself on a former occasion for defending his house, though that defence was in direct violation of the laws, and did he now undertake to reprobate those who by legal means defended their houses against outrage and destruction? He trusted that he should be able to keep his temper in speaking on this subject; but all the feelings of an Englishman and a loyal subject were roused, when he heard those who adopted legal methods of protecting their lives and property thus vehemently reprobated as committing legal murder. Why did the honourable baronet come to the house now? Was it to oppose the bill? No; the honourable baronet evidently approved of the measure; but his object and aim was to subvert the constitution. He did not come to oppose the particular administration (for he must do the honourable

honourable baronet the justice to say, that supposing the government to exist, he had repeatedly acknowledged, that it could not be administered by better hands than the present;) but his wish was to oppose and overthrow the constitution. He hoped that those who opposed the corn bill were not disposed to adopt the sentiments of the honourable baronet, especially as in truth there could be little doubt that he was a real friend to the bill.

Sir John Sebright commended the manly conduct of the noble lord and the rest of his majesty's ministers. For himself, he would state for the information of the electors of Westminster, that he should defend his own house to the last.

Sir Francis Burdett wished to say a few words in explanation. He had argued that the civil power alone ought to quell a tumult as in former times, when a standing army was a thing unknown to the nation. In those days the civil power had been sufficient, and why not now? "I must now (said the honourable baronet) allude to certain expressions which the noble lord has thought proper to use. That noble lord has charged me with a wish to subvert the constitution; I charge him with having actually subverted the constitution in the sale of seats in parliament. He was detected in the manner. The noble lord ought to have lost his head; and would have lost it, if the house had not been too corrupt to impeach him. He escaped because the delinquency was general. The noble lord may laugh, and so may the majority behind and around him; but you, sir, (*turning to the speaker,*) did not think it a subject of ridicule, when in the strong language of indignation and abhorrence you denounced the practice as one at 1815.

which our ancestors would have started with horror. I must again say, that the noble lord opposite could not have escaped but for the corrupt state of the house of commons."

Mr. Methuen rose to order: the honourable baronet was not entitled to call the house corrupt.

The speaker.—The honourable baronet, from his experience in parliament, must know that the language just used is a breach of the orders of the house.

Sir Francis Burdett.—"I know, sir, that it is contrary to the rules of the house. I wish it were also contrary to truth."

Mr. Holme Sumner thought, that as the honourable baronet had allowed that he knew he was transgressing the orders of the house, his words should be taken down.

Sir F. Burdett.—"It is quite different to me. I will say but one word more; I cannot understand why my language with respect to this measure should be called equivocal, when I have expressly declared that I do not care one straw about it."

The petition was then brought up, read, and laid on the table.

Mr. Whitbread would be glad to know whether the additional treaty of Chaumont had been ratified. At the same time he wished the noble lord to state, whether it were true that Bonaparte had landed with troops in France?

Lord Castlereagh replied, that the ratification of the treaty had been received, and would be included in the information which he intended to give to the house. As to the landing of Bonaparte in France, his majesty's government had received official information of that event. He would take measures for presenting the treaty on Monday.

H [Having

[Having given so full an account of the discussions in the commons on the corn laws, we shall not attempt to go over the same ground in the house of lords, but only observe that the bill was carried through all its stages by great majorities, and passed into a law.]

Mar. 13.—The house of commons went into a committee on the South Sea act: when Mr. Vansittart stated, that though the exclusive privilege of the South Sea company had for some years been of no advantage to it, yet, as South America had now become open to us, it might become an obstacle to us; and the company would resign it for about 18,000*l.* a-year. He therefore moved a resolution, that the exclusive privilege of the company should cease.

Mr. Bennett thought the proposition a just one; but he could not let the opportunity pass without noticing the dreadful struggle which was now taking place in South America. No less than one million of lives, he said, had been sacrificed there in 1813 and 1814—some parts of the country were perfect wastes—and capitulations sworn upon the altars had been totally disregarded by the Old Spaniards. He hoped that the expedition to South America, which to his disgrace was commanded by a British officer, might perish on the shores of the New World. This country should not interfere between 18 millions of free men and nine millions of slaves. We had already suffered the constitution of Spain to be destroyed, and the people delivered over to an usurper, of whom the prince regent had accepted the order of the golden fleece, and to whom he had sent the order of the garter. Who had advised this proceeding?

Mr. Vansittart declined entering on such a delicate subject. The neu-

trality of England was a duty in the disputes between Spain and her colonies.

Mr. Whitbread wished to know whether money, &c. had not been furnished by government for the purpose of putting down the South American patriots in their laudable rebellion against the mother country?—The acceptance of the order of the golden fleece by the prince regent did certainly not seem very compatible with the feelings which should belong to a prince reigning over a free people.

Mr. Vansittart said that no means had been furnished by government for the subjugation of South America. As to the interchange of ceremonies between the prince regent and Ferdinand VII. it was not an object worthy the attention of the house.

Mr. C. W. Wynne was astonished at the levity of the right hon. gentleman with regard to what he termed "ceremonies."

The resolution was agreed to.

Mar. 16.—Mr. Whitbread said that he should postpone the motion of which he had given notice till Monday. He thought that the extraordinary events which had lately taken place must naturally make the noble lord particularly anxious to give every information to the house on the subject of his motion. He could not avoid now stating, however irregularly, that upon first hearing of the landing of Bonaparte in France, he protested against any interference of this country in the internal affairs or government of France. He now took this opportunity of repeating his protest.

Lord Castlereagh had understood that the motion was postponed till Monday, on account of the state of his health. He was informed, that many misrepresentations and calum-

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nies had been thrown out against this government and against the sovereigns our allies, respecting their conduct at the congress. Those misrepresentations and calumnies he would, of course, be anxious to meet. With respect to the general advice given by the hon. gentleman, as to the line of conduct his majesty's government ought to pursue under the present circumstances, he thought that the house would be inclined to leave that question to the responsible discretion of his majesty's government; and he thought that the advice of the hon. gentleman ought not to influence the house to take that subject out of their hands. As to the general feeling which had been excited by the news which had been lately received, he trusted that the hon. gentleman would not be an exception to the universal sentiment. The policy of this government had never been for any dictation to France; but what course the government might, in conjunction with its allies, take, under circumstances when the peace of Europe was likely to be disturbed, was a question which he was convinced the house would not call upon him to answer.

Mr. Whitbread said, that his motion would be for an address to the prince regent, praying him to communicate to the house such information on the subject, as could be communicated without prejudice to the public service. He was ready to inform the noble lord, that in his absence, the conduct of the government of this country, and its minister, during these negotiations, had been arraigned in that house, upon documents that had gone forth to the public. If those documents were not correct, the noble lord would have the opportunity of producing what better information he

thought proper. As to his advice, he did not presume to give any advice to his majesty's government: he had merely protested in his place, as a member of parliament, against any interference of this country in the internal affairs of France.

Lord Castlereagh professed his anxiety to meet all the charges that could be brought against his majesty's government, or himself, upon this subject. He believed it would be found that this country had never departed from those principles of good faith by which its conduct had hitherto been marked.

Mr. Whitbread thought, that among the extraordinary circumstances of those negotiations, it was not one of the least extraordinary, that his lordship was then sitting in that house, while business at Vienna was left unfinished. If it was not to bring those negotiations to a conclusion, why did he go there at all? If nothing had transpired of the proceedings of the congress, there would have been no observation in that house upon them.

Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from Mr. Daniel Loyell, editor of the Statesman, who had been now imprisoned in Newgate for more than four years. He had been in prison since May last, from his inability to pay the fine and find the securities mentioned in his sentence. He had presented a petition from him in November last, which appeared to be favourably received. His fine had since been remitted by the lenity of the government, but still he was in prison for want of ability to find the security required. The petition was at length granted.

Mar. 20.—Mr. Whitbread rose to call upon the noble lord in the blue ribbon for a vindication of the proceedings which had taken place at the congress of Vienna. Never, said

Mr. W. did any men occupy a position so grand as the allied sovereigns at Montmartre before Paris; they showed a moderation in victory which obtained the praise of all men; and had they there died, they would have died at the very pinnacle of the temple of glory. What had their subsequent conduct proved, but that they had forgotten all the lessons which should have made so deep an impression on them, and that they wished to tread in the steps of the conqueror whom they had destroyed? And unless the papers which he should allude to could be disproved, they had been pursuing the same paltry, pilfering, bartering system, which had led heretofore to the destruction of so many states. The congress had manifestly adopted such practices, and therefore he had to arraign the conduct of the noble lord and the allies, for having disregarded the lesson which the fate of Bonaparte presented—

"Justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos."

But example seemed to have no influence whatever upon this unholy congress, while promises and professions were totally abandoned. The hope of the re-establishment of Poland as an independent kingdom—of the restoration of Finland to Sweden—and of Norway to Denmark, had proved quite delusive, and it remained for the noble lord to say whether he had not acquiesced in these shameful proceedings. Mr. W. then entered upon the treatment of Italy by Austria—the conduct adopted respecting Murat—and the annexation of Genoa to Sardinia,—an annexation made in direct violation of the promises of an English general to the Genoese, and in violation of every feeling which was sacred and honourable

in man!—Mr. W. then adverted to the question of the slave trade, and inquired of the noble lord whether any progress had been made by congress towards the general abolition of that hateful traffic, and expressed his hope that he (lord C.) would be able to exculpate himself from the charge made against him, that he had been lukewarm in the business at Paris; that he might then have accomplished its abolition by France; that the emperor of Russia proffered his assistance towards accomplishing it; and that it was owing to him, and no other cause, that the trade was not given up by France. The honourable member then adverted to the recent events, in France, and observed, that the conduct of the allied sovereigns had alone caused the re-appearance of Bonaparte. He inquired whether the declaration issued by Bonaparte at Bourgogne was an authentic instrument, and expressed his hope that the statements contained in that document were not correct. He then passed an eulogium upon the moderation, discrimination, and gentlemanly feeling, with which Louis XVIII. had acted since his restoration to the throne; and again deprecating the involving this country in a war with France, he concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order a communication to be made to that house of such progress as had been made at the congress of Vienna, together with such other information as might be laid before them."

Lord Castlereagh was persuaded that the house would agree with him, that not only the interests of Europe were intimately concerned in

in this question; but that, if any vestige of character remained to the councils of this country, or of those sovereigns to whom the safety of the world had been intrusted at a period heretofore perilous indeed, and still more so if that part of the alternative of the drama, with the description of which the honourable gentleman had closed his speech, should unfortunately be realized—a realization that he trusted, under the existing circumstances, would never occur—to that character it was due, that as full an explanation should be afforded as was consistent with the observance of a sound discretion.—Lord Castlereagh then entered upon this explanation; first confessing, that if the charges brought by the honourable gentleman were true, he should himself be eminently culpable for the share he had had in the proceedings at Vienna. In regard to the slave trade, he had made every exertion for its abolition, and had the happiness to state, that the powers of Europe had pledged themselves to sweep the trade from the face of the earth, as soon as their internal regulations would admit of the abolition.—Then as to the affairs of the continent, he was prepared to sustain the character of the proceedings of the congress against all the calumnies which had gone abroad. In such an assembly, a clashing of interests had of course occurred: it could not have been otherwise; the question however was, whether a system had been created, under which the nations of Europe might at length live in peace; and this he would affirm had been done. It was impossible, in furtherance of this system, to revive all the governments which the late events had overturned; this would have been to re-create the

dangers from which Europe had so recently escaped. The great object had been to reorganise and strengthen Austria and Prussia. As to Genoa, lord W. Bentinck's proclamation could not have had the meaning attributed to it, that Genoa was to be made an independent state; for the incorporation of that country with Piedmont was a necessary measure, agreed upon for the good of Europe before the allies left Paris. He must here repel the charge made against the allies, of having been actuated by the same love of conquest which they themselves had so loudly condemned. The odious sense of conquest, on the principle of which the allies, were said to have acted, they positively disclaimed. In no part of their conduct had they departed from the principles professed by them; but they would have been most unfit indeed for the situations which they assumed, by entering into the general obligation to restore the peace of Europe, had they so stultified themselves in the eyes of the world and of Europe, as to disqualify themselves from changing the face of Europe, the ancient governments of which had been broken down and destroyed, in such a manner as might thereafter be found best calculated for the preservation of its future peace and tranquillity. The light in which their conduct on this occasion had been viewed by the honourable gentleman carried such absurdity on the face of it, that it could never have been taken up by any man possessed of any thing like the information of that nonourable gentleman, without his having a taste for running down the different sovereigns of Europe, which in the times that we lived in, to say the least of it, was indecent as well as

dangerous. The allies had made war, not for the sake of subjugating any power, but for the sake of preserving the whole of Europe from subjugation: they had succeeded in their object; and they had endeavoured to give to the different powers of the European commonwealth a protection from that danger by which they had already been destroyed. With respect to Saxony, it was no doubt true that at one time it was in contemplation to incorporate the whole of that country with Prussia. He was one of the persons who had opposed this incorporation; and it was ultimately by the sacrifice of the interests of Holland and Hanover, that the other sacrifice was made in favour of the king of Saxony. But while he stated this, he would broadly contend, that the right of conquest would warrant the incorporation of the whole of one country with another; and if ever the principle of conquest had a legitimate application, it was in the case of the king of Saxony. He had returned to his relations with France, after he was placed in circumstances which might have withdrawn him from it, if he had not thought the other course more for his interest. It was no argument that other powers had also been in alliance with Bonaparte; for they had afterwards contributed to the salvation of Europe; and the compensation fell properly, in an aggravated proportion, on the power which came last in.—With regard to Poland, his lordship had interested himself as much as possible, to procure a determination that would be equally satisfactory to all parties: and whatever might be the particular arrangements that the separate powers might adopt, they would all be dictated by the same spirit

of liberality and justice that had governed the great states in all arrangements!—The main object of conciliating the people would not be lost sight of, and they would be relieved from those local difficulties and personal disqualifications under which they formerly laboured. Whatever system of policy might formerly exist, the Poles would now be governed as Poles; and with regard to territorial arrangements, on the particular form of government that each possessor would establish, he wished the house to suspend any opinion until more detailed information was supplied. In the case of Holland, in whose establishment under the present system we were individually deeply interested, the allied powers had felt that they were all gaining an equivalent advantage. By erecting Holland into a powerful and independent kingdom, under the house of Orange, by the annexation of territory formerly belonging to Austria, an essential service was rendered to all the continental powers. What he had said of Holland would apply equally to Hanover; the sovereign of Great Britain had not consulted merely his own private interests, and his allies were sensible of the enlarged views upon which he had acted. His lordship argued that the *juxta-position* of Hanover to Holland, during a line of 150 miles, with the valuable addition of the port of Embden, gave Hanover a stability and importance that in no former times it had possessed. In noticing the treaty with Spain, his lordship severely censured the honourable member who had brought forward this subject, for recommending that the British nation should erect itself into an arbiter between a sovereign and his revolted subjects. His lordship

ship never could be prevailed upon by him to pay any respect to opinions given to encourage rebellious subjects, and he thought that the individual who delivered them travelled far beyond the duty he owed to his own sovereign. He admitted that the scenes transacting in South America were disgusting and painful; he allowed also that Spain, with respect to commerce, had not conducted herself with the liberality we had deserved, but that clouds of prejudice prevented her from seeing how nearly her own interests were connected with those of this country. He concurred in several parts of what the honourable member had said regarding the events that had recently occurred in a neighbouring kingdom—France. What course of policy England would pursue, he could not from motives of public duty venture to state, but upon the issue of that contest much of the happiness and repose of the world in future depended. If Bonaparte succeeded in re-establishing his authority in France, peace must be despaired of; at least such a peace as now we were in the hope of enjoying. The question now was, whether Europe must once more return to that dreadful system which it had so long pursued; whether Europe was again to become a series of armed nations; and whether Great Britain among them was to abandon that wholesome state into which she was now settling, to resume her station as a military people, and again to struggle for the independence of the world?—These were questions of no small magnitude, depending upon events now in issue; depending upon a new and unexpected contest, in which the liberties of mankind were once more assaulted and endangered. It was not merely a question

whether the family of Bourbon (which had already given so many benefits to France, and among them, that best of all benefits, peace) should continue to reign in France, but whether tyranny and despotism should again reign over the now independent nations of the continent? whether, as applied to this country, we shall enjoy the happy state that we had bought with our blood after a long struggle, or whether we should once more revert to that artificial system which, during that struggle, we were compelled to maintain? Upon these points there could exist only one feeling, and his lordship trusted that Providence would ordain only one result. He trusted, on the whole, that he had satisfied the house that, as far as this country was concerned, he had done all in his power to render permanent the bright days of which we had now a prospect.

Mr. Ponsonby did not understand the very unsatisfactory explanation made by the noble lord with regard to Poland—what was meant by the assertion that the Poles would be governed as Poles?—Had they not been so governed heretofore? and if so, what new advantages had they acquired? With respect to Saxony, the noble lord's statement was by no means convincing; and he hoped that all the documents would be laid upon the table, and that the noble lord would be ready to give the necessary explanations.

Mr. Whitbread, in reply, remarked, that the noble lord's explanation was complete and satisfactory in no one point. Regarding that large tract of territory upon the left bank of the Rhine, he had given no information; and as to Belgium, Saxony and Genoa; it was altogether delusive. What did the noble lord mean to say regarding the

Poles? Did he mean to be understood? for, had it come from any other man than the noble lord, Mr. Whitbread could have called it nothing but a most successful attempt at being nonsensical. What was meant by the Poles being governed like Poles? unless indeed, as had been long the case with that unhappy people, they were to be continued in a state of bondage to the will of their temporary masters. As to Saxony, the noble lord had said that the proclamation of prince Repnin was unauthorized; but who could tell whether, on the remonstrance being made, it had not been diplomatically disavowed by Prussia, while the agent was abandoned? He would again repeat the question, Why did the noble lord go to Vienna, and why did he come back? Because he was ordered, was the answer. Who ordered him? Why, the chancellor of the exchequer, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and the master of the mint; and yet the noble lord had talked so soundingly of his responsibility, and his confidence in himself, which enabled him to decide upon points without instructions, which would have delayed the mighty machine of congress! He hoped, as Bonaparte had said, that the congress was now dissolved, and that it would not turn out that what in his hands they had called robbery and plunder, in their holy keeping was vested right and legal property!

Mr. Wilberforce expressed his satisfaction at what had been done regarding the slave trade.

After a short conversation, lord Castlereagh postponed his motion of a congratulatory address on the peace with America until after the recess.—Adjourned.

March 21.—The speaker stated,

that he had just received a letter signed by Mr. Jones, the marshal of the King's Bench, dated 'Lobby of the House of Commons, Tuesday, 4 o'clock, March 21,' which he should read to the house. Its substance was as follows:—

"Sir, I beg leave to inform you, that hearing that lord Cochrane, who had escaped from his sentence of imprisonment in the prison of the King's Bench, was in the house of commons, between two and three o'clock this afternoon, I thought it my duty to apprehend him, and I have conveyed him back to the King's Bench prison. I shall be obliged to you, sir, to inform the honourable the house of commons of this circumstance; and that I am in waiting to hear their pleasure. I humbly hope that I have not been guilty of any breach of the privileges of the house, and that, if I have offended, it will be imputed to an error in judgement, and to no wish to offend the house."

Lord Castlereagh thought it was clear that the marshal could have no intention of offending the house. He was not aware that the chamber in which they sat possessed any peculiar privileges when the house was not sitting.

Mr. Wynn.—The only light in which he could view the matter was, as to the entrance of a peace officer into the house without permission. This, when the house was sitting, would be a high breach of privilege; but, when not sitting, no privilege appertained to those walls.

Mr. Tierney would like to hear the authority of the speaker on the subject; but he hoped some proceeding would be instituted, that the circumstance might not improperly be drawn into a precedent, as it was possible that much inconvenience might occur.

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The speaker.—The case was new to them all. He had little doubt that the officer was not likely to incur the displeasure of the house. The individual acquired no special protection by entering the house at the time he did; but having been legally returned a member, if considered as coming down to the house to take his seat, a case seemed to be made out, in justice to the house itself, for referring the matter to the committee of privileges, to examine whether any foundation of complaint existed.

Lord Castlereagh moved that the marshal's letter be referred to the committee of privileges.

Mr. Bennett stated, that he had just come from the King's Bench prison, and had seen lord Cochrane, whom he found confined in the strong room, which was about 14 feet square, without a window, a fire-place, or a bed. He did not know how long the noble lord was to be confined there; but the place was totally unfit for the confinement of any person.

Referred to the committee of privileges to report thereon.—Adjourned.

March 23.—Mr. Rose brought up the report of the committee of privileges, which stated briefly that they had read the letter of the marshal of the King's Bench, and inquired thereon. Lord Cochrane was confined in the King's Bench prison, under a sentence, and his imprisonment did not expire till June 21, 1815. He had received no pardon, or remission of sentence; but he had escaped from the prison, had come to the house of commons, and placed himself on the bench to the right of the chair, and sent to the crown offices for the documents necessary for his taking his seat. The marshal of the King's Bench had entered and taken his lordship, notwithstanding his remonstrances. It appeared that his lordship was returned for Westminster on the 16th of July, 1814. The committee considered the case as quite novel, and it did not appear to them that the privileges of the house had been violated so as to call for any interference of the house.—The report was ordered to be printed.—Adjourned.

CHAPTER IV.

Affairs of France—Assize of Bread—Message from the Prince Regent—Debates in both Houses on the Royal Message—Treaty of Peace with America—Property Tax—Debate on Mr. Whitbread's Motion on the War with France.

HOUSE of commons, April 3. The chancellor of the exchequer having moved the order of the day for the house resolving itself into the committee of supply,

Mr. Whitbread rose to ask the right hon. gentleman if any other of his majesty's ministers, and par-

ticularly the noble lord, principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, were expected to attend in their places, as some communication might naturally be expected to be made to parliament respecting the extraordinary events that had lately taken place in a neighbouring country,

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try, as to what was the course which it was intended that this country should pursue, and whether these events would again occasion our being plunged in the calamities of war. The right hon. gentleman had postponed the consideration of the assessed taxes, and a rumour had gone abroad, that the income tax was to be again resorted to.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that in a short time a communication would be made to the house, by command of the prince regent, on the subject of the extraordinary events that had recently taken place.

Mr. Whitbread expressed his hopes, that the paper purporting to be issued by the congress at Vienna would turn out to be an infamous forgery; for the paper was certainly most infamous in itself. Though the noble lord, the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, might have conceived himself to be the representative of his majesty's government, it was impossible that the executive government could have intended to delegate to the duke of Wellington, the earl of Clancarty, and lord Stewart, the power of declaring war against any nation or against any individual.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the insinuation of the honourable gentleman was not countenanced by any thing that had appeared in the paper alluded to.

Mr. Whitbread said, the paper in question had been quoted as a justification of the horrible doctrine of assassination. It would be in the recollection of most that heard him, that a recommendation to assassinate Bonaparte had some years ago appeared in a periodical publication. A noble friend of his (earl Grey) had given the most merited repro-

bation to such a doctrine, and lord Wellesley, then secretary for foreign affairs, had most unequivocally joined in the reprobation. The late Mr. Perceval also, who, within a year afterwards, had himself fallen by the hand of an assassin, made a more pointed renoucement on the part of government of so horrible a doctrine. But the declaration of the congress at Vienna was now quoted in support of the doctrine of assassination.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that if the paper were authentic, the names attached to it were a pledge that it contained nothing but what was honourable and loyal.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the parenthesis, "if authentic," of the chancellor of the exchequer, was one highly consolatory; and (alluding to some observations addressed in a low tone to the chancellor of the exchequer) he hoped that the right hon. gentleman's friends would not prevent him from giving, as usual, a clear and candid statement of facts.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied that there was any thing in the paper to warrant the doctrine of assassination, and intimated that on Wednesday a communication would be made to the house by order of the prince regent.

Mr. Whitbread.—The right hon. gentleman then will not state whether the paper be authentic, and whether it will or will not be communicated to the house?—(*No answer.*)—Adjourned.

April 4.—Mr. F. Lewis moved for the appointment of a committee, to consider the laws with regard to the regulation of the assize of bread, and also whether it was expedient or not to have any established assize. An opinion prevailed through the country, that these laws were rather productive of mischief than of good.

It was a fact, that in places where no assize was resorted to, for it was discretionary with the magistrates to act upon the law of assize or not, the public were more favourably circumstanced. For instance, in Birmingham, where the law of assize was not established, and where wheat was at 65s. a quarter, the quartern loaf was sold at 8½d., by a company, too, which divided 20 per cent. upon their capital. He did not mean to say that this bread was quite so white as that sold in London, but it was of the standard wheaten quality. If then the law of assize were really beneficial, how came this difference? According to the old law, the assize of bread was set by the price of wheat; but by a statute, applicable to London only; which was enacted in 1797, the assize was set by the price of flour, and this statute, which passed as a private bill, was actually brought upon the petition of the bakers of London. To this statute the hon. gentleman attributed the greater part, if not the whole, of the evil complained of in the London assize.

The motion was agreed to, and in the end an act was passed to abolish the assize.

House of lords, April 6.—The earl of Liverpool presented a message from the prince regent, which was read by the lord chancellor and afterwards by the clerk.

The earl of Liverpool moved, that the message be taken into consideration to-morrow.

Earl Grey asked, what part of the engagements entered into with the allied powers at Paris had been violated?

The earl of Liverpool said, that the events which had recently occurred had violated all the engagements concluded at the time alluded to.

Earl Grey said, that no one lamented more sincerely than he did the necessity which had called for a communication from the crown, and no one was more sensible than he was of the danger threatened by the events alluded to in the message. Those events were most ruinous, and placed the country in a situation in which the greatest precautions were necessary; and looking at the two points contained in the message simply and by themselves, they would meet with his approbation.—As he understood the terms of the address, in consequence of the recent events in France, the prince regent had been advised to augment his forces by sea and land. No one, he thought, could doubt that such a step was most advisable under all the circumstances of the present crisis. It was stated in the next place, that his royal highness had taken measures to produce the most intimate concert with his allies, the object of which was to be the permanent security of Europe. A good object, undoubtedly, and the means, too, were such as could alone produce such an end. Of these two measures mentioned in the message, very different opinions might be expressed, according to the views taken of them. He approved of them on a defensive principle merely, and as the means of preserving peace, supposing peace might be preserved consistently with good faith to our allies. If that good faith could be preserved while we remained at peace, a war, he thought, should not be resorted to. If, contrary to his just expectations and his ardent wishes, the address which was to be proposed should commit their lordships to a declaration of hostilities, if the allies were found willing to consent to such

such a course, he should feel it his duty to dissent from it.

Earl Stanhope said it was his intention, when the motion before the house was disposed of, to move for the declaration of the allied powers of the 19th of March last. This declaration was important, as an indication of the course the allies meant to pursue, but still more so from the extraordinary proposition on which they founded their declaration, viz. "That they will be ready to give to the king of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make common cause against all those who shall attempt to compromise it." In what sense this was to be understood he knew not; but if it was to be taken according to its natural import in the English language, it was most horrible. The very family on our throne was seated there by the constitutional power of parliament, which had deposed the late king James II. By the constitution of this country, no foreign troops could land in it without the consent of parliament; yet the allies engaged, that when the government of any country was attacked, they would, if called upon, send their troops thither. This declaration was, therefore, an attack upon the liberties and constitution of the people of this country. Not to mention the case of France—there was existing at present in Spain, a government which conducted itself on most extraordinary principles, civil, political, and religious. Were the English troops, under the declaration in question, to be poured into Spain in the event of any disturbances there, to support the king against the cortes, the parliament of Spain, and the people of

that country? What had made Ferdinand king of Spain but the power of the cortes? His father, who had been king of Spain, was still living; so that, unless the supreme power of the people and cortes was acknowledged, Ferdinand could not be a lawful sovereign. He was anxious to know, as well as the noble earl (Gtey), whether the address would merely express satisfaction at the measures taken by the prince regent, or whether it would pledge the house to support a war? For his own part, he had rather die in the most horrid torture, than agree to the declaration of war on such principles.

The marquis of Lansdowne wished to ask, whether there was any secret article in or annexed to the treaty of Paris, which pledged the allies to come to the support of the French government?

The earl of Liverpool said, that the rumour of the existence of any such article was totally unfounded.—The motion was agreed to.

The earl of Liverpool, as we understood, agreed to produce both the treaty of Fontainebleau and the declaration of the allies of the 13th ult. He observed, that tomorrow he should explain more fully the sentiments of his majesty's government, but he should observe, that it was intended to echo the message in the opinion that the recent events were in violation of the treaty of Paris.

Lord Grenville stated his entire approbation of the measures mentioned in the communication from the throne. The situation in which this country was placed was most arduous, and one in which active and vigorous measures were necessary. But whatever might be the course which might be taken, the best hope of Europe was in the intimate

intimate concert between the members of the great alliance. These two sentiments were the only sentiments which the address should express, because the present was not the time for a decision on the ulterior question of peace or war.—Adjourned.

April 7.—The regent's message having been read,

Lord Liverpool, after entering upon various explanations and remarks (the same in substance as those delivered by lord Castlereagh in the other house), moved an address to the prince regent, echoing the principal points of the message, and assuring him of their lordships' concurrence in all measures that may be necessary for the accomplishment of the objects stated in his royal highness's message.

Lord Grenville said, that all which was proposed by the address had his decided and cordial approbation. All decision upon the great and difficult alternative,—that of war,—was properly suspended; the day when they should have to decide upon it they would not be found to abandon their duty.

The marquis of Wellesley cordially approved of the line of policy laid down in the regent's message, which he trusted would be followed up in a way commensurate to the spirit of the people, the valour of its armies, and to those principles under which the country afforded a noble example to surrounding nations, of the way in which they should effectuate their own deliverance. At the same time he was glad to perceive that no disposition prevailed to hurry the nation into violent or precipitate measures. But there were certain passages in the speech of his noble friend, which he could not pass over without of-

fering some few observations. The principles which guided the formation of the treaties which led to the late peace, were ill calculated to answer that end. Among other objectionable considerations, was the calling upon France to keep within her ancient limits, without applying that principle to the other powers of Europe—the same rule should in justice and sound policy be applied to all—the effect was to establish general discontent, instead of a system of general justice. The treaty of Paris was such as to be deemed by the French not only to be dishonourable, but unjust to that nation; and it was his opinion, that nothing more fatally affected the power of the house of Bourbon in that country, than its being viewed by the people of France as the instrument of their degradation. Neither did he approve of what the noble lord said respecting the treaty of Fontainebleau; the fulfilment of that treaty remained a serious question. Was complete justice done in the stipulation respecting *the annuity*? Was justice to be withheld to the end of the year; and in the mean time leave the subject of it destitute? Were the stipulations respecting the duchy of Parma, and the settlements on his wife and his son, duly carried into effect? On a future day, ministers would have to account for these as well as many other points, and the noble lord would have to fulfil his promise of explaining to the house all the circumstances of these arrangements.

Earl Grey admitted the present state of things was such as to call for the most formidable preparations for defence; but still the assertion of the right of war was decidedly impolitic; and at best, if
such

such were proved, it was but proving half the case. The right of making war on a defensive principle was a very different consideration from an interference with the internal concerns of another country. But sufficient certainly existed to warrant what was called for by his royal highness's message; and as the house was called upon for no premature decision upon the momentous question of peace or war, he had no hesitation in voting for the address.

The address was voted *nem. dis.*
—Adjourned.

House of commons, April 7.—To a question put by Mr. Whitbread respecting a declaration from the allies, lord Castlereagh replied, that the honourable gentleman might consider that paper as authentic, and argue on it as such.

Lord Castlereagh alluded to the recent events in France, which he considered as threatening the tranquillity of Europe, just so happily re-established, by again introducing that military despotism which had so long kept the continent in a state of dependence and wretchedness. Bonaparte had again displayed his contempt of all treaties, and proved that the only limits to his invasion of other countries were to be found in his means and not his will. He had placed himself boldly, and, if morality were not to be consulted, he would say honestly, on the only pedestal to which he had any claim, that of power, and proclaimed himself the legitimate emperor of the French, as he impiously said, "by the grace of God," boasting that this authority was not impaired by any previous act; that in order to spare the effusion of a drop of French blood, he had abdicated with an intention to deceive; and that he did

not return even in consequence of being recalled, but in virtue of his full and unimpaired right. Such was the situation in which he now stood. Nothing had been omitted on the part of this country and her allies, to recognise and act up to all moral principles. Conquering Europe had left France not only in possession of her old limits, but aggrandized. None of those heavy contributions, laid on all countries by the French armies, had been imposed upon her. In order to soothe her for the occupation of her capital by foreign hosts, all those works of art were left her, which might have been considered as the badges and pledges of her invasion of other countries. The fact was, that when the treaty of Fontainebleau had been signed, the situation of Napoleon was not such as had been represented. Napoleon, when returning towards Paris with the mass of his army, was still at the head of a very considerable number of troops, prepared to act warmly in his support. He had not merely this army, but there was every reason to presume that all the other corps in the different provinces of France were equally disposed to act with him. The occupation of the capital might only have affected a few, and even the troops which marshal Marmont had paralysed for a time, might have resumed the offensive in his cause. In fact, the spirit and temper of the whole French army were such, that the allies could not decide otherwise than they had done. The idea had even been taken from the provisional government of France, then acting in favour of the Bourbons. That government had recommended the adoption of some means to terminate the contest, without entering into a civil war.—When he (lord C.) arrived, he found the

the question decided, in consequence of communications made and assurances given to Bonaparte respecting the terms of the treaty. With respect to his situation at Elba, he owned, that whatever he might originally have thought of it, the arrangements being made, he was of opinion that it ought to be kept as faithfully as any other treaty. It never formed any part of the convention of Fontainebleau, that Napoleon should be considered a prisoner at Elba, and that, if he should leave it, the allies should have a right to seize and arrest him. But even had the whole British navy been there, they could not have acted without breaking the treaty. It might be said that such a treaty should not have been concluded, or that Bonaparte's situation ought to have been more reduced both in point of revenue and freedom. However this might be, the treaty left him to his own possessions, to govern them in supreme authority as he thought proper. It assigned to him, not, indeed, a formidable navy, but a corvette, to protect his communications with all the ports of the Mediterranean; for it was not uncommon to see his flag on the waves, and no cruisers of any nation had a right to violate his colours. It was not by the force of his armament that he was conveyed to Antibes, where he was chased on his way by a British vessel which could not overtake him. If Bonaparte had come in any disguise, unconnected with a political enterprise, and had landed in any port in Europe, he must and would have been treated as any other individual. Colonel Campbell had been allowed to remain either at Elba or Leghorn after he had fulfilled the whole of his duty, which consisted in conveying Bonaparte to his residence.

He never was to exercise any police whatever over that individual; and if he had been, he could not have effected it, as in a short time his conduct gave offence, and he received strong hints that his absence would be agreeable. It was an extraordinary circumstance, though not an incredible one, that even general Bertrand, who was considered as Napoleon's confidant, did not know his master was going, until the orders for shutting the ports arrived about five in the afternoon of the 26th February. In three hours they had all embarked, and at night the expedition had sailed. No preparation had been made beyond the ordinary repairs of the corvette recognised by the convention. With respect to the other vessels, there was no previous preparation; they happened to be in the port for commercial purposes, and had been seized. There was nothing in the beginning to excite to suspicion on the part of col. Campbell; and latterly Bonaparte had involved himself so much in his imperial state, that there was a great difficulty in obtaining access to him. There were no risks gratuitously incurred by the treaty of Fontainebleau. The articles were made such as circumstances required them to be. But those articles were not infringed by any of the allies. Bonaparte, it was said, complained that the pecuniary part of them was not observed. But he could not complain with any justice, as the money was to be paid annually to him, and the year had not near elapsed. Besides, there was much mischief to be apprehended from his being supplied with money unnecessarily. He was said to be raising men in Corsica. He (lord Castlereagh) had communicated this to Talleyrand, who had written on the subject to his government; but the treaty

treaty was not between Bonaparte and the king of France, but between Bonaparte and the allies. When it was said that Bonaparte was selling his cannon, he made a representation on the subject to the French government, and represented, on his return through Paris, how impolitic it would be to give Bonaparte any such grounds of complaint. The French government, though they felt that he was engaged in a conspiracy to resume the throne, sent a gentleman to take care that he should suffer no personal want. He himself (lord Castlereagh) had also given directions to colonel Campbell to protect him against individual privations. But Bonaparte did not make any complaint under the treaty of Fontainebleau, but he returned to resume the government of France on the broad principle of right. This was an act which broke all ties towards him, and therefore he (lord Castlereagh) could not but think that there was a sufficient case made to justify his majesty's ministers in extending the naval and military establishments of the country, and in taking steps, in concert with his majesty's allies, to place this country and Europe in security against any occasion which the altered circumstances of France may give birth to. Indeed, however sanguine he (lord Castlereagh) was on the conclusion of peace, he never was so precipitate in his expectations as to think that there was no longer any danger of having any interruption to tranquillity; for he was always of opinion that it was not entirely with the man at the head of the government of France, however disposed he may be, but with a nation become in spirit and in habits a military nation, there was a question of the relations to be maintained. He, however, would not hesitate to

say, that the present elevation of Bonaparte was the act only of the military, not of the people of France; of that military, of which there was not a regiment but had lately, in some way or other, made professions of its attachment to its legitimate and paternal monarch, though now to their eternal disgrace they had deserted him; and from such a military, how could even Bonaparte have any security for a permanent support? But if the nation had suffered itself to be drawn away by such a military from an honest, humane, and liberal policy, and if it should be found necessary to resort to war, the war would not be a war for the king of France, but a war for the general system of Europe. There was, he had reason to believe, a sincere though inactive feeling on the part of the people of France towards their legitimate monarch; and Louis XVIII. he was sure, would be their ruler, if their wishes were only what was to be consulted. At present he did not wish to anticipate the question, whether war should be necessary or not, as he could not bring the whole circumstances of the case under consideration; and he thought he conducted himself more consistently, more constitutionally, and, as he supposed, would more meet the approbation of gentlemen opposite, by abstaining from any such line of conduct. They ought to wait to see what is the disposition of the continent, before they could be perfectly decided on what course to pursue. He did not mean to say what ought to be the determination of the continent, or that it ought to adopt war; but he would say, that as this country had saved the world, and brought it from a tremendous conflict of 20 years, she ought not to be wanting in any co-operation to repel unlawful aggression. He would

would also say, that no exertion of the continent would be what it ought to be, if not made in concert and combination. He did not mean to drive or to goad the continent into a war inconsistent with its own views, or without its consideration of its own interests; but he thought Napoleon Bonaparte had brought affairs into such a state, that there was no safety for it but in keeping its means in a formidable attitude.—The noble lord concluded by moving the address, which was as usual an echo of the message.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that if it was intended to plunge the country again into war, to place the Bourbons on the throne of France, he should not discharge his duty if he did not protest against it. It was said that Bonaparte had entered France in contravention to the treaty concluded with him; but if in that treaty there was no mention of his not entering France, he could not see the contravention. He was old enough to remember when the former war, for placing the Bourbons on the throne of France, was undertaken, and the effect of that war was to give to that man, who was now the object of their apprehension, such power as made him too strong for all Europe, till he dissipated and lost it in the plains of Russia. But there was no ground for any hope that that man would lose his power by such means again. The consideration now is, as that man, Bonaparte, is on the throne again, whether it is for this nation to wage another twenty years war to place the Bourbons on the throne again. He was far from wishing to criticise the conduct of the Bourbons, or to be too severe on any one in misfortune; but he could not help saying, that the conduct of the Bourbons had not been such as to please the French. The noble lord

had said, that this government was not blameable for not keeping Bonaparte under greater restraint; he agreed with the noble lord that this government was not blameable on this point; but he thought this government would be blameable, if they attempted to impose a governor on an independent nation against its will. Was it not plain that Bonaparte was the ruler of the French people's choice? Who ever heard of a single man invading a nation of thirty millions of inhabitants, and gaining the sovereignty of that nation against its will? The fact was, that the nation wished for him, and had in a great degree wished for him from their dislike of the government which he superseded. There was not a man in France who did not see a new order of things rising under the Bourbons, and who did not fear that property was insecure. The government of Louis did not observe the promises of his brother. The conduct of the congress had turned the feeling of all Europe; and now Bonaparte, it was to be feared, had all in his favour. This country had done enough for the Bourbons. They had cost this country 800 millions of money. The noble lord had argued on principles on which Mr. Pitt himself had not ventured to go. The country was tricked into the war of 1793. At first it was for one pretence, and then for another; but it was always a war of monarchs against the people. It was against that sort of war he wished to protest. When the noble lord said that there was no confidence to be placed in the present ruler of France, he (sir Francis) could not help adverting to the conduct of the congress. How did they divide and slice states at their will! But let the conduct of the king and of Bonaparte about the

slave trade be looked to. The abolition, which the king, who was said to be so well beloved, could not bring about in five years, Bonaparte, who was said to be so detested, effected by one stroke of his pen. Bonaparte was said to be a hypocrite in this and his other actions since his return; but if he was, it was to be devoutly wished that he would always continue such a hypocrite, and that this and all other governments of Europe would imitate such hypocrisy as his. While he showed no other indications of a wish for war, peace should not very readily be abandoned. He could not agree to the address, because it was a covert way of engaging the country to war, by putting her in a state of war, and he therefore would vote against putting the country in that state.

Mr. Ponsonby said, he would support the address, because he differed from the honourable baronet's interpretation of it; since the address did not bind him down to the question of war.

Mr. Whitbread said, he was certainly most unwilling to undertake, what was extremely problematical at best, another crusade against France in behalf of the Bourbons, who were indebted for their transient gleam of triumph to the rashness and madness of the individual that now occupied the throne of France. The complaint of Bonaparte was serious in one point, namely, the stipulation for money, the infraction of which condition was supposed to be justified by the plea of the year not being out. What a pettifogging subterfuge was this! Another sort of pretence was, that when Bonaparte did apply for money, an officer was sent over to him, instead of money, who reported that he was recruiting in Elba, and was employed in collect-

ing a force that might threaten France with invasion. Well! spies were most liberally paid for their good intelligence: the noble lord was himself at Vienna, surrounded with old and sage diplomatists; and yet, though apprized of the fact of Bonaparte being in the habit of collecting troops at Elba, he is permitted to decamp with those few troops, land in France, and there regain the throne. Diplomatic wisecracks! Now that "the cat was out of the bag," the noble lord knew what every body else knew; he could admonish us how Bonaparte might have been kept at Elba; or, rather, how he might be kept, if he would only just suffer us to get him back there. Bonaparte was represented as not being supported by the people of France, yet had he made his way, from north to south, without a single arm being lifted against him; and now the only question was, whether we could overthrow the re-creation of a monarchy which was beneficially designed for the French people?—Let us look, for example, at the slave trade, and we should discover that what Louis the Desired could not do, towards its abolition, with all the fervour of the noble lord to boot, we should find this was accomplished by Bonaparte with a stroke of his pen. Whatever was the character of the chosen ruler of France, (and, without at all intending to hurt their feelings, he conceived the interest of the Bourbons to be extinct in France, and that their misfortunes more than ever, coupled with their virtues, had a claim upon all generous minds,) still he conjured his own friends not to be misled by the cautious wording of the address now proposed to them, on condition of information to be given them. If any kind of information was imparted, it would come

come upon them like a thunder-clap; they would find themselves involved in a new war before they had pledged themselves to support it, while they would be reminded of their consent by their vote of this night. Considering the late declaration of the allied powers as nothing less than an invitation to every man to assassinate Bonaparte, he would nevertheless hope, that as Bonaparte had promised to keep the peace, and not pass his boundaries unless attacked, so the christian feelings of the noble lord and his colleagues would not permit them to plunge this country into a state of useless and hopeless hostility by aggression. But he was apprehensive that the concert talked of in the message was no longer wanted; for either the duke of Wellington, lord Cathcart, and lord Stewart, deserved to be impeached, or else the noble lord opposite had instructed them to make war against France. Defence was the system to be pursued by us, and not offence. It had been observed by Mr. Sheridan, that one half of the national debt was incurred by curbing the ambition of the house of Bourbon, and the other half by attempts to restore that house. But the noble lord seemed to believe that now indeed was the time for us to strike. Did the noble lord really think that the Saxons would again unite with Prussia? that Italy would concur with Austria? that Naples was in temper with us? He would ask, whether, if at any former period of the power of Napoleon Bonaparte we could have confined him within the limits which he now says he will keep, we would not have made peace with him? He was sure there was no disinterested man in the country who would not have subscribed to such

conditions. If, however, France steps beyond these limits, she then becomes the aggressor; but she ought to be left alone till she thus forfeits her claim to peace. He would, therefore, implore the government, as well as all his own honourable friends, to reflect, that if the address is supported as it now stands, the ministers would be implicitly sanctioned in entering upon an aggressive war. Much had been said by certain writers for the diurnal press of this metropolis, in favour of such a war; it had long been their practice to run down Bonaparte; but these persons must not carry their sentiments too far; at any rate, much stress ought not to be laid on what is said by them. He should, for his own part, enter his decided protest against what is said by them, as well as the doctrines of the noble lord; and he should feel that he should not do his duty, if he did not vote against the address generally. He, however, would agree to support as much of it as went to authorize provisions for defence against aggression, which he should wish to be made to the fullest extent, till we could see that the danger was over; but do not put in the hands of the executive power the means of making war. With this view, he would propose, as an amendment, after the expression of concurrence in the sentiments of the message, "at the same time, earnestly to implore his royal highness to exert every endeavour to preserve the blessings of peace, so long as it could be maintained with safety to his majesty's crown and dominions, and security to his allies."

On the question being put, Mr. Tierney stated it to be his intention to vote in favour of the amendment. If it was thought

peace could not be attained but by dethroning Bonaparte, the prospect now before the country galled him to the heart. Great exertions had been made by England within the last two years; but no man at all acquainted with the state of our finances could say that at the end of the next two years the country would be in a situation to support a new contest, if the people were not united in their sentiments, and had their affairs conducted by an administration which possessed their confidence. He wished the address of that house to go forth to the world, expressing their readiness to support the government in a just and necessary war, but also expressing an anxious wish that no means should be left untried to secure the continuance of peace.

Mr. C. Grant agreed that ministers could not support a new war unless they carried the people along with them, but he contended the amendment which had been proposed was not necessary to effect this. Knowing the character of the man now at the head of affairs in France, knowing the description of the persons by whom he was surrounded, knowing what his conduct had been for twenty years, up to the last flagitious act (so he would call it) which had again brought him before the world, it would be proper that their measures should be framed accordingly.

Mr. W. Smith decided on the course which he should pursue from hearing the speech of the noble lord (Castlereagh). The noble lord had said that nine-tenths of the population of France were in favour of the Bourbons. If he (Mr. W. Smith) were of this opinion, he should at once be satisfied that no moral objections could be urged in opposition to hostilities being com-

menced against Bonaparte; but when he saw how that man had marched, or rather walked into France, from south to north, without opposition, he could not but think the probability was, that nine-tenths of the people were for him. He had as little respect for the motives which had actuated Bonaparte in abolishing the slave trade, as for those which guided his conduct in other transactions. He had no doubt it was dictated by interest; but whatever his conduct had been, he hoped the nation would not hastily be plunged into a new war.

Lord Castlereagh said, it was for the government of this country to consider whether the interests of Europe called upon them, in concert with the allies, to prefer a state of war, or of armed defence. On the subject of the slave trade, the favour which Bonaparte had done the cause of humanity was not quite so great as the honourable member (Mr. Whitbread) seemed to imagine. He repeated, it by no means followed, that the terms formerly offered to Bonaparte in concert with the allies, ought now to be submitted to him. It might be thought that an armed peace would be preferable to a state of war: but the danger ought fairly to be looked at; and knowing that good faith was opposite to the system of the party to be treated with; knowing that the rule of his conduct was self-interest, regardless of every other consideration; whatever decision they came to, must rest on the principle of power, and not on that of reliance on the man. To the declaration which had been published the government of this country could not have been a party at the time it appeared; but he did not hesitate to uphold and justify it, though from the circumstances under

der which it was issued, and the changes that had since taken place, which at that period were not known, that declaration was not to be considered as a declaration of war. Statements had been made within these walls, respecting persons in friendship with this country, which were more likely to expose the parties to assassination, than any thing contained in that paper which had been so much animadverted upon. When a hope was expressed that this country and its allies would not engage in a war of aggression, he wished to guard the councils of the allies from such an imputation, if they should proceed to repel an aggression which had been already committed.

The house divided, when the numbers were—For the amendment, 37—Against it, 220—Majority, 183.—Adjourned.

April 10.—Mr. Whitbread had just read in the public prints a letter purporting to be from the noble lord to some prince or other—a letter which, from its extraordinary tone, from its views with respect to Saxony, from its expressions towards the emperor of Russia, from its manner of considering the affairs of Poland, and also from the style of its composition, was, as he conceived, a matchless piece, quite unparalleled in the annals of diplomacy. He wished to learn whether this letter was to be considered genuine, and whether those were the views that he had taken at the congress, respecting the great interests confided to him?

Lord Castlereagh said, that as to the number of questions put by the honourable gentleman, and the mode in which they were put, he believed that no parallel could be found in the history of parliament. At a proper time he should be pre-

pared to justify the whole of his conduct at the congress, and the sentiments in that letter. Although the letter, as it appeared in the papers, was rather in a garbled state, and had been re-translated from a translation, yet he would admit the substance of it as having been written by him.

Mr. Whitbread thought it fortunate that now and then the mask slipped a little from the faces of the negotiators, and the public could judge what they were about. The noble lord complained of the perverted use of parliament. He probably supposed, that there was no other use for it but to vote such sums of money as he and his colleagues should propose. The noble lord had spoken of the letter as garbled, and being a re-translation from a translation. He had heard of the noble lord's long speeches at the congress in French and in English. He would really wish to know in what language his compositions were written?

Lord Castlereagh.—In English.

Mr. Whitbread.—If that was the case, and his original letter had been translated into French, he must suppose that it was re-translated by himself. It was precisely the style of the noble lord!

On the chancellor of the exchequer's motion, the army extraordinaries were referred to a committee of supply. In the committee he stated that the excess was not so great in point of fact as it might at first appear. The total of bills drawn in 1813 was 17,700,800*l.* of which 2,450,000*l.* went to the ordinary services, so that the actual amount for extraordinaries was about 15,300,000*l.* In 1814, the amount was about 21,000,000*l.*—but nearly 5,000,000*l.* were paid over for other branches of service, leav-

ing 15,930*l.* for extraordinaries. The excess over the preceding year was therefore only about 600,000*l.* The house would recollect the various extraordinary services of the last year, on which he need not enlarge. We had, in fact, to provide for large arrears which had been incurred long before. One particular sum was of a nature that might not recur,—he meant the advance of 200,000*l.* to the king of France. There was an invariable excess in the branch of the commissary in chief. Three millions were voted. The estimate was 3,400,000*l.* The actual expenditure was more than the sum voted; but less than the estimate. It amounted to 3,298,000*l.* which included all purchases of stores. He had been asked, what the amount of the extraordinaries was since the last year. The amount paid since then was about 2,200,000*l.* in three months, after deducting certain items. The whole issue was 4,100,000*l.* of which 900,000*l.* went for what were not properly army extraordinaries. After other remarks, the chancellor of the exchequer concluded by moving for the sum of 982,332*l.* 9*s.* 2½*d.* for extraordinary expenses of the army incurred for the year 1814.

Mr. Tierney was convinced that all discussion on this point was a mere waste of time. It was impossible to discuss 21 millions across the table with any advantage to the country; and if the house did not agree to vote for a committee of inquiry, it must be evident that they felt no anxiety at all upon the subject. He desired them to look at the account of the commissariat, and, if they were disposed to do justice to the country, to say whether punishment ought not to follow such downright peculation. The right honourable gentleman had no objection

to discuss a few miserable items, but but would suffer 17 or 18 millions to pass by totally unaccounted for.

Mr. Baring trusted that the right honourable gentleman would not object to a committee; the house would be guilty of the greatest breach of duty to the country, if they did not insist upon inquiry. Thirty or forty millions had been expended in the Peninsula, and those with whom the commissaries had treated were the most ignorant persons in Spain. If a committee was appointed, he would bring persons before them, some of whom resided in London, who had made from 50 to 60 per cent. by discounts. In other parts of Europe, paper had never been at a lower discount than 25 or 30 per cent. but in the Peninsula it was at 75! The greatest peculation prevailed, and one person who lived at Lisbon had amassed an immense fortune by those transactions.

The chancellor of the exchequer would not disagree to such a committee, if he thought they could proceed with the same advantage as the committee now appointed to examine into the accounts on the spot where the transactions took place. He would not deny some of the facts which the honourable gentleman had mentioned; but they had not come to his knowledge, and he should be glad to know what profit had been made by persons in this country?

Mr. Gordon objected to several charges made by officers in the navy for conveyances of passengers on board their several ships, particularly 2000*l.* paid to admiral Fremantle, under this head, and 600*l.* to another naval officer for carrying prince Blucher and some others from Dover to Calais, a very short distance.

Mr.

Mr. Croker said, that as to admiral Freemantle, the sum paid him had been investigated in the minutest manner; and from his own knowledge he was convinced, that if the gallant officer had not received that sum, he would have been a loser of 3 or 4000*l.* out of his own private fortune. Captain Usher had also made a claim for a sum of money for the conveyance of Bonaparte to the island of Elba, in the Undaunted. The lords of the admiralty had desired him to state his expenses. He said he could not. They then told him that, if he did not, he must take what was allowed for conveying a crowned head; which he had also declined to do.

Mr. Whitbread thought the case of captain Usher was a very hard one. He was stationed in the Mediterranean; and his ship lying at anchor near the place where Napoleon Bonaparte was to embark for the island of Elba, he was ordered to take him on board with his whole suite; which he accordingly did, and furnished him with all his necessary stores and provisions. When arrived at Elba, Bonaparte had no provisions, and captain Usher supplied him with all he had. Bonaparte offered to pay all the expenses; but captain Usher, supposing his government would be offended if he accepted such payment, declined taking it. On his return home he applied to the board of admiralty, and he was there told it was understood or supposed that Bonaparte had paid him. Indignant at the idea that he would demand payment of them if he had before received it from Bonaparte, captain Usher, who had been engaged 135 times against the enemies of his country, required to know from what source they had derived their information. This was answered in a manner by

no means satisfactory, and he was desired to state his expenses. He said he could not do so, and was then told he must take the allowance contained in the table as for one crowned head. He thought it a hardship to be put to such a test, and chose rather to lose the whole than take such a remuneration as 100*l.* which was by no means adequate to what he had expended.

Mr. Croker said, if he was minus in consequence of these expenses, it was owing to his refusal to state them.

Mr. Barham said, that being a relative of the gallant officer in question, he might be permitted to say a few words. The circumstance that hurt captain Usher's mind was this,—that when he stated that he had been at expense in conveying Bonaparte to Elba, an opinion was expressed by the honourable gentleman opposite, that Bonaparte might have paid for his own table. Captain Usher naturally felt hurt at this implied doubt, which was rather increased than softened by being desired to make out his bill of expenses.

Mr. Croker observed, in reply, that the whole of the transaction took place in the regular correspondence of the board of admiralty, and he was quite unconscious of having given any offence to captain Usher.

Lord Castlereagh felt a strong sense of the propriety of captain Usher's conduct on the occasion referred to, and he should be glad to protect him from any loss.

Mr. W. Smith wished to ask why captains of the navy were paid any thing for the freight of specie on government account. Thus, he observed, that captain Farquhar was paid 2000*l.* for conveying 400,000*l.* in specie from Plymouth to Passage.

Mr. Croker said the risk was considerable, as the captain was responsible for the delivery of the whole of the specie.

Mr. Baring adverted at some length to the enormously increasing expenditure of our colonial establishments. If matters proceeded as they did at present, these, instead of being a benefit, would be an absolute burthen on the country. He noticed the commissariat charges at the Cape of Good Hope, stated at 173,000*l.* while the year before they amounted to only 69,000*l.* He specified a similar increase on the cost of establishments at Sierra Leone, Goree, Ceylon, and the Mauritius.

Mr. Bankes strongly supported the appointment of a committee, particularly now, when there was reason to fear that the country was on the eve of a new war.

Mr. Tierney could see no ground for coming to so large a vote at present, unless the right honourable gentleman thought that as the house had just voted 21 millions, they were now in the mind for voting six millions more.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the house had not voted 21 millions, but 4 millions. He had no objection, however, to take three millions now on account of the army extraordinaries, and to postpone the other three millions until the account was presented.

The resolution was then put for granting three millions on account of army extraordinaries.—Adjourned.

April 11.—Mr. Hart Davis rose to move an address to the regent, on the conclusion of the peace with America. He trusted that there were few men in the country who were not persuaded that the war with that country was unprovoked

on our part. The Americans had avowed principles affecting our maritime rights—rights in which not our glory and our independence but our very existence was involved. Those rights we had secured. America had felt the power of Great Britain through the whole of her territory and in her very capital, and had experienced that this high-minded country would never hesitate to sacrifice her immediate interests whenever her honour was concerned. He concluded by moving—"That an humble address be presented to the prince regent, returning the thanks of the house to his royal highness, for his having been graciously pleased to order to be laid before the house a copy of the treaty of peace and amity concluded between Great Britain and the United States of America; and to assure his royal highness that, having fully considered the same, they reflect with the utmost gratitude and satisfaction on the fresh proof thereby afforded them, by this important arrangement, of his royal highness's anxious regard for the welfare of the people—an arrangement which they trusted would establish a perfect reconciliation and a permanent friendship between nations united by so many ties of common interest."

Mr. Ponsonby contended that the treaty determined no subject which was in dispute before its signature, and that no one pretension asserted by his majesty's commissioners in the course of the transaction had not been ultimately abandoned by them. There was no mention in the treaty of the subject of impressment or the right of blockade. The pretensions of England and America were left exactly as they were before this treaty. He would venture to say, that the

the war of the orders in council had hastened the progress of America towards being a great manufacturing nation, and a great naval power, by at least another century. There was not any European country, not even France, a war with which he should think so dangerous to the security and permanent interests of the country as with America. The right honourable gentleman moved an amendment, expressive of regret that a treaty had not been sooner concluded between the two countries, and of a hope that the peace concluded between the two countries would be lasting and permanent.

Mr. Goulbourn said, there was no clause inserted in the treaty respecting our maritime rights, or our right of blockade, because it was considered that this might have had the effect of injuring instead of strengthening these rights. It had been said, that all the concessions had been made on the side of Great Britain, and that all the delay was attributable to our government. The fact was, concessions had been made on both sides. He contended, that no blame was to be imputed to his majesty's government, and should therefore support the original address.

Mr. Baring agreed, that though the treaty before the house had been one of the worst pieces of mismanagement which had ever come under their censure, no blame attached to the commissioners, but to the cabinet, without consulting which not a note was written. He could not comprehend why at any rate the discussion of the great points in dispute between the two nations had not at least been entered upon, to see at least whether some agreement could not have been come to, instead of leaving us liable to the re-

newal of the war with America whenever a war occurred with an European power. It was especially necessary that the question of impressment should be discussed. In its obnoxious shape no nation could submit to it, as it was liable to be exercised by the most ignorant persons. On the whole view of the subject, he contended, that the greatest neglect had been shown by ministers in not concluding the treaty at an earlier period; if peace had been made at the time of the treaty of Paris, we should have concluded a defensive war with honour to ourselves, instead of having to regret concessions, after signal failures in the North and South.

Sir James M'Intosh declared an attachment to the Americans upon this ground, however unfashionable the avowal in that house, that that people were united to us in religion and liberty. Of course then he rejoiced in the peace with America, lamenting sincerely that it had not been sooner concluded; and in this view he concurred with the amendment.

Lord Castlereagh defended the conduct of ministers in the negotiation with America; dwelling particularly on the points of the refusal of the mediation of Russia, the delay in the progress of the negotiations, and the nature of the proposition respecting the Indian boundary.

The house divided, when the numbers were—For the amendment, 37—Against it, 128.—Adjourned.

House of lords, April 12.—Marquis Wellesley called the attention of the house to the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, and took a view of what ought to have terminated the late glorious achievements,—namely, the permanent exclusion from power of that person who had

so long desolated the world. Our government, he said, should have taken the lead in measures which would have prevented the resurrection of that mischief which had so long agitated the world. Ministers, however, had neglected this duty; and they now gravely urged as their defence, that other powers had entered into the treaty of Paris before our minister had arrived, and that nothing therefore remained for them but to accede, or to involve France in a convulsion. Such a plea completely proved the general incapacity of ministers; and this was the answer he would give to the noble earl's (Liverpool) usual contemptuous mode of expressing himself. Ministers had manifested a total want of foresight. But they were not in fact prepared for the great event which had occurred—indeed, as he was well assured, it was the infatuation of Bonaparte which betrayed him into a false movement, and that alone placed him in the power of the allies. Still, when the treaty of Paris was concluded, Bonaparte had only 30,000 men to oppose to 140,000 victorious troops; and he would maintain, that we were then armed with full means to have accomplished the final and great object of the war,—the entire exclusion for ever of Bonaparte from power. The treaty of Paris should have done this—instead of which, he was to be allowed a splendid establishment, his family and followers were all to be provided for; and his debts were to be paid, by France. Bonaparte had complained of the non-fulfilment of this treaty as to the payment of the annuity; and ministers had weakly urged, that he had no right to complain, for the year had not yet elapsed! What would the noble and learned lord on the woolsack say to such an

excuse! He did not mean to say that this justified Bonaparte in the step he had taken; but still the noble earl was quite wrong in his view of the case; and this non-fulfilment of the treaty must have been acutely felt by the French officers attached to Bonaparte.—Then as to the disposal of Parma and Placentia to the wife and son of Napoleon, it was an act at once disgraceful in principle and hostile to justice, for the legitimate heir to those states was living; and he was not one of those who held that, at the termination of a contest avowedly undertaken for the support of the existing powers of Europe, the powerful only were to be upheld, while the weak were to be thrown into a consolidated fund of spoliation! He did not hold that document to be valid, which ordered some millions of independent souls to be transferred to this emperor and to that king. Such doings were repugnant to the rights of the people; for though he did not think that all governments were of and from the people, yet all governments were for the people, and their vested rights were the strongest. Having then concluded a treaty which placed Bonaparte at Elba as an independent sovereign, what had been done to secure him there? It was a fatal fact, that a spirit existed in France, before the return of Bonaparte, which would have kindled a civil war there. In that country there were several parties—the liberalists, or those who had formerly been jacobins—the constitutionalists, who were well disposed to the Bourbons and a limited monarchy—the purchasers of the national domains—and the army. But the French army was not to be considered like the other armies of Europe. It was not only very numerous, but, having been raised by the conscrip-

conscription, it was intimately connected with every French family. Habit had made the conscription so familiar to the minds of the people, that many families considered it as a means of providing for their children; and in many cases, when the young conscripts returned home, their dismissal was deemed an evil. With the knowledge of such facts, their lordships would estimate the danger to be apprehended from Bonaparte by the non-execution of the treaty made with him, which would give the French soldiery a reason for co-operating with him. In fact, it seemed quite probable that a plan of insurrection had been organized, and that Bonaparte had been called in as its chief. In this state of things, we had done every thing to make his cause good with the French nation, and had neglected every means which might have prevented his escape from Elba: because it was difficult to prevent it, no sort of caution was used: and while the most minute regulations were enforced to prevent the introduction of the common plague, no pains had been taken to prevent the return of this plague of Europe. In conclusion, viewing as he did the improvidence of the treaty of Paris, which afforded no security to Europe, the danger from the independence of Bonaparte in Elba, and the folly of engagements, which could not be fulfilled with safety nor violated without danger and dishonour, and the insufficient efforts which had been made under these disadvantages with the means we still possessed, he should move, as a preliminary to a more serious inquiry, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that his royal highness would lay before the house copies, extracts, or the sub-

stance of instructions to any officer of the navy concerning Napoleon Bonaparte and the island of Elba: also any information which his majesty's government had received respecting the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte."

The earl of Liverpool expressed his surprise that the noble marquis had not long before made known his objections to the treaty of Paris, which he had now so stigmatized. If that treaty was so pregnant with evil, had the noble marquis done his duty in neglecting to avert it before? The question was, would it have been wise to have risked every thing to have secured the person of one man? At the time of making the treaty of Paris, Bonaparte was supported by all his marshals except Marmont—he had an army at Fontainebleau—one in the south under Soult—one in Italy—all the fortresses in France and Holland, and many in Germany and Italy. A false movement on the part of the allies might have been fatal to Europe; and he thought they had acted wisely in the course they had pursued. If the contest had been continued, and the result had been fatal, how strongly might the allies have been accused as the cause of the mischief! Napoleon had therefore been treated as an independent sovereign; and whether his residence had been placed in Elba, in Germany, in England, or in America, his escape would have been always possible. It was impracticable to blockade Elba, and no such attempt had been made. Bonaparte had never complained of the breach of the treaty: he distinctly avowed that he had returned to France to reclaim his crown, at the desire of the people, and had almost admitted in terms, that he had all along entertained the design.

sign. As to the state of France, he believed that the great majority of the nation was in favour of the ancient legitimate dynasty, though there might be large bodies of men inimical to the royal government. The house would therefore decide, whether the allies were justified in allowing Bonaparte his personal liberty, under the existing circumstances,—or whether they would have acted more prudently in encountering all hazards by insisting on the actual possession of his person. There was no other alternative; and for his own part, he deemed the execution of the treaty of Paris every way wise and prudent.

The marquis of Lansdowne contended, that the very first consideration ought to have been the security of the person of Bonaparte: they ought to have placed him in a situation, which would have annihilated all chance of escape, but with a liberal revenue, both for himself and family. But was Elba any thing like such a position, situated as it was on the very confines of Italy and France? Nothing had however been done, not one single step had been taken to prevent his escape, though upon his detention almost every thing depended. No; the congress had been promoting a variety of changes in Europe, but had altogether neglected this first of duties.

Earl Bathurst said, that the noble lords should have spoken before of these dangers, if they expected to derive any credit from having foreseen them. The escape of Bonaparte could not have been prevented. The noble earl then alluded to what, he said, he was almost ashamed to notice,—the information which a Mr. Playfair had stated he could communicate respecting the plan of Bonaparte. Mr.

Playfair had been asked, where the person could be seen who had given him his information, &c. &c. but he could give no sort of answer to these questions! He had been promised remuneration on substantiating his statement, but he did no such thing; and though he had a passport and a letter to M. Blacas, he had not used them, because, as he said, the letter was a sealed one!

Lord Grenville remarked, that on the exclusion of Bonaparte from the French throne every thing depended; and having failed in that object, all their exertions, all their blood, and all their treasure, had been lavished in vain.—It was quite idle to suppose that Bonaparte, with about 30,000 harassed troops, could have made successful head against 160,000 victorious soldiers. But it was triumphantly asked, why was not the treaty of Paris before objected to? The reason was, that the terms were kept secret till it was too late to remedy them, though every man in the country heartily reprobated them. Nothing could be a stronger proof of the culpable negligence of those concerned, than their allowing a brig of Bonaparte to pass between Elba and France! This alone would appear hereafter rather a romance than real history—and this alone would prove how the men, to whom the task had been committed, had grossly neglected their duty.

Lord Melville said, that the allied sovereigns, themselves on the spot, flushed with victory, and of course able to judge well of all the circumstances, had concluded the arrangements in question; a fact, in his opinion, sufficient to show that there were solid reasons for such conduct.

The marquis of Buckingham observed, that the deliverance of Europe

rope had been said to have been achieved in the downfall of Bonaparte: now however, by the neglect of ministers, Europe was again threatened with a return of all its calamities.

The earl of Aberdeen affirmed, that if Bonaparte and his corps at Fontainebleau had been destroyed by the allies, so anxious was the French military for his fate, that they would have rallied round his marshals and have protracted the war. It was from that view, and from a desire that the army might be transferred to the legitimate dynasty in a state of mind that would secure their services, that the arrangements at Fontainebleau were entered into: and he for one certainly never did expect, after the protestations of fidelity proffered by that army to Louis, that they would have violated them so soon: he thought better of human nature than to suppose such baseness possible.

Earl Grey exposed the contradictory arguments urged in defence of ministers. One noble lord had said, that the allies were compelled to treat with a person who at that moment was in a situation of such despair, discomfiture and dejection, at Fontainebleau—so weak, so desperate, that by a movement of the combined troops his army would have been destroyed, and its leader annihilated! This too was the declaration of a person who was himself on the spot. Another noble lord described the situation of Bonaparte to be so formidable, that he could have protracted the war! Then again it appeared that the treaty of Fontainebleau had been concluded, not from any fear of Bonaparte, but from the desire of transferring to Louis the army in a good temper; or, to use the words

of a noble lord (Castlereagh), who wrote with the same elegance and precision that he spoke, "to pass that army over to the king in a state to be made use of." With regard to the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, he thought there was a great degree of culpable negligence in our government. The danger of such an escape required no extraordinary foresight to anticipate; and yet because it was impossible to preclude all chance of escape—the noble lord and his colleagues seemed to think therefore that they were released from the obligation of making any provisions against such an event.—Such appeared to him to be the breach of duty on the part of ministers, that if parliament and the country expressed a disposition to leave power in such hands, they must not be surprised at any future mischances that might occur. A great danger had existed, against which it had been the duty of ministers to provide. The motion for their lordships' decision was to call on ministers for the steps they had taken in the discharge of that duty. To that motion their lordships must accede, unless they were absolutely indifferent to the manner in which the affairs of the nation were administered.

The earl of Buckinghamshire said, that agreeing with the noble marquis, that it was by a narrow chance that Bonaparte fell into the situation, the result of which was the loss of his throne, he thence contended that the best course which this country could have pursued, was to accede to the treaty made with Bonaparte. Their lordships had that night been told, that all the blood and treasure which had been expended during the late war, had been wasted. This he absolutely.

lately denied. We had accomplished that which was of the utmost importance to Europe.

The earl of Roslyn reprobated the neglect of ministers to provide against the return to the continent of a person whom they themselves characterized as the greatest enemy of the peace of the world. A small force would have been sufficient for that purpose. It was a very different operation to prevent an individual from crossing over in an open boat, and to prevent the passage of an armed expedition.

Their lordships then divided:—Contents, 21; Non-contents, 53—Majority, 32.—Adjourned.

April 13.—Marquis Wellesley made a motion for the production of the correspondence which took place at Ghent between the American and English plenipotentiaries. In the course of his speech, for which we have not room, the marquis strongly objected to the conduct of the late war—he disapproved of the employment of the Indians, the burning of the edifices at Washington, &c. &c. and gave it as his opinion, that the American commissioners had shown a decided superiority over the British at Ghent. The result, he said, of the prolongation of the negotiation had been dreadful, and yet nothing had at last been settled but a cessation of hostilities.

Lord Bathurst replied to the marquis, contending, that to make public such papers would be the height of impropriety—that no time had been lost in the negotiation—and that the war had been conducted with exemplary moderation and success.—On a division, there appeared for the motion, 30—Against it, 83.—Adjourned.

April 17.—The marquis Welles-

ley expressed his opinion, that ministers should communicate a regular exposition of the general view and outline of the great national transactions which recently took place, or were then in progress, accompanied by such papers as might be prudent to lay before parliament. It was most important the actual state of these things should be known, especially at a crisis in which they were likely to be involved in war anew, when they may be shortly called upon to give that fearful pledge, involving such immense and dreadful sacrifices, that it may be known whether those principles for which they were contending for twenty-five years, were to predominate, or whether a system of justice or injustice was to be acted upon; a system likely in its result to be productive of solid and permanent peace, or to lead to an indefinite spirit of hostility.

The earl of Liverpool said, that a regular communication was not to be expected until the arrangements were complete.

The marquis of Wellesley observed, that however desirable it may be deemed to wait until the period of the whole being complete, he could not avoid feeling some impatience to see those vaunted arrangements and admirable adaptations which were spoken of. What had transpired as to these transactions, he must say, was such as to shock the feelings of all mankind. One transaction, the affair of Saxony, was almost unexampled in the history of the world. At least, whatever may be said as to the justice of the case, it could not be said it was justice administered in mercy! He therefore felt it his duty, at some early period, to request the attention of their lordships to the point.

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The earl of Liverpool moved an address to the prince regent, on the occasion of the treaty of peace concluded with the United States of America. The original object of the war, he observed, on the part of the United States, was to force this country to the abandonment of principles, which were always considered as just and even necessary to our national independence. And one of the fortunate results of the war was, that these points were to be no further prosecuted by the government of the United States. On the whole, he characterized the treaty as equally honourable and advantageous to this country.

Earl Stanhope made a few remarks upon the much talked of question of the maritime rights, which, it would appear from what had transpired in the negotiations, and the arrangements, were rights which only vested in belligerents; he alluded to the hypothetical case, now that America was at war with the Algerines, and England at peace, —an American naval officer, commodore Rogers, for instance, may, according to his notion of the principle laid down, search any English merchant vessel for American seamen, and, finding a few, may take them out, to the eventual injury, perhaps to the total loss of such vessel. He wondered how an English merchant would like such a practical illustration of maritime rights.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that the war had been unnecessarily protracted, and the treaty at length obtained carried very little on the face of it of adjustment of those points which were held out as the original causes of war.

The address was voted *nem. dis.*
—Adjourned.

House of commons, April 18.—
Mr. Barham congratulated the

friends of humanity on the death blow, which, in his opinion, the slave trade had received by the declaration of the congress. It was a well-known fact, that at the present moment a large British capital was employed in British ships in this trade, to which practice there was now a much stronger temptation than at any former period, the price of slaves being from 250 to 400 pounds each. He wished to make the act of thus employing capital as penal as any other relative to the trade now prohibited by law, namely, to make it felony. The honourable gentleman then moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent British subjects, or persons residing in this country, from lending capital, or committing other acts, the tendency of which was to assist in carrying on the slave trade of foreign colonies.—Leave given.

April 19.—Mr. Grenfell observed, it was well known that a large proportion of the profits of the bank arose from public funds deposited in their hands. He was satisfied that he was not overstating the fact, when he described the bank as annually deriving from the possession of this average amount of public money, a sum equal to the whole annual interest of such funds. The sum at which the aggregate balances were estimated in 1807 was to the enormous amount of 11,000,000*l.*, conveying an annual profit of upwards of 500,000*l.* not to the public, to whom he contended these profits belonged, but to the bank of England, who could have no shadow of claim to them. The present situation of the bank, assuming the public balances to be at their former amount, was, that government had drawn for 3,000,000*l.* and had therefore left 8,000,000*l.* still deposited in the coffers of the bank.

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The interest upon this sum, whilst it remained with the bank, could be considered in no other light than as a consideration for the trouble of conducting the business of the state. It was therefore for the house to consider whether, at a period like the present, so pregnant with financial difficulties, it was expedient, or whether it was fit or becoming in itself, to pay at so exorbitant a rate for an operation so simple and circumscribed as the assistance furnished by the bank. During the last eight years the bank had divided between 7 and 8 millions, in addition to their ordinary dividend of 7 per cent. The honourable member concluded, by moving for a string of papers illustrative of the average aggregate balances of public money deposited with the bank, from 1807 to 1815.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that, not three months ago, the bank had advanced 3,000,000*l.* to government, upon the faith that no alteration should be made in the balances left in their hands; and the house could not, with any justice, open a bargain which they had so lately approved. Very considerable sums were lodged in the bank to answer the purposes of government, and the profit made by the bank was not the point for consideration. It might be material to consider whether it would not be possible in future to reduce the balances in the hands of the bank, but the house would have sufficient opportunity to investigate that point before the next session of parliament. Considering, therefore, that the motion was premature, he should move the previous question; which was carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer having moved the reading of the order of the day for the house re-

solving itself into a committee of ways and means, moved that the different acts respecting the property tax should be entered as read.

Mr. Whicbread said, that it must be in the recollection of the house that their table had been covered, not long since, with petitions from all parts of the country against the property tax. The chancellor of the exchequer had, however, then come forward, and had forestalled the more general expression of the public opinion, by declaring that it was not his intention to resort again to that tax, unless in the event of war; which at that time appeared very improbable. He had, however, in consequence of his statement that 19 millions would be necessary for a peace expenditure, proposed a number of other taxes in lieu of this property tax; all of which, with the exception of the assessed taxes, he now understood him to have abandoned. This either proved that he was a most unskilful financier, and understood very little about the mode of devising taxes, or else it showed that the ordinary system of taxation had completely failed, and that it was not possible to raise any more money by it. He had suggested the possibility of the tax being revived in case of a war. He wished, therefore, now to know what was the situation of the country, whether it was to be considered as in a state of war or peace? He wished that the noble lord (Castlereagh) would inform the house, whether it was true that a treaty had lately been signed at Vienna, by any ministers either authorized by this country or unauthorized. It appeared, that we had now come to times when ministers, without any authority, would venture to commit the country by their acts. The house might be told, that what-

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ever the duke of Wellington might have done would be fully justified upon some future occasion ; but he thought that they had a right now to learn whether the government of this country was in fact committed to a war with France. He understod that such a treaty had been signed ; that it was founded upon the treaty of Chaumont ; but that there was this additional engagement, that under no circumstances would they treat with the present ruler of France. He also wished to be informed, whether it was true that there had been recently an engagement in Italy between the Austrian and Neapolitan troops, and to the disadvantage of the former. He was also anxious to know whether the noble lord meant to disavow those letters to him, and purporting to come from him, which were now daily coming forward in the public papers. He had no idea how those letters came before the public. It would appear as if there was a great rent in the noble lord's portfolio, or a hole in his travelling trunk ; for there was daily letters published, which nobody could doubt were written by him. Indeed his lordship was now so completely before the public as a writer, that, however unintelligible and ambiguous his letters were, the style could not be mistaken. It would be for the consideration of the house, whether they would afford the means to ministers to plunge this country in another war, the issue of which was extremely doubtful, and the objects of which appeared unjustifiable.

Lord Castlereagh thought, that the honourable gentleman reasoned somewhat too rapidly, when he inferred that, because his right honourable friend thought it necessary to propose an augmentation of the

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revenue this year, therefore all the ordinary sources of the revenue must have failed. The honourable gentleman was, fortunately for the country, very incorrect in regard to fact upon this point. His right honourable friend had certainly never pledged himself that he would not resort to this measure, in that sort of mixed state in which the country now stands, between peace and war. The honourable gentleman had asked him whether he was ready to avow or disavow certain papers ; he should only answer, that when the proper time should come for discussing those topics, he should be very ready to submit the whole of his conduct to the consideration of the house : but when the honourable gentleman talked of those disclosures as necessary to his justification, he must say that he was sure the house would not think it right, that merely for his own justification he should sacrifice the public interest, and let loose all the documents of government to the criticisms and cavils of that honourable gentleman. As to the situation of the country at the present moment, he was not now prepared to give any information to the house ; but he was convinced that as soon as it could be given in any intelligible shape, it would be the wish of government to lay it before the house.

Mr. Bennett never could give a vote for embarking this country in so unprofitable and hopeless a contest as that of re-establishing the Bourbons on the throne of France. If the intelligence in circulation be true, that the king of Naples, or marshal Murat, as the noble lord called him, had entered Bologna, that the Austrians were flying before him, and that the Italians were in insurrection, then war had al-

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ready commenced in a part of the continent. He should be glad if one result of it was the formation of Italy into a large independent country, and if Genoa also were rescued from the grasp of the noble lord and his coadjutors at the congress, and restored to its independence.

Mr. Protheroe would not stop to inquire at present into the proceedings which had taken place at the congress; a proper time would arrive for that inquiry; but in the mean time, from the conduct which ministers had pursued in bringing the late war to an honourable termination, he was prepared to arm them with full means either for vigorous war or safe peace.

Mr. Tierney must protest against voting for the income tax. It was impossible for him to assent to a tax most odious and oppressive to the people at large, without any one reason or argument being assigned for it on the part of ministers. From all that he had heard or learned, it was his conviction that it would be our own fault if we did not remain at peace. He had no doubt that the continental courts would be willing enough to go to war if we would but furnish them with the means; But was it to be borne that prince Metternich, prince Hardenberg, and others, should mete out the property of England, and be supplied from its very last resources? This might last for one or two years at the furthest, but in the end it would absolutely ruin the finances of England. The member for Bristol gave his confidence to ministers for the manner in which they had terminated the late war; But how came it, he would ask, that we were now in this jeopardy, but in consequence of the gross neglect and mismanagement of these ministers? What was the

result of that glorious war? Had we not even in peace to maintain 75,000 men during the whole of last year, and now we were called upon to support double that number? Was there any man who would deny that the honour and character of this country had been disgraced by the conduct of its representative at the congress? Peace, he firmly believed, was within the reach of ministers, and he saw no reason why it might not last for years. Whether the return of Bonaparte to power was a great calamity to the world or not, he would not stop to inquire; but at any rate he would say, Let us take the chances of peace which presented themselves.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied that the object of the measure was to enable the crown to go to war. He confessed that he now thought he should have acted more vigorously and more wisely, if, with a view to winding up the expenses of the late war, he had, at the beginning of the session, urged the propriety of retaining the income tax for one year: but now, while the same causes continued, and when the country should be prepared for either alternative of peace or war, he thought the measure indispensable. He had to state, that the whole of its produce would only meet the twelve millions of extraordinaries of the present year, and the two millions of navy debt. The country was in a situation which required the most vigorous financial exertions, considering that we had just concluded a war with America, and should now have to ward off another by precaution. Undoubtedly his general feeling was, that the property tax should be reserved for a period of war; but the present was an extraordinary case, which

which went beyond all the usual rules, and which made it necessary that the country should be placed in a defensive situation to repel a blow, not to strike one. He had no doubt that the change of circumstances had produced a great change in the feelings of the great body of the former petitioners. They, he conceived, had merely objected to the tax, as an ordinary measure for providing the wants of government. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to state that the new duties of customs and excise had already passed the house. He proposed to submit also some additional duties on stamps; and it was only the assessed taxes which he proposed to give up, because if the income tax was adopted, the pressure of both would be inconvenient to the country.

Mr. W. Smith thought with his constituents, that under any modifications likely to be proposed, nothing could be more obnoxious than the late tax. He had no doubt but that, under certain modifications, and distinguishing between different kinds of property, and relieving it from its vexatious mode of collection and its inquisitorial powers, it might be made the properest tax in the world; but from what he understood from the chancellor of the exchequer, no modification whatever was intended, and as such he thought it a tax which ought never to be revived.

Mr. Brand said, as a war measure, he thought the principle of the property tax, under certain modifications, might be good; but he thought that ministers should show the house and the country the necessity of a war measure. He moved as an amendment, That the consideration of the property tax be postponed to this day fortnight.

Mr. T. Foley seconded the motion.

Mr. Whitbread supported the amendment, on the ground that if they went into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer would say it was looked on as a case of emergency; and if a war should not take place, we should be saddled with the property tax for ever. Mr. W. insisted it would be so; for it would be said the expenditure to be made up was so large, that the property tax must be continued. Out of the 14,000,000*l.* which the property tax would produce this year, we were already pledged to pay 5,000,000*l.* as a subsidy to the allies; and report says further, that in case of certain events taking place, the subsidy would be 9,000,000*l.* so that the greater part of the tax for this year was already swallowed up.

Lord Castlereagh said, the honourable gentleman generally chose to take things on his own assumption rather than what was really to be proposed. If he had given leave for the speaker to quit the chair, he would have long since found that his right honourable friend, instead of wishing to perpetuate the property tax, meant only to propose its continuance for one year. The honourable gentleman, however, was averse to agree to any vote of money till we were in a state of war. He was certain, however, the house so far differed from the honourable gentleman, they would take care the country should be kept out of the reach of that strong arm which would be raised against it. He adverted to the glorious termination of the late war, notwithstanding the numerous desponding predictions of the honourable gentleman; and if his majesty's government, in conjunction with our brave allies, were enabled to take that attitude which

was necessary for the security of this country and of Europe, he had no doubt but the same brilliant success would crown our efforts, notwithstanding the honourable gentleman's present reluctance to enter into the measures deemed necessary for the attainment of such glorious results.

Mr. Ponsonby said he was one of those who thought that if the House should vote the property tax without its being shown that war was unavoidable, that tax would become perpetual, for every future chancellor of the exchequer would do all in his power to make it so.—The noble lord complained of some things that had been said this night, he also complained that it was impossible to tell when the noble lord would think it a proper day to lay before the house all the papers relative to the proceedings of the congress, though they were daily making their appearance through other channels. The noble lord's letter to prince Hardenberg was true; he also thought his letter to prince Talleyrand was true; and that the letter of the plenipotentiaries of the king of Naples was true. He was induced to think so, because none of them had been denied; and from the whole of these he thought from his soul and conscience, that the noble lord and the congress had been the means of now placing Bonaparte on the throne. The letter of the prince Talleyrand was a jesuitical production, as it related to Naples. Nothing was more natural than for Murat to look to what appeared his best security. Had the agreement with him been executed, he could have had no pretence nor temptation to act as he is stated to have done.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated the object of his motion,

which was to enact the property tax for one year. It was said that an emergency would never be wanting for the perpetuation of the tax; but it ought to be considered whether such circumstances had ever occurred as those of the present times.

Lord Milton could not vote for this measure without further explanation. Though he could not give his faith on the declarations of Bonaparte, he wished to see more clearly the state of the question as to peace or war. He should therefore vote for the amendment of the member for Hertfordshire.

Lord Lascelles might hesitate with respect to the question of a war; but he felt that the withholding of the present request would be injurious to the public interests of Europe.

The house divided on the amendment—Noes, 183—Ayes, 58—Majority, 125.—The resolutions proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer were passed, and a bill brought in to renew the tax, which was passed.

April 28.—Mr. Whitbread called the attention of the house to the present state of affairs and the conduct of ministers, who, it should seem, had decided upon an aggressive war with France. Mr. W. contended that ministers had deluded the house, by stating that there was an alternative, at the very moment that they had pledged the country to war by their agents at Vienna; that the allies had no sort of right to dictate to France whom she should have on the throne; that an anathema against Bonaparte was an anathema against millions of people; that the declaration of the allied powers preached up the doctrine of assassination in so many words, which the treaty of Vienna imitated in spirit; that the liberators

of

of Europe, as they called themselves, were ready to plunge the continent in blood, in order to put down one man, though by their own unjust acts all Italy was up in arms already; that we were now to go to war with a man, whom the allies had declared it impossible either to make war or peace with; that the Bourbons had manifestly no hold on the French people, and that the intelligent portion of France would even vote against them; that France might again be driven into a fierce republic by the war, with which it would be again said we could not possibly treat; that though, by the treaty of Paris, we might have a right to go to war with France, yet the house ought to pause before a step was taken, the progress and end of which might be awful in the extreme; that fifteen months ago, the terms offered now by Bonaparte would have been gladly accepted by the allies; that Bonaparte was evidently disposed to peace, and carefully abstained from any act of aggression; that peace would have been made with him when his power was much more formidable than at present, and it ought not to be refused when his acts, without speaking of his motives, were certainly much better; that the disposition for war in France had of late a good deal subsided; that the state of our finances, as well as those of our allies, who must be paid by us, called loudly for peace; that no man in his senses could deny that a long contest would end in general ruin; that even supposing the allies successful, and Paris again entered by them, the event might be fatal to liberty, as they would then impose a government on the French by force of arms; but that the chance of success decreased every hour, as Bonaparte was daily strengthening

himself. — On all these grounds, Mr. W. moved “an address to the princeregent, praying that he would be pleased to take such measures as might be necessary to prevent this country from being involved in war, on the ground that the executive power of France was vested in the hands of any particular person.”

Sir M. W. Ridley seconded the motion. It was an indisputable principle, that every nation had a right to choose its sovereign, and that house should be the last place where such a principle was denied, as it was to its exercise that we owed the privileges we possessed.

Lord Castlereagh urged, that a nominal peace would be nearly as expensive as a war; that we must look to the means of ultimate security, not to present convenience; that the former gloomy predictions of the honourable gentleman had all been falsified, and his ill advice, fortunately for Europe, rejected by the house; that parliament had yet given no pledge for war, and therefore could not have been deluded by ministers; that it was the wise policy of this country to adhere to the determination of our allies; that they had not been goaded to war by this country; that their declaration was far from preaching up the doctrine of assassination; that if the continental powers remained determined as to war, ministers were prepared to support them in it; but if circumstances had induced them to hesitate, and material differences of position had taken place, these considerations should be taken into account; that the return of Bonaparte, in defiance of all engagements, was an insult as well as injury to all parties; that that man gloried in his bad faith; that no reliance could be placed upon him; that he would only keep the peace

till it suited him to make war; that the new constitution would not at all control him; that he only used the party with which he now acted as instruments, and that when he got together 400,000 troops, he would dispose of his present counsellors, whether Fouché or Lucien Bonaparte, if they opposed his views; that he had been raised by a corrupt and perjured army, who were dissatisfied with the pacific sway of the benevolent Louis; that he must gratify the base views of his soldiers, or become odious to them; that if the people of France, after the liberal treatment they had experienced from the allies, lent themselves to the support of Bonaparte, the war must be with them, for Europe must contend for liberty and safety; that France was not to be allowed to choose her own seat of war, but should be herself entered; that the allied sovereigns were far from being attached to war, and that they had evinced great moderation; that the honourable member (Mr. Whitbread) had defamed

them, and attempted to lower the character of his own government; that if a peace was made with Bonaparte he would soon break it, for that when he was hard pressed in his last campaign, he had directed his minister to sign a treaty in such a manner, that he might afterwards take an unfair advantage of it, according to circumstances; that his character would not apply to any of the moral or social relations of life, and his power might therefore well be protested against; that to vote the address proposed would be to delude the French people with a notion that England differed in opinion with the continent; and that as to the pecuniary supplies for the war, the house would in due time be satisfied, that the assistance to be given by Great Britain was not such as would assist motives for war, but such as would leave the subject to the proper feelings and interests of the continent.

On a division, there appeared for the address, 72; against it, 173.—Adjourned till Monday.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Grey on Engagements with Naples—Debate on the same Subject in the House of Commons—New Post Office—Civil List—Lord Grey's Motion for Papers—Mr. Whitbread's Motion respecting Murat—Message from the Prince Regent—Debates on the same in both Houses—Lord Castlereagh on Supplies.

HOUSE of lords, May 2.—After some remarks by earl Grey, respecting the engagements with Naples,

the earl of Liverpool said, that every information proper to be supplied should be afforded. Marshal Murat, having attacked our allies, the armistice with him was at an end.

The correspondence would prove, that though Austria had made peace with Naples, with the approbation of the other allied powers, yet two conditions were coupled with this peace: 1. that a compensation should be given to the king of Sicily; and, 2. that marshal Murat should cordially co-operate with the allies.

Had

Had these conditions been fulfilled, England, he would admit, was bound to follow up the armistice by a peace; but marshal Murat, it had been clearly proved, had all along kept up a communication with the enemy, and had violated his engagements.—General Nugent and lord Wm. Bentinck had written reports on the subject, which would be laid before the house: they proved the most deliberate treachery on the part of Murat.—His lordship concluded with moving an address for the papers to be laid before the house.

Earl Grey observed, among other things, that by the armistice concluded between Great Britain and Naples, on the 3d of February, the entire sovereignty of Naples was clearly guarantied to Murat—it was in fact a treaty of alliance, depending on two stipulations; indemnity to Sicily, and co-operation with the allies. The indemnity however was not to come from Naples, but from the allies; and as to the co-operation, it was notorious that the military proceedings of Murat had relieved Austria from a great pressure, and had enabled her to act with a successful vigour against France; for he had occupied Tuscany, taken Ancona after a siege of eight days, and had reached the Po. These proceedings had compelled the viceroy of Italy to act on the defensive, though he had an excellent army of 45,000 men to oppose to the Austrian one of 30,000: and if Murat had joined the viceroy with his force, Vienna would have been open to them—Austria could not have acted with vigour against France—and most probably the allies would not have succeeded. It seemed therefore much too late to come forward and say that Murat had not acted with due cordiality. Without

any treachery on the part of Murat, his co-operation might not have been so active as was expected. But if his character was such as now represented, considering the dangerous state of Italy, it was the height of impolicy to have suffered him to remain, to set fire to the combustibles accumulated in that country. So that a strong case, in the face of things, appeared to be made out against ministers; and then came the letter to lord Castlereagh from the prince of Benevento—a letter, which had no doubt been read by most of their lordships with the deepest shame—proving that though we were not disposed to open and manly proceedings, we were quite ready to adopt all such as were secret and underhand!—"I repeat," said his lordship, "that no doubt all your lordships have seen this extraordinary letter, and have seen it with feelings of resentment for the injured honour, for the humiliation and shame of the remaining character of this country, so deeply involved, and so much more so if it were written not merely on the writer's own notion, but as the reply to some preceding communication from the British minister. I trust, my lords, that that was not the case. I trust that that letter is attributable only to the masterhand that is skilled in such productions; for, in the worst transaction of the worst period of the worst government that ever existed—in the vilest deceit, the most infamous perfidy, the foulest crime that ever occurred—in the blackest record of fraud and imposture that is to be met with in the annals of the world, nothing can be found more flagrant and heinous—nothing more hateful for its treachery—nothing more contemptible for its baseness.—Still in that paper not a word was said of the king

king of Naples having forfeited his sovereignty by his conduct. All that was said was, that although he could not be attacked through Italy, he was assailable by sea; and the writer, with a degree of insult to his correspondent which it was difficult to conceive how a British minister could bear, concluded that Lord Castlereagh had authority from his court to assent to the proposed measure, and, if not, requested that he would obtain it."—He would abstain from saying any thing further on the subject at present. All that he now stated was, that it required a very strong case to exempt the allies from the engagements into which they had entered with marshal Murat, the more especially as they had experienced important co-operation from him under circumstances of a very critical nature. The question would be fully open to discussion when their lordships should come to the consideration of the papers to be produced. In his opinion, this was a case which demanded that a communication should have been made from the crown; that all the papers should have been laid on their lordships' table by command of the prince regent, accompanied by an explanatory statement on the part of ministers.

The earl of Liverpool said, the question which it would be for their lordships to discuss when the papers should be before them would be, whether there had been that kind of co-operation on the part of marshal Murat which every body must have understood was the condition of the arrangements made by the allies with him. The noble earl had asserted that the cause of the allies had derived great advantage from his co-operation. The papers would however show that persons of very

high authority were of a different opinion. Lord W. Bentinck entertained considerable doubts whether more good or more evil resulted from marshal Murat's co-operation; and whether, had the allies refused to conclude the armistice, they would not have obtained greater advantages in Italy than with his co-operation, so conducted as it had been. If that was the fact, combined with suspicions, and still more combined with evidence of his treachery, the allies were unquestionably justified in considering themselves absolved from their engagements.

Lord Grenville said, that having been told that we were in actual hostility with the person who was, *de facto*, king of Naples, there could be no doubt that a communication of that fact ought to be made by the crown, calling upon parliament for that support, which had never been refused, in a case in which the just rights and interests of the country were involved.

After a few further observations, the motion for the address was agreed to, and the house adjourned.

House of commons, May 2.—Mr. Horner called the attention of the house to the subject of Naples in a speech of some length, taking the same line of argument as that so ably pursued by earl Grey in the other house, and concluding with a motion for papers.

Lord Castlereagh replied, using similar arguments to those adduced by his colleague lord Liverpool (see p. 150, 151,) adding, that a document had been put into his hands by prince Talleyrand, which established the fact, that at the end of January Murat continued in correspondence with Bonaparte, and by means of his wife continued it down to the month of February. The true

true reason why Murat had not acted openly in concert with the viceroy was, because his ambitious designs were entirely incompatible with the existence of any other power in Italy, and he had not joined the allies because he yet hoped that his master would be successful. With such knowledge, he thought that he should indeed have been guilty of a breach of his duty if he had entered into an engagement with a man who was only waiting for his own interests to betray one party or the other. Knowing the charges that were likely to be brought forward upon this subject, his lordship had applied to prince Talleyrand to supply him with the best evidence he could procure of the perfidy of the king of Naples, and strict search being made in the public bureaus of Paris, a variety of correspondence was discovered, which fully developed the case, although many of the documents had been designedly burnt before the entrance of the allies into the French capital. The letters he had obtained were between the viceroy of Italy, the queen of Naples, Bonaparte, Murat, Fouché, and the princess Borghese. He would read extracts from them to the house, in order to show the true light in which Joachim was to be viewed. In a letter to the queen of Naples, dated 17th February, Bonaparte said, "Your husband is a very brave man in the field of battle, but more cowardly than a woman or a monk in the council—let him watch the moment to show that he is not as ungrateful as pusillanimous."—Another from Fouché to Bonaparte, dated from Lucca, 18th February, spoke of the conduct of Murat and of his heart being decidedly French, lamenting at the same time his want of firmness;

and a third from the viceroy, dated the 20th February, confirmed the assertions. A report of the consul of Ancona, without date, gave the particulars of a conversation between him and Murat, in which the latter said that he had been compelled by circumstances to join the allies, but that his heart remained sincerely French, and that he would never forget what he owed to his illustrious brother-in-law. A note from Bonaparte to Murat, without date, expressed the high displeasure of the emperor at his conduct, which had been diametrically opposite to his duty, and belonged to the weakness of his nature. The writer relied on Murat's contrition, or he might hereafter have severe reason to repent of his adherence to the allies. It contained also the following remarkable passage, a part of which his lordship felt obliged to give in the original. "You are not one of those, I hope, who imagine that the lion is dead, *et qu'on peut pisser dessus*." The same letter went on to assert, that the title of king seemed to have turned the head of Murat; and another of the 5th of March (to which late date the correspondence had been maintained), accused the king of Naples of calling round him men who would be his ruin—what he wrote was at variance with his actions; it concluded with these words—"I wrote to the war minister, in order to set him at ease in regard to your conduct—it is needless to send me an answer unless you have something important. Remember I made you a king solely for the interest of my system; if you cease to be a Frenchman, you will be nothing to me. Continue to correspond with the viceroy, taking care that your letters are not intercepted."—After the perusal of such evidence it was not necessary to say more

more to prove the sort of ally the Austrians had obtained; and his lordship hoped that the proceeding of to-night would afford to the other side of the house a salutary lesson, upon the impolicy and impropriety of bringing forward such accusations, upon defective information. He thought that he had good reason to complain of gentlemen on the other side of the house, who had procured information which must have been clandestinely obtained from official sources, from the agents of foreign governments, and made it the foundation of accusations against their own. He hoped the proceedings of this night would have the salutary effect of convincing them, that the presumption was not always in favour of the enemies of the country.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the whole statement of the noble lord displayed a scene of diplomatic treachery that he hoped would ever remain without a parallel; and the noble lord must indeed have been a puny politician, if he ever conceived that Murat was guided by any other views than those of self-interest and self-preservation. Most of the documents on which the noble lord rested his defence were probably written during a period of hesitation; and when the king of Naples found that Bonaparte could not support him, he threw himself into the arms of the allies. It was, however, a serious question for the noble lord to consider, whether he had not injured the cause of the country by refusing to ratify the verbal understanding that prevailed between the allies and Murat. That ratification might have bound him firmly to our cause, instead of having him leagued against us. It did not appear to him that the justification of the noble lord was at all complete.

Mr. Ponsonby said, his principal object in rising was to vindicate himself and his friends from an aspersion cast upon them by the noble lord, who asserted that they had circuitously and clandestinely received information from the agents of foreign governments, of which they had availed themselves, to make accusations against ministers. It was a base insinuation on the part of the noble lord, which he (Mr. P.) was anxious to repel.

Lord Castlereagh wished to know whether the right honourable gentleman meant to apply to his remarks the epithets *false* and *base*?

Mr. Ponsonby.—The noble lord has asserted that we received information from the agents of foreign powers, which we unworthily applied in this house. If the noble lord persists in that charge, I must assert that there is no truth in the assertion; that the insinuation, as I before said, was base.

Lord Castlereagh.—Does the right honourable gentleman mean to say that the information was not derived from the agents of Murat?

Mr. Whitbread said, that he was happy to assure the house that such a charge was perfectly ridiculous. Certain documents had appeared in the public prints, and some animadversions were made upon them in parliament. Two or three days afterwards he had received a letter purporting to come from Genoa, which he had never answered otherwise than by acknowledging the receipt of it to the individual, who said he had been charged to deliver it four or five weeks earlier, but had not met with Mr. Whitbread at home.

Mr. Ponsonby—I can only say, upon my word of honour, that I never did receive myself, or ever hear that any of my friends had received,

ceived, any communications from the agents of foreign governments during the course of my life. I hope the noble lord will not now assert that we have clandestinely received information from foreign agents.

Lord Castlereagh—I wish to understand in what way the right honourable gentleman meant to apply the terms *false* and *base*?

Mr. Tierney observed, that this disagreeable discussion might in a moment be terminated, if the noble lord would admit that he did not mean to insinuate that improper practices had existed on the subject.

Lord Castlereagh—I am not prepared, I confess, to make such an admission. I think the information was not obtained constitutionally or properly.

Mr. Whitbread did not understand what the noble lord meant by the terms “constitutionally and properly.” Did the noble lord mean to make any charge that gentlemen on the anti-ministerial side of the house had acted in a manner unbecoming them as true citizens and members of parliament? that they had conducted themselves in a manner that did not befit their public duties?

The Speaker—I am quite persuaded that the house cannot suffer the debate to terminate with such words unexplained. Whatever might be the heat of debate, or the strength of the impression they made, they are words that, I am sure, the right honourable gentleman will disclaim having used in a personal and offensive sense, that might lead to any proceedings upon another occasion and in another place. The right honourable gentleman owes it to the house to give some explanation.

Mr. Ponsonby—Let the noble lord place himself in our situation, and suppose the accusation brought

against himself, would he not feel it very acutely?

Lord Castlereagh—I objected on the general principle to the employment of information that must directly or indirectly have come from such sources as those to which I alluded.

Mr. Horner—The noble lord ought to make allowances for the heat of debate, and ought to take this opportunity of disclaiming any thing of a personal nature.

Lord Castlereagh—I have no difficulty in admitting that I intended no personal charge. I did feel that a motion made upon intelligence procured through indirect channels was not such as parliament could wisely adopt.

Mr. Tierney was sure that the natural good humour, of which the noble lord possessed so large a share, would prevail to restore amity. The noble lord had at first undoubtedly used a very strong expression.

Lord Castlereagh—I am not aware that I employed any strong language that could reasonably be made the subject of complaint.

Mr. Ponsonby—I did assert that the accusation was of a most serious nature to every man who values his character, and with that impression I employed the words in the warmth of debate: after the explanation of the noble lord, I may say that I am sorry I used them.

Mr. Protheroe thought the statement of the noble lord (Castlereagh) perfectly satisfactory, notwithstanding the sneering looks which the honourable member had directed to that side of the house when that statement was cheered. The British government had been successfully disculpated from any breach of faith towards marshal Murat.

Mr. Horner observed, that the noble lord had left several material parts

parts of the question untouched, neither had he succeeded in shaking him (Mr. Horner) in the opinion which he entertained as to our conduct towards the ruler of Naples. He acknowledged that if it could be distinctly made out that marshal Murat had failed in such part of his engagements as required his active co-operation against France, there would have been good cause for this country to refuse to accede to the treaty with him. The letters however, which the noble lord had produced, however curious as indications of the character of persons to whom the world looked with interest, they could not materially bear on the question, as no letter had been produced which manifested any understanding between the sovereign of Naples and the ruler of France subsequently to the 4th of March, when the letter from the emperor of Austria, containing his assurance that the ratification should be concluded, had been received.

The motion was then carried.—
Adjourned.

May 8.—Sir J. Shaw moved the order of the day for the second reading of the post-office bill. Four plans had been submitted to the committee. That which they had preferred would amount to the sum of 244,400*l.* which, though higher than the others, yet it combined so many advantages, that the house would, by the slightest examination of the report, see the reason which had determined the committee to decide in its favour.

Mr. Gordon objected to the motion. In his opinion no cause had been made out which would justify the house in giving countenance to the bill. He adverted to that part of the report which stated that the new building should be de-

void of ornament, from which he differed as much as he did to the adoption of the measure at all. If we were to have new buildings on which 244,000*l.* were to be expended, he thought that, as a public edifice, it ought to have the advantage of ornaments and decorations. It was true he would not wish to see the entrance resembling a triumphal arch, but he would have the ornaments such as to distinguish a public building of this kind from the gloom of a prison, or the melancholy appearance of an hospital. His main objection, however, was to the very great expense, at a period when the country was so little able to bear it.

Mr. Hammersley said he had carefully examined the numerous and great inconveniences attendant on the old post-office. Great numbers of the valuable servants of the government, employed in carrying on this truly beneficial branch of the revenue, were shut up in close rooms, dirty, and covered with smoke, so that their health must be in danger, one would almost think, from suffocation. He agreed with his honourable friend, that though no triumphal arches were necessary, yet in a public building of that nature, there ought to be a degree of magnificence in its decorations.

Mr. Western objected to the bill on the ground of the immense expense, which, under our present financial difficulties, the country was ill able to bear.

Mr. Butterworth was convinced that a new office was absolutely necessary, and he thought St. Martin's-le-grand the best situation that could be obtained for it.

Mr. H. Sumner still remained of opinion that the old office, with the additional ground that could be obtained for the purpose, would be
made

made complete at a far less expense than the new plan.

After some observations (from sir William Curtis and others, the house divided.—Ayes, 149—Noes, 70—Majority, 79. The bill passed.

Mr. Tierney, with reference to the civil list, observed, that he never entertained strong hopes of any good being done by a committee with circumscribed powers. It had always struck him that there was a want of that necessary superintendence over the expenditure of the civil list which alone could prevent such heavy arrears. He was satisfied that gentlemen must see the necessity of having oral testimony on these subjects, and not merely papers. In the list of expenditure the department he should particularly allude to was that of the lord chamberlain, which he would do without any invidious view. The charge of furniture for Carlton-House alone during two years and three quarters was 160,000*l.* exclusively of the 100,000*l.* voted on the motion of Mr. Perceval for an out-fit. This made 260,000*l.* Mr. Perceval stated that the extra expense was for plate and other ornamental matters. What had become of the king's plate? The upholstery expenses were last year 49,000*l.* Or molu was charged 2,900*l.*, china and glass 12,000*l.*, linen-drapery, &c. an enormous sum; the silversmith and the wardrobe occasioned charges to an immense amount; the former no less than 130,000*l.* in three years. There was a delicacy due to the royal family, but a faithful parliament could not better discharge its duty than by guarding against unnecessary expenditure, which was indeed unequalled in Europe. For the expenses of the foreign sovereigns there was 50,000*l.* The average of

expense for plate and jewels was 23,000*l.* a year. To whom did that plate belong? He believed many of the items ought to be charged individually to the prince regent, who had a privy purse of about 70,000*l.* a year. In 1812, Mr. Marsh gave in a satisfactory account respecting the mode in which furniture was provided for the palaces. Now a distinction was made between the palaces occupied by the king, or prince regent, and the other royal houses; so that there was no security against the expenses of those so occupied. Mr. Bankes's bill, in fact, became a dead letter. These circumstances of expense would throw some light on the question, on which so much had been said, respecting the officers of the household being independent of the ministers. He then adverted to the numerous allowances to ambassadors. He believed that instead of the usual allowance of plate, some of the ambassadors took money. There was a Mr. William Hill, an envoy, whose name he had never heard, who had 37,000*l.* for plate; and there was a right honourable gentleman the ambassador to Lisbon who received 3,500*l.* for plate, and so much for out-fit, together with his 14,000*l.* of salary; so that for one year he would make a very good thing of it. When lord Cathcart went ambassador to Petersburg, he understood he did not take the plate, but 4,400*l.* instead of it. His object was to put the control of the household expenditure in the hands of responsible persons. No man was more willing that the crown should enjoy becoming splendour, but it should be regulated by strict economy. He believed that if the prince regent had some honest advisers about him, who should remind him when ordering

dering articles to such an enormous amount, that he was only running into expenses that would lead to unpleasant discussions, that a great deal might be saved. What occasion was there that his royal highness should send to the upholsterer, the furniture-man, &c. ? No man could suppose that he could occupy his attention with such frivolous objects. He denied any wish to interfere with the interior œconomy of the royal household, or to examine the cooks or turnspits : but he would ask, was there equal profusion displayed even in the expenditure of the continental princes ? And after all, it was impossible to rival foreigners in show ; there was something in the habits of this country which did not admit of it ; but still about the British court, as it once existed, there was a chastened and dignified splendour, which excited more real respect than glitter or show could produce. The house surely would not sanction that enormous and merciless expenditure which the papers disclosed. While the people felt that they paid liberally for supporting the dignity of the crown, they did expect that it should show something like sympathy for them in their present burthened state. He concluded with moving, that the committee be empowered to send for and examine Mr. Marsh, of the lord chamberlain's office.

Lord Castlereagh entered into a variety of statements respecting the expenditure in the lord chamberlain's department. He contended that the committee in 1812, had allowed an addition of 24,000*l.* to the estimate of 1804, as not being founded on any practical examination. There was an obvious explanation of the great expenditure of the last three quarters. The expense incur-

red by the visit of the sovereigns was 132,000*l.* ; deducting this from the exceeding in the expense of these three quarters, and there would be about 90,000*l.* of extraordinary expenditure. Of this there was between 15 and 20,000*l.* for the establishment of the princess Charlotte. There were other charges, which reduced the whole exceeding to 60,000*l.* which he was prepared to admit was the extraordinary expenditure of these three quarters. He would also admit, that in this department there was an exceeding in the whole of three years, of from 80 to 90,000*l.* But the right honourable gentleman aggravated this by adding to it the 100,000*l.* which the prince regent received for outfit. But the house should recollect that while his royal highness acted as restricted regent, he never received any thing from parliament whatever, though additional expense was necessarily entailed upon him. When unrestricted, that his creditors as prince of Wales might not suffer, he appropriated one half of his income as prince of Wales, about 60,000*l.* a year, to their payment. Neither was the 100,000*l.* granted by way of outfit applied to the equipment of his royal highness, but applied to the liquidation of his debt ; by which means the 60,000*l.* a year devoted to the payment of debt, would be a year and a half sooner at the disposal of the public. His statement was, that the whole exceeding of the three years was 90,000*l.* ; now if you set against that the 100,000*l.* for outfit, applied to the payment of debt, and by which the 60,000*l.* per annum would be sooner relieved, you would have upon the whole a saving of 10,000*l.* The right honourable gentleman had said, why did not the prince regent use the plate of the sovereign ; but

but how could he strip his father and his family of their plate? Of the 39,000*l.* expended on furniture, it should be recollected that 17,000*l.* was for furnishing what was called the cottage at Windsor. A great deal of ridicule had been thrown on the name, most unfairly. It might be called a cottage, because it was thatched; but the fact was, that though not a residence for a monarch, it was a very comfortable one for a family, and the only one which the prince could make use of when he visited Windsor. The public had been put to no additional expense for the residence of the prince regent. It was most unjust to compare the civil list of England with the expenditure of continental princes. A million a year was voted to the king of France and his family, merely for supporting the splendour of the crown, while one half of our civil list was appropriated to very different purposes. Concealment of accounts was not the policy of ministers, but they would resist the system of bringing all the interior details of the palace before the public by means of oral examination. The noble lord had to state, however, that for the purpose of watching the expenditure of the civil list, a warrant had recently passed the privy seal, directing that estimates of every expenditure should be given in to a responsible officer, whose approbation and order should be essential to every tradesman for the payment of his accounts. The right honourable gentleman would, therefore, find the system he recommended now acted upon.

After a long debate the question was then called for, and the house divided.—For the motion, 119—Against it, 175—Majority, 56.—Adjourned.

May 9—Mr. H. Addington proceeded to state the grounds on which he should move for leave to bring in a bill to enable the king to accept the services of the local militia, either in or out of their counties, for a time to be limited. The bill, in fact, which he intended to propose was a revival, with certain modifications, of the act of the 53d of the king, which expired on the 25th of March last. The present situation of affairs had called on the government again to propose such a measure to the house, in consequence of a great part of the regular army having been embarked for the continent, while a considerable portion of the remainder had not yet arrived from America. The alteration he should propose was, that the time during which they might remain on duty, which in the former act had been 42 days, should be limited to 28 days. He concluded by moving to bring in a bill accordingly.

Lord Milton said, he should take this early opportunity to protest against a renewal of a measure, the constitutional objections to which on a former occasion had been overlooked, in the intoxication of success. He now lamented that he had not even then opposed the introduction of a measure of which it was intended to make use when the necessity had ceased, and from which a precedent had been erected to continue those inroads on the militia system, which from its constant changes into new forms, had destroyed all confidence in any engagement which the government might enter into with the soldiers. Nothing was more delusive than to say that the bill would only call for the voluntary services of such as were disposed to march out of their counties—the influence of his superiors

riors, and the example of his comrades, left no choice to the individual. He did not approve of that conduct which had been called patriotic, and so forth—namely, the exertion on the part of men of birth and property of their influence to draw the soldier into services which his own interests might have dissuaded him from.

After some further conversation, the bill was brought up, read, and ordered to be printed; and finally passed.

House of lords, May 19.—Earl Grey said, that as no objection had been made to the production of the overture which had been made by the present government of France, he wished to know when it would be laid before the house?

The earl of Liverpool said, it would be laid before the house on Monday. He believed it was nearly word for word the same as that which had been printed in the French papers as a circular overture to the different powers of Europe.

Earl Grey said, that some more time should be afforded the house for the consideration of it than was now proposed to be given. In the treaty of the 30th of March there was an article by which the allies agreed to maintain the arrangements which should have been contracted at the congress: now before the house decided that it was expedient to enter into a pledge to support those engagements by a war, and by subsidies to our allies, it was surely necessary that their lordships should be informed of the nature of them. Of those engagements, however, they were at that time entirely ignorant, excepting only those which had been made as to Genoa. But as to the partition of Saxony, no information whatever was before the house, nor as to any of the other

arrangements which had been made at the congress. There was another article in the treaty, which stipulated that it should be proposed to the king of France, now at Ghent, to accede to that treaty, and to state what degree of assistance he should be able to render to the common cause. Now it was proper that the house should be in possession, not only of the invitation which had been made to Louis XVIII. but also of his answer, and the extent of means which he possessed of co-operating with the allies. A declaration had been published, purporting to be the proclamation of the duke of Wellington, which he had no doubt would be found to be a forgery. He wished that the noble earl would state whether he was possessed of any information as to the person from whom that forgery issued.

The earl of Liverpool had not the least hesitation in assuring the noble earl (Grey), that he had never seen nor heard of that proclamation before he had observed it in an evening paper, in which it was copied from a French paper of the 19th. He could also say, that it was highly improbable that any proclamation should have been issued by the duke of Wellington in the present state of things. As to the source from which that proclamation could have originated, it was of course impossible that he could speak, as he knew of the existence of it, as he had before said, only from the public prints. As to the other points which had been mentioned by the noble earl (Grey), he did not wish then to enter into any discussion, but he could state that the communication from the government of France having been referred to the allies at Vienna, it was decided that no negotiation should

should be entered into on it. On the other point, the accession of the king of France to the treaty of alliance, had certainly not been received, though the treaty had been submitted to him; and as to the means of the king of France, it would not be in his power to submit any information to the house.—[The noble earl here being about to sit down, earl Grey reminded him of the question as to the proceedings at the congress.]—As to the proceedings at the congress, the noble earl observed, that until they were reduced to the form of a treaty, he should not be enabled to lay any message on the subject before the house.

Earl Grey remarked, what an extraordinary state the house was placed in. The treaty of the 30th March agreed to maintain the arrangements concluded and signed at the congress of Vienna, and the house was to be called upon to support that treaty, without being in possession of the arrangements on which it was founded—not only to support them, but to give large sums to our allies, raised from the people of this country! He would therefore entreat the house to consider whether the house can enter into the discussion without that information. There was also one of the treaties which had not been ratified; he wished to know what power it was whose ratification had not been received?

The earl of Liverpool.—Austria: but certain intelligence had been received that the treaty has been ratified by that power.

The earl of Darnley observed, that the declaration of Louis XVIII. was in effect the same as that which had been said to have been issued by the duke of Wellington, for that monarch stated that his allies would

acknowledge him alone as the sovereign of France. He wished to know, therefore, whether that proclamation of Louis XVIII. was authentic?

No answer having been given,

The marquis of Buckingham observed, that it was imperative on the house to know what they were to bind themselves to support. He should again inquire whether any copy of a declaration of his Most Christian Majesty had been issued at Ghent?

The earl of Liverpool said, his majesty's government was not answerable for any declaration issued by any foreign power or state.—He could not deny or affirm the authenticity of any thing issued by Louis XVIII.

The earl of Darnley said, to bring the matter to the test, he should move an address for the copy of any declaration of Louis XVIII. issued at Ghent, which might have reached this country.

The house then divided on the motion—Contents, 28—Not contents, 59—Majority against the motion, 31.

House of commons, May 19.—Mr. Whitbread thought it necessary to put a question to ministers with respect to a publication which had gone forth, purporting to be the proclamation of lord Wellington. This publication certainly bore the character of forgery. He suspected that it could have no foundation; but it was very desirable to have it disavowed, for although this paper was destitute of any appearance of authenticity, it had created a great impression.

Mr. Pole replied, that government had not the slightest reason to believe that the proclamation alluded to was authentic, nor had government the least ground to

suppose that lord Wellington had issued any proclamation whatever.

Mr. Horner thought the house must feel it impossible, on his part, to let this day pass over without calling its attention to what had just been published, with regard to certain letters which were read by the noble secretary for foreign affairs in a recent debate upon his (Mr. H.'s) motion respecting Naples, and which letters produced a great impression upon the house, although they had no effect whatever upon his view of the subject. These letters were in the publication alluded to, alleged to be forgeries. Such was the allegation of the French journalist. But whether that allegation were true or false, it was impossible to believe that the noble lord would have produced such letters if he had not supposed they were genuine. The charge, however, of forgery, was made in the face of Europe, and therefore called for explanation. That publication, under all the circumstances, was evidently such as to demand inquiry; and with a view to such inquiry, there were some documents which must be in the archives of the foreign office, and for the production of which he thought it necessary to move. These documents were the letter of count Blacas to the noble lord, inclosing the letters alluded to, and also the letter of lord Wellington to count Blacas, dated in January last, a copy of which had also appeared in the French journal.

Lord Castlereagh said, that if the honourable gentleman had delayed his inquiries for a few days, until the papers, which had before been moved for were laid upon the table, he would have found they contained all the information which he was so anxious to receive. With re-

spect to the letter of lord Wellington, of the 4th January, it was perfectly correct and authentic; but then it applied to papers totally different from those which he (lord Castlereagh) had read in that house. It was true, however, that papers on that subject were found in the archives at Paris, before the duke of Wellington left that city; but so far as that letter went, it only proved that the duke of Wellington was not disposed to strain any point with respect to the conduct of Murat. It was alleged, that certain of the documents which he (lord Castlereagh) had read, were either wholly fabricated, or in part falsified. Now those documents amounted to eight in number, and of five out of those eight, he would venture to say, that not a doubt could exist in the most incredulous mind as to their being original and authentic. The remaining three were the only ones that might, by possibility, be fabricated, and they were draughts or minutes of letters from Bonaparte himself. It was necessary he should state, that the whole of them were transmitted officially to him by the count de Blacas, according to the usual forms, and authenticated by that minister as being faithful and correct copies. The official letter of the count de Blacas, which accompanied them, would be found among the papers, when they were laid upon the table. Anxious that no misrepresentation might arise, and at the same time not wholly without apprehension that some attempt would be made to impeach the authenticity of those documents, the count de Blacas took the precaution of transmitting the originals to the prince of Castelcicala, the ambassador from his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies to this country, and obviously the fittest person

to whom such documents could be confided. He (lord Castlereagh) had seen and examined those originals that morning, and certainly there did not remain upon his mind the slightest doubt of their being authentic. Taking the case, therefore, upon the five documents only, as applicable to the conduct of Murat, it would appear most satisfactorily to the house, that instead of affording an active co-operation to the allies, he had balanced between them and Bonaparte, waiting only for a fit opportunity to declare for either, as might best suit his own ambitious views. The last letter of Bonaparte, in particular, would be found to be unequivocally authentic; and in fact, the attempt now made to represent the whole as fabrications, was only a part of that general system now openly acted upon, of fabricating proclamations for the duke of Wellington and Prussian governors, for the sole purpose of deluding and misleading the French nation, in order to make them the blind instruments for carrying on the projects of its present ruler. After those documents had been officially communicated to him, he immediately transmitted them to the duke of Wellington at Vienna, and his grace's letter in reply would be laid before the house, in which he stated, that having received from him (lord C.) the proofs of Murat's treachery during the last campaign, he had immediately submitted them to the allied sovereigns, who were completely satisfied with them, and had determined, in consequence, to commence an attack upon Murat. That individual, however, did not wait for the attack; but in perfect consistency with his whole policy, and in the hope of achieving the great objects of his ambition, he had him-

self begun hostilities. In short, the whole case of Murat's treachery was completely made out by the letter of the viceroy alone, the original of which he had seen; and he believed he himself knew sufficient of that person's hand-writing to pronounce upon it as authentic. With regard to the allegation that the other three letters were either fabricated or materially falsified by the count de Blacas, before he transmitted them to him, he certainly was not inclined to believe it, because, even supposing that a minister of state could be base enough to forge documents of so grave a character, and give them to the world as original, there was no sufficient motive for such a proceeding in the present case; for every thing which it was necessary to prove was completely proved by documents unequivocally authentic, and it would therefore have been a gratuitous act of immorality to fabricate papers merely to make that clearer which was already clear enough. Upon the whole, he did not think it necessary for the honourable gentleman to persevere in his motion, as the object of it would be completely complied with under a former motion to which the house had agreed. If, however, it was thought desirable to produce the letter of lord Wellington, he should certainly feel no objection to its production, provided it could be found in the foreign office; at the same time, for all the purposes of discussion, he was ready to admit its authenticity.

Mr. Horner said, the noble lord had argued that only three out of the eight letters were pretended to be false; but certainly if he found that, of eight documents coming all from the same source, three could be proved to be forgeries, it would create a considerable doubt in his

mind as to the authenticity of the remainder; and it might be regarded as a fair inference that the other five were correct, only because their fabrication was not sufficiently made out. He was quite sure that if the noble lord himself were to be convinced that three had been so imposed upon him, he would place no confidence in the remainder. With regard to the letter of the duke of Wellington, he was certainly desirous to have that produced; but the other part of the motion he should withdraw.

Lord Castlereagh said, if the honourable gentleman wished to see the originals, he had no doubt he could procure him an opportunity of examining them; and he would then be convinced that they bore upon their face the impossibility of their being fabricated.

Mr. Tierney put another question respecting the documents upon which lord Wellington's opinion was formed. Its object was to know whether any of those papers which lord Castlereagh had read, formed a part of what was submitted to the duke of Wellington, and upon which his grace had pronounced in his letter of the 4th January? To this lord Castlereagh replied, across the table, that he was not prepared to affirm that some of those five documents were among those upon which lord Wellington had formed his opinion.

The motion for the production of lord Wellington's letter was then carried.

After some further business the house adjourned.

House of lords, May 22.—Lord Liverpool presented the following message from the prince regent:

“G. P. R.

“The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his ma-

jesty, thinks it right to inform the house of lords, that in consequence of the events which have recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the treaties signed at Paris in the course of the last year, his royal highness has thought it necessary, in concert with his majesty's allies, to enter into such engagements against the common enemy, as may prevent the recurrence of a system which experience has shown to be incompatible with the peace and security of Europe. His royal highness has ordered copies of the treaties concluded with the allies to be laid before the house for its information; and he confidently relies upon the support of his faithful commons, to enable him to fulfil the stipulations therein contracted, and to take such steps, in conjunction with his allies, as may be indispensably necessary at this important crisis.”

The message being read, lord Liverpool moved that it should be taken into consideration to-morrow.

Earl Grey expressed a wish to know in what state the country was to be considered at present—whether in a state of war or not?

The earl of Liverpool stated, that this message was a step towards the undertaking of hostilities, but that no embargo had yet been ordered, nor had any letter of marque yet been issued, nor had any proceeding of hostility actually taken place. He should, however, deceive the noble earl and the house, if he did not say that this message was a step towards hostility, the actual commencement of which would be determined by considerations of general expediency; but yet this was to be regarded as a message of war, and the address which he meant to move would import an approval of that war.

The marquis of Buckingham felt it

it his duty to submit a motion, in consequence of some words contained in the treaty communicated to their lordships, by which the contracting parties engaged to maintain certain stipulations concluded by the congress at Vienna. He therefore moved for an address to the regent, praying for a copy of the stipulations stated in the first article of the treaty before the house to have been signed and concluded by the congress at Vienna, and which the allies solemnly engaged to maintain.

Lord Liverpool assured the noble marquis, that the time was not yet come for making that communication, as the stipulations alluded to formed no part of any ratified treaty. When that ratification should take place, those stipulations would of course be made known to their lordships.

Earl Grey observed, that into a contest so full of danger and expense the country ought not to be plunged without the consent of that house, without being fully aware of the objects of the confederacy. With this view, then, he felt that it was material to put their lordships in possession of the stipulations referred to, and also of the terms upon which Louis XVIII. had acceded to the alliance, in order to understand under what pledge this country was about to act. A publication had appeared, purporting to be the manifesto of that unfortunate monarch, which contained these remarkable words:—"The powers assembled at congress resolved, that the accession of the king (Louis XVIII.) should be demanded to the new compact which they had just concluded—their ambassadors have brought these communications to his majesty—they presented to him the new creden-

tials of their respective sovereigns, to reside wherever the sole legitimate sovereign of France was; and their powers being authenticated, they offered the new treaty of the allies to the deliberation and signature of the king. Frenchmen, the king has deliberated and signed it. *In these words alone lies your whole security.*"—These words he (lord G.) thought at variance with the declaration annexed to our ratification of the treaty alluded to; and therefore, previous to the consideration of the proposed address, he felt that their lordships should be informed of the terms upon which Louis XVIII. had acceded to this treaty.

The earl of Liverpool said, that the conclusion could not be justified, either upon any technical form or principle of argument, that the allusion to the stipulations of congress in the first article of the treaty implied their ratification, or necessarily connected any consideration of these stipulations with the question fixed for discussion to-morrow. For what was the state of the case? A negotiation had commenced at Vienna, which, if Bonaparte had never returned from Elba, would have still proceeded, and certain points were decided; and was there any thing unusual or irregular in the pledge that the parties concerned would support their decision in concert? But the engagements referred to in that decision were distinct from the question which the house would be called upon to consider to-morrow. Those engagements, indeed, would, as he had already said, bear in no degree upon that question. The motion of to-morrow was in fact not at all intended to pledge the house to any approbation of the proceedings of congress, but to support the regent in his purpose of resisting the common enemy in conjunction

with his allies—to consider the expediency and the necessity of opposing the present government of France. With respect to Louis XVIII. no act of formal accession on the part of that monarch to the treaty before the house had been received by his majesty's ministers; and as to the reported ambiguity of the conduct of ministers and the allies, in appointing persons to reside at the court of Louis, no such ambiguity could be fairly imputed. For the principle of the allies stood upon plain and simple grounds. It was not their object to dictate any form of government to France; but they certainly wished for the restoration of the legitimate sovereign of that country, as the best means of securing a solid and permanent peace; and for the attainment of that end they were pledged to co-operate within certain limits. For they did not intend or desire to interfere with the exercise of the right of the French nation to choose its own government, and therefore they were not bound to Louis XVIII. to press his restoration to the throne, against the wish of the French people.

The motion was withdrawn.—Adjourned.

May 23.—The regent's message having been read, the earl of Liverpool said he had to submit to the house the awful question of peace or war. After a 24 years hard struggle, it was indeed highly desirable that the country should enjoy the blessings of peace; but he would ask, "Could we remain at peace under the existing circumstances?" and this was the question to be considered. The justice of a war against Bonaparte arose from his resumption of the French government, in direct violation of a solemn treaty. It had been said, that this treaty

had been first violated by the allies; but even supposing this to have been the fact, it did not justify him in his conduct—for he had made no representation to the allies on the subject; and therefore, not having demanded reparation, he could not obtain redress. Bonaparte, however, had not even complained of such violation till after his return to France, but had despised such justification, and deliberately broken the treaty of Fontainebleau, by which he had abdicated the French throne, and which was the fundamental condition of a peace with France, and the reason why better terms had been granted to that nation by the allies.—The dissolution of Bonaparte's government was in truth the only security for the peace of Europe, and the essence of the treaty: his return to France therefore absolved the allies from all obligations regarding him, and fully established the justice of the war against him.—Then as to the necessity of it, the whole conduct of that person proved that there could be no security for peace while he wielded the power of France—his unbounded ambition, his contempt of every obligation, his treatment of Italy, of Holland, of Spain, all proved it; neither friendship nor submission stopped his career of aggression; his thirst of dominion was the predominant passion of his mind, to which every thing, however sacred, was made to give way; and with such a person, peace was impossible.—It had been asserted that the French nation had recalled him to the throne. He could not admit this. The soldiery and some discontented persons had done it. There was indeed every reason to believe that the people at large were contented with the paternal government of Louis XVIII. Some persons thought that a change

a change had taken place in the disposition of Bonaparte; his age had been mentioned as one reason for it: but he was only two years younger when he invaded Russia, and it was impossible to calculate on a change in such a man. Then again a limited government in France had been urged; but a limited government under a military chieftain, he thought, was an absurd and preposterous speculation. It was however still urged, that a trial at least should be made to remain at peace, rather than encounter the certain evils of war. But it should be recollected, that Bonaparte had returned to France when the allies were still united in inclination and in means; and it was therefore wise to make an immediate effort to crush the mischief at once, and not to give the enemy time to re-create his army and establish his power in France. Time would disperse the confederacy; and when a war became necessary (for who could calculate on Bonaparte's forbearance when in strength?) it would be difficult to collect the scattered powers. We had now an opportunity of suppressing the government of Bonaparte, and if we forgo the opportunity, it may never arise again.—It had been said, that because the allies were willing to treat with Bonaparte at Chatillon, they should now treat with him. Then however he was the undisputed sovereign of France, and had moreover all the strong fortresses in his possession. This was not the case at present; and, besides, there was every reason to believe that great part of the French people were averse to him. The events of war were in the hands of Providence; but as far as human means, judgment, and dispositions could go, it was the opinion of all the great military characters, that

we might rely on success. They had indeed the alternative of a feverish state of suspense—a peace with a war establishment—a condition already endured by this nation. But the favourable moment for war had arisen—we could strike effectually, and if we delayed to do so, our means would cease to exist. Economy ought certainly to be considered in the present state of our finances; but peace with a peace establishment was out of the question, and we should be worse off, when, after the expenses of such a peace, we should find ourselves goaded into a war.—The contest was about to commence under the best auspices—we had not induced the sovereigns to go to war—it was entered upon from no motives of ambition, but solely for the general security of Europe. They had no wish to injure France, or to dictate a government to that nation. The re-establishment of the Bourbons was certainly an object every way desirable; he sincerely wished that event, and so did the French in the south, the west, and the north; but every nation had a right to choose its own government, and no foreign power ought to interfere in such choice. The nations of Europe could say to France, not what government she should have, but what she should not have. This distinction was clear and evident; and the right was manifest, as the conditions of peace had been more favourable, on account of the establishment of a government whose character and good faith enabled Europe to look for repose.—Their lordships therefore would decide, whether there could be peace with Bonaparte, or whether his removal would alone produce security? Europe had once been delivered by the very means now in being, and a similar policy ought

not to prevent the crushing of the greatest evil which had existed in the memory of man. The great work was about to be commenced; and he trusted that the peace, the rights, and the liberties of nations would be established on a lasting basis.—The noble earl then moved an address to the regent, echoing the royal message.

Earl Grey observed, that when wrongs were inflicted or danger threatened, it was held by the best writers on public law, that a demand of reparation should precede an appeal to arms. No such demand had been made in the present case; and if we possessed the right of going to war, it must arise from the violation of some treaty. The treaty of Paris, the fundamental principle of which was the abdication of Bonaparte, had been violated: but we must not always discuss abstract principles: we must look to circumstances, and the distinctions which the progress of society has introduced; and it is not every danger which would entitle us to interfere in the affairs of nations. The personal character, however, of Bonaparte is now the ground of alarm; but is it sufficient to demand our interposition? Was ever such a principle before heard of in modern times? No; it must be searched for in barbarous ages, and we must go back, as the late lord Loughborough once did, to the case of Regulus, to ancient times for a precedent. But personal objections were no grounds for war—the mere existence of an ambitious and warlike sovereign cannot give any such right, and for this simple reason, that he is a mortal, subject to disease, age, and death—from which you may have sufficient security to induce you to maintain the relations of peace.—But have the allies them-

selves not been guilty of any breach of treaty? was the stipulated pension paid to Bonaparte? was his property and that of his family in France not seized? was it not intended to deprive his wife and son of the duchies of Parma and Placentia? all in scandalous violation of the treaty of Fontainebleau! A demand of reparation ought certainly to have been made; but what say Grotius and Vattel? They expressly say, that the non-performance gives the injured party the option either to negotiate for redress, or to hold the treaty utterly void. He would therefore say, that as the allies had refused to perform the stipulated conditions, Bonaparte had a right to consider himself as absolved from the condition of his abdication, and to proceed as his judgement decided. The noble earl had indeed asserted, that Bonaparte never complained of this violation of the treaty; but in his proclamation from Bourgoing it would be seen that he had expressly declared that those violations had restored him to his throne and to his rights; and he further added, that he feared a removal from the asylum he had chosen. The noble earl seemed by his gestures to deny there was any foundation for such fear; but would he say that it had not been suggested by Talleyrand, and that Bonaparte had not good ground for suspicion?—By the treaty of Fontainebleau, Bonaparte abdicated his throne; and by the treaty of Paris peace was given to Europe in consequence, and certain securities were not then enforced. What then was the obligation contracted by the French people? They were not confined to any particular government; they might have chosen Massena, or Ney, or Caulaincourt, or Carnot, or Sieyes, and we should have no right

right of interference: how far then were the allies justified in insisting upon the removal of Bonaparte merely on personal grounds? His abdication is not specifically referred to in the treaty: but then securities had not been insisted upon, by reason of the return of the Bourbons: he therefore contended, that the whole extent of the right of this country was to demand such securities—the securities they had so relinquished. If we contend for more, we must contend for what the noble earl does not stipulate for,—the restoration of the Bourbons.—The expediency of a war was another thing. Burke, whose speeches and writings were a magazine of arguments for and against almost every question, had stated, that neither a profitable wrong nor an unprofitable right would justify a war—or in other words, that expediency alone was to be considered. Does the present condition of things make a war expedient? If they would have treated with Ney, or Massena, or Caulaincourt, is the difference of France under Bonaparte so great as to authorize war? A declaration had been issued at Vienna, which declared that Bonaparte had forfeited his legal title to existence, that he was put out of the pale of society, and was liable to public vengeance. What could possibly be the meaning of such phrases, but that the savage principle of assassination was inculcated? It had, he knew, been denied, and he was glad to find it was; but the enemy had derived great advantage from its promulgation. Supposing, however, that the war was a legitimate one, the alternative was dreadful; for Bonaparte must either be overthrown entirely; or the allies be completely humiliated. This was a fearful state of things—we were not to make

truce or peace with a man who commanded the resources of a mighty nation! Disgrace and degradation might ensue, for events could not be controlled nor victories ensured. After such a declaration against Bonaparte, should he triumph, what hope would there be for the allies? What hope indeed for us, with our diminished resources and harassed population? Ought not this view of things to make us pause? Or is it true, that after the glorious triumphs we have obtained, and after France has been limited to her old dimensions, we are not secure against the power, the rapacity, the ambition, of one single individual? As to the internal state of France, said by the noble earl to be so favourable to the Bourbons, he would ask whence came the information on the subject?—It came from a manifestly interested source; and as to the proclamations of the French government, it was well known that governments had frequently objects to gain by making certain disturbances! The formidable convulsions, during the revolution, had been put down by the existing government, which was never more energetic and formidable than at that very period. In fact, when every thing is quiet, it is clear that very little freedom prevails, as all history shows: and if dissensions really prevail in France, a foreign war was undoubtedly not the best means to foster them. But as far as his information went, the Bourbons were not only unpopular with the military, but also with the effective population. The marquis de Chabanes himself admitted, that only the clergy, the old nobility, and the emigrants, were for Louis; the military and the possessors of the national property being inimical to him. The noble earl however contended

tended otherwise, but what was his authority? Bonaparte landed with a handful of men—he went constantly before his troops—and he everywhere presented himself to the people on his journey, who always received him with acclamations! At Lyons, and other places, the national guards as well as the regulars joined him. The whole population had in fact openly expressed their satisfaction at his return. Then as to the French military, it should be recollected that they had been taken indiscriminately by the conscription, from all classes of the people, and therefore their sentiments were in a great degree those of the nation at large, which in truth was a military nation. The spirit of the army existed throughout France, as the present proceedings of the French government, who were confidently putting arms into every body's hands, sufficiently proved. Two millions of armed men must be deemed a formidable power; and the principles upon which the war was to be undertaken would only serve to unite the whole population, as had been shown before. If then we had nothing to hope from the internal state of France, what did the confederacy promise? The French army was nearly annihilated in Russia, yet another arose at Lutten; and after his defeat at Leipsic, Bonaparte mustered in France 155,000 men, with which he for some time baffled and opposed 340,000 victorious troops, by whom he was attacked on every side; and at last, it was by a narrow accident that the allies were successful. What were now Bonaparte's means? What with the returned prisoners, released garrisons, &c. &c. his regular army must now amount to at least 300,000 men; besides national guards, &c.

&c. If, therefore, success was with difficulty obtained when Bonaparte was so comparatively weak, what right had we to calculate upon it when he was evidently strong? The allies had not in fact the same means now as before. Would Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, contribute to the war? Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were to be paid five millions for their aid; and the king of Wirtemberg and others wanted some of the golden eggs which the great goose of Europe has been so long laying. Then again, is the duke of Wellington at the head of the gallant army he before commanded, or had the disastrous war with America reduced its ranks? Will the 30,000 Saxons fight against France, when it is from Dresden that Bonaparte is welcomed back, and when marshal Blucher is obliged to punish with death, to keep them in his ranks? Will Italy rise against the foe, after the scenes at Genoa and at Geneva? Poland too must be watched and kept down, and perhaps Turkey. Seeing that my lord Castlereagh had set himself up as a judge over independent sovereigns, and offered Saxony to Prussia—to Prussia, who had taken Hanover from its old ally—and that he had talked so much of the dangerous pretensions of Russia, are there no fears of jealousies even among the grand allies themselves?—But then Bonaparte is a faithless character, a traitor, an assassin. No one liked his former career less than himself (earl Grey), nor would any one more eagerly resist him on proper occasions—but is all change impossible? Have not men who waded in blood at last retired into private life? But allowing that no change was to be looked for from his disposition, was none to be expected from his policy? He not his

his exile given him opportunity of reflecting on his past errors, and may he not feel the necessity of adopting another course, and leaving that which has cost him so much? He has also undergone great fatigue both bodily and mentally: his frame must be shaken, and he is fast advancing to a period of life when exertion becomes painful. These are in some respects minor points; but can no security be derived from them, and ought not the chances to be considered?—Security was our only legitimate object. Bonaparte, he verily believed, was compelled to wish for peace, and he had strongly expressed that wish. Was that done to please his army? But the French army, in his opinion, desired peace as well as the French people.—Though much was not to be expected from sudden and new complications, still the French were compelled to form their constitution on the best model they could find—the British; and another chance of peace was to be found in that establishment. Carnot and others had given ample proofs of their attachment to real freedom, and Bonaparte would be watched by such men. A peace establishment even on a large scale was nothing like the expense of war. On the whole, he would have government act on the principles of the treaty of Chaumont; he would form defensive alliances, and not enter upon an interminable war. The Bourbons, he thought, were repulsive to all France, and the overthrow of the present ruler, if achieved, would not lead to tranquillity. America, too, was not likely to remain pacific if war took place, for the peace with her had settled nothing.—Bonaparte, by his abolition of the slave trade, had given a new character to his government, and had proved by it

that our negotiator was wrong when he stated that the abolition could not be brought about by Louis from the opposition of the French people.—The persuasions to peace were powerful on all sides. Look to injured Saxony—look to Ireland—and pause before you plunge the nation into a war which offers an expectation of advantage:—

“———Our present lot appears

“For happy, though but ill; for ill, not worst,

“If we procure not to ourselves more woe.”

The noble lord concluded by moving an amendment, “To thank his royal highness for his gracious message, and to assure him of the firm determination of the house to support all such measures as his royal highness might think it necessary to enter into for the safety and honour of the crown, and the preservation of and intimate concert with his allies, to protect the rights of all; and that the house would, as far as possible, enable his royal highness to make good all the engagements his royal highness might enter into with such views; but that it would not be justified in giving its approbation to those measures which had been adopted in consequence of negotiations at Vienna, of which the house is totally uninforme. That while they were willing to second the views of his royal highness in any exertion to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, they felt bound to protest against the principle of the war, commenced upon the grounds of dictating to France who should be her ruler, as unjust, fraught with danger, and admitting of no alternative but the utter destruction of Napoleon’s power, or a humiliating abandonment of the object of the war. That the house felt great satisfaction in understanding that hostilities had not yet

yet been commenced, and hoped that his royal highness would open new negotiations with his allies, for the purpose of better securing the safety of the country and the interests of the allies, than by the declaration of the 13th of March, or the treaty concluded consequently on the 25th of the same month."

Earl Bathurst contended that the return of Bonaparte to France was alone an ample ground for war with him. He said earl Grey had lowered the allied force and increased that of the enemy, and that he had forgotten to mention the aid which would be supplied by the king of the Netherlands.

Lord Grenville was of opinion that Bonaparte was the common enemy of Europe, and that ministers were doing their duty in the course they were taking: the moment that the treaty was violated by the return of Bonaparte to power, that moment we had a just right to go to war: there was no option left: it was altogether a matter of necessity, for it was impossible to rely on the professions of the French ruler.

On a division there appeared for the amendment, 44—Against it, 156—Majority for war, 112—Adjourned.

House of commons, May 25.—Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the house to the regent's message in a speech of some length, but which it is altogether unnecessary to detail, as almost every argument he used for the war was the same as those urged by lord Liverpool in the other house, the substance of which we have carefully given. He stated, however, that he had that morning exchanged with the Austrian ambassador the ratification of the treaty of March 25, so that treaty was complete on all sides; and his imperial majesty had also

accepted the declaration of the British government respecting the 8th article of that treaty, and had resolved to act in perfect concert with the allies in opposing the government of Napoleon Bonaparte.—The noble lord also read a document, which he contended was completely descriptive of the character of that man, and fully proved how impossible it was for him to succumb to his destiny, and to submit to disappointments. The document was written at a moment when he was placed between marshals Blücher and Schwartzberg; and foreseeing his danger, he directed his minister to conclude a treaty, but to take care that he might be able to break it. Here the noble lord read the document, which was as follows:—"Translation of a letter from the duke of Bassano to the duke of Vicenza, in the cypher of the emperor with his ministers.—March 19, 1814.—Sir,—Your excellency will have received, or will doubtless in the course of to-day receive, the dispatch from Rheims of which M. Frochot was the bearer, and which was accompanied by a letter from the emperor:—The emperor desires that you would avoid explaining yourself clearly upon every thing which may relate to delivering up the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria, if you should be obliged to consent to those cessions; his majesty intending, even though he should have ratified the treaty, to be guided by the military situation of affairs. Wait till the last moment. The bad faith of the allies in respect to the capitulations of Dresden, Dantzic, and Gorcum, authorizes us to endeavour not to be duped. Refer, therefore, these questions to a military arrangement, as was done at Presburg, Vienna, and Tilsit. His majesty

majesty desires that you would not lose sight of the disposition which he will feel not to deliver up those three keys of France, if military events, on which he is willing still to rely, should permit him not to do so, even if he should have signed the cession of all these provinces. In a word, his majesty wishes to be able, after the treaty, to be guided by existing circumstances, to the last moment. He orders you to burn this letter as soon as you have read it."—That the authenticity of this letter (said lord C.) would be denied by the enemy as usual, there was no manner of doubt. The system of falsehood was as much incorporated with their system as violence and rapacity, and the deception and concealment which were practised on the public mind in France were almost incredible. Here the noble lord mentioned, that while he was at a town in France, in the early part of 1814, he happened to read an address, purporting to come from the inhabitants, which they told him was an entire fabrication. He would ask whether a system formed on fraud and deception, such as that exhibited by the French government, was likely to be permanent?—The noble lord concluded with moving an address to the prince regent, assuring his royal highness of their cordial support in the measures he may take in conjunction with his allies against the common enemy.

Lord G. Cavendish coincided in that part of the address which recommended concert and co-operation with our allies; but he could not consent to plunge this country into a war, the only object of which was to overturn the power of the present sovereign of France. Entertaining these views, the noble

lord proposed an amendment to the address, expressing "the willingness of the house to concur with the prince regent in the measures which may be necessary for the safety of the country at the present crisis, and for preserving an intimate concert with the powers of the continent; but at the same time acquainting his royal highness, that to commence a war for the mere purpose of excluding an individual from the government of a country, appears unjust and unwise, and leaving us no alternative between the total destruction of that government, and the disgrace of being at last compelled to treat with it in the event of failure."

Mr. J. Smith seconded the motion. He urged the dangers of a war with France, and the financial difficulties of this country, as pleading loudly for peace.

Mr. Grattan heartily approved of the address. He said, among other things, that this was the very time to put down the French ruler; that the French people were averse to him; that he only pretended to give them liberty to answer his selfish ends; that no treaty would bind him; that under him all France was corrupted; and that it was impossible to confirm in the heart of Europe a military domination, founded on a triumph over civil rights, which had made the experiment of governing a great nation without any religion, and which aimed at governing Europe by means of breaking oaths and deposing the king. Such a proceeding would degrade the honour of England; and when we ceased to be first, we must be last: when we descended from our exalted rank, we should become nothing.

Sir F. Burdett admired the eloquence

quence of the right honourable gentleman, but thought his exaggerations equal to those imputed to the French. He had not convinced him of the justice or the expediency of this war. The detestable principle of the assassination of Bonaparte was held out.—The allies themselves had shown but very little faith. They had in twenty years repeatedly broken their treaties with Bonaparte and with us, though they had sometimes been all in alliance with us, and at others all in alliance with him. Russia had opposed us in an armed neutrality against what we called our maritime rights; Prussia had seized on those hereditary dominions of the king of England, which we had converted into a kingdom. As to views of liberty from Bonaparte, what hopes of liberty, religious or civil, were to be found in the conduct of the allies? Recollect the invasion of Poland, the destruction of its government, and the scenes of carnage and blood that ensued, and the march of the allies to play the same game in France. Was not the name of the Bourbons formerly synonymous in this country with perfidy? One historian speaking of Louis XIV. said, that he never wanted a pretence to break treaties. The French emperor and the other sovereigns were much upon a par on this subject, and he was sorry to say, that on the breaking the peace of Amiens, the grounds of war by this country were not placed so as to justify us. All the crimes committed could not be imputed to Bonaparte. All the other great continental powers were aggrandizing themselves, and obliterating smaller states, and handing over millions of people to different governments. Saxony was, without regard to her rights,

consigned over to Prussia. Every small power that bore a name that looked like freedom was obliterated. We went first to war to assist the Dutch about the opening of the Scheldt, and now we had done what was most abhorrent to them, by placing them under a king, and of our own making. Was he the public choice?—In fact, Bonaparte would from these circumstances find alliances in Belgium, in Holland, in Saxony, in Genoa, in Italy, and in Poland, if opportunity occurred to avail himself of them. In this rotten state, all Europe saw declarations broken in the most shameless manner. He could not pretend to prophesy on the events of war, but at any rate, we should entail on ourselves incalculable burthens. It was said that Bonaparte seized Spain, and established the worst of despotism. What had happened in Spain? Good God! We had engaged in treaties, which if not literally binding us to her freedom, leagued us with the patriots. We took them by the hand, praised their valour, fought side by side with them, for an object common to English and Spaniards, had all their resources at command, and they submitted to an English commander. How did we perform our engagements? We abandoned them, and even gave money to the odious and contemptible tyrant Ferdinand VII. to subvert the constitution; and he had persecuted the patriots, one of whom was even denied refuge in an English fortress. He believed the military despotism in France was more pleasing to the foreign powers than a free constitution, and perhaps was so also to our government. Believing that every people had a right to choose their own government, he was neither
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for forcing liberty or despotism on France, by war; and wishing to avoid a war on such a principle of interference, he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. W. Wynne argued, that the past history of Bonaparte fully proved him to be incompetent to any thing like the spirit of an honourable engagement.

Messrs. Ponsonby, Plunket, Tierney, and others spoke on the subject when the house divided—Against the amendment, 331—For it, 92—Majority for war, 239.—Adjourned.

May 26.—The house went into a committee of supply, when

Lord Castlereagh began with a description of the means with which the war against France was about to be commenced. He said, that the vast exertions now making by all the powers of the continent must satisfy every one, that our subsidies cannot supply the motive which impels them to action, nor cover more than a comparatively small proportion of the attendant expense. The amount of the pecuniary aid about to be advanced to the three great powers for the present year was 5,000,000*l*. By the treaty on which this sum is supplied, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, are bound to bring each 150,000 men into the field. England is to furnish a force of the same extent, or, failing to do this, to make up her contingent in money at the rate of 20*l*. for every infantry, and 30*l*. for every cavalry soldier. The allies, however, have not confined themselves to bringing into the field merely the 150,000 men specified in the treaty. Austria, exclusive of a force of 150,000 men employed in Italy, which alone would have satisfied the treaty, had armies to the same extent on the Upper Rhine about to act

against France. The emperor of Russia had put in motion an army of 225,000 men under general Barclay de Tolly, which was expected to arrive on the Rhine as complete in numbers as it was when it quitted the Russian frontier; and he had signified to the prince regent, that an additional force of 150,000 men, under general Wittgenstein, was assembled, and would forthwith march against France, if the exigencies of the campaign should make this measure necessary; and the whole of these corps are represented to be in a state of military efficiency that never was surpassed. Prussia, instead of the contingent she was bound to furnish by the treaty, had put in motion 236,000 men. The forces to be furnished by Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, Saxony, Hanover, the Hanse Towns, and the smaller states on the Rhine, amount to 150,000 more. To these are to be added the English army, under the duke of Wellington, and the army of the king of the Netherlands, each 50,000 strong. The result of this statement was, that no less than a million and eleven thousand men were now advancing to the frontiers of France. The subordinate states it was proposed to assist, by distributing among them that sum which may be due from England to complete the contingent which she had engaged to furnish. Thus, supposing she should not augment her army beyond 50,000 men, which it was assumed would be the extent of her co-operation in men in the present campaign, the difference to be paid in aid of the exertions of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and the other powers above enumerated, would be 2,500,000*l*. While with forces so greatly augmented the allies prepare to advance upon Bonaparte; Lord Castlereagh remarked

marked with satisfaction, that it would no longer be necessary to separate their armies, as formerly, to waste and besiege the strong places which he had garrisoned in every part of Europe, and which had subsisted armies without expense to France, which required to be watched by superior numbers of the allies. The situation of things he described to be now completely reversed. Those strong places being in the hands of the allies, they can pour their undivided masses into the very heart of France. On its frontier they possess some of the strongest places in Europe, on which, in the event of meeting with a check, they could securely retire, without being exposed to those calamities to which a defeated army in other circumstances would be exposed. A strong barrier had been erected on that frontier, of the Netherlands, which it might be expected the French would attempt to penetrate; and, when behind this it was recollected the allies possessed Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Maestricht, it may, the noble lord contended, be assumed that never could Europe engage in a just cause with fairer prospects of success, or with less grounds for apprehension, even in defeat. Under those circumstances, therefore, he should conclude with moving that there be five millions granted to his majesty, to enable him to make good his engagements with the three great continental powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

Mr. Whitbread said, every body must be aware that it was the intention of ministers to embark all the powers of Europe against Bonaparte, and to pay them all. If the whole nation, as well as the house, in its madness, were devoted to war, they must think the subsidy

extremely moderate. Notwithstanding what had been said, he would insist that the real object of the subsidy and the war, was the restoration of the Bourbons. The invasion of the French territory was resolved on. But suppose this invasion should be repelled, and that the allies do not establish themselves in France, was it to be believed that these five millions would be sufficient for more than one year? It was easy to put so many men upon paper, and to argue that the war must be concluded in a year. But supposing Bonaparte to be killed within the year, did it necessarily follow that the contest would be at an end? We were brought into a condition of paying the price of all the iniquities that we had pretended to deplore; and when the noble lord tells us that he was negotiating in an entrenched camp, on account of the jealousies that existed among the allied powers, what are we to think of the conduct of those powers, of the bad faith of one of whom he records an instance? Austria, it seemed, after borrowing a large loan from this country, had no intention or idea of repaying one farthing of it. There was also the Dutch loan, the interest of which we were to take upon ourselves, because Russia either would not or could not pay it. The interest had been paid upon it till within the last four or five years, since which time it had ceased, and now we, the people of England, were to pay the interest; and what was a thousand times more horrid to think of, we were paying the price of the blood which the empress of Russia had shed in Poland. A more horrible transaction than this could never have been contemplated even by Bonaparte himself. We were told that we had one million

tion of men in the field, and that one half of France was in a state of revolt; why, then, might not these men stand by, and let the insurrection work its way? But the noble lord and his colleagues seem to be convinced that it was necessary to give the powers of Europe one common object to fight about, to prevent them from falling upon one

another. It was against this madness of rushing into war that he should take the only method that remained to him, and divide the committee on the question before them.

Many other members spoke: after which the house divided. For the motion, 160—Against it, 16—Majority, 144.—Adjourned.

CHAPTER VI.

Lord Althorpe on the Prince Regent's Debts—Lord Lauderdale on the Earl of Roseberry's Divorce Bill—Army Estimates—Apprentices—Ordnance Estimates—Russian Debt—Lord Darnley on the War with America—Treaty with Holland—Budget—Prince Regent's Message respecting the Duke of Wellington—Civil List—Proposed Allowance to the Duke of Cumberland—Thanks to the Duke of York—Mad-Houses—Marquis of Tavistock on Mr. Whitbread—Conclusion of the Session.

HOUSE of commons, May 31. Lord Althorpe described at length the nature of the grant of 100,000*l.* to the prince regent, and contended that it could legally only be applied to the outfit, whereas it had been applied to the payment of the prince of Wales's debts. The noble lord entered into the subject of the prince's debts, adverted to the mode in which the matter had previously been treated by the noble lord (Castlereagh), and said a delusion had been practised on the house—the money had been obtained for one object and applied to another; he therefore moved—“That a committee be appointed to inquire into the application of 100,000*l.* granted by parliament to the prince regent, by the 52*d* of the king, to defray the expenses of assuming the royal authority; and that the said committee have the

power to send for and examine papers and persons.”

Lord Castlereagh hoped the house would not suffer the noble lord to lull the house with the word “inquiry;” for, if the committee were appointed, it meant neither more nor less than to convey a direct censure on the application of a certain sum of money by the prince regent. He denied any improvident expenditure of the civil list, which was presumed to have taken place and put forward as the ground of the motion. The fact was directly the reverse. By the arrangement made in the commencement of the present reign, by which his majesty accepted a specific sum voted by parliament, instead of certain revenues which supplied the civil list of George the Second, there was a saving to the public of at least 10,000,000*l.* This he should prove

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by documents communicated to the committee above stairs by order of the house.—He would ask then, was there any ground for supposing the civil list was in such a state as to call for an inquiry? But it was said no estimate had been given of the application of the 100,000*l.* which was the subject of this motion. He would answer, that according to the direction of the act, it was applied to the charges incident to his royal highness's assuming the royal authority; charges considered much greater by the necessary expenses of the year in which his royal highness had been restricted regent, and for which no public provision had been made, but were defrayed out of his royal highness's property as prince of Wales. If his royal highness, for the security of his property as prince of Wales, had sold out every thing, or consigned it to trustees, on assuming the reins of government, the public would have had to provide an establishment of horses, carriages, furniture, wine, &c. amounting, not to 100,000*l.* but to several hundred thousand pounds! But of this 100,000*l.* the sum of 97,000*l.* was applied to small debts of his royal highness, which to the amount of 80,000*l.* had been contracted within the year. The noble lord concluded with observing, that the 50,000*l.* voted for his royal highness's debts had been so applied, and this sum of 100,000*l.* was applied strictly within the intention of the act to the charges of his royal highness's assumption of the sovereign authority.

Mr. Tierney said, the real question was, whether the 100,000*l.* had been voted in conformity to the act. He was appealed to by the noble lord as having been present at a fête given by the prince when

this sum was voted. He certainly remembered that fête; it was the last time he had been at Carlton House. He had since lost his ticket. But he denied that the prince was at any increased expense during the year of his restricted regency; and he would ask, was it a decent argument of the noble lord to suggest, that the prince of Wales should sell his wine and hire his furniture to the prince regent? He (Mr. T.) had no doubt the prince would be the first to disclaim such a proceeding. But would the prince have a right to sell his property, as suggested by the noble lord? Had not Carlton House, and every thing belonging to it, been made royal property by the parliamentary arrangement for paying his royal highness's debts? The right honourable gentleman next proceeded to animadvert on the answer of Mr. Grey, secretary to the trustees who had applied this sum, and described it as a deliberate insult to the house. This sum, he contended, was appropriated by act of parliament, and that impropriation had been violated. If the house shut its eyes to such a violation in a higher quarter, they could no longer visit with merited reprehension the same misconduct in persons of an humbler description. He looked upon it as a silly argument, that horses, carriages, furniture, must have been purchased for the prince regent. Did the noble lord mean to say that his royal highness was not provided with those articles before he was called to exercise the royal functions, or that the prince regent must purchase them from the prince of Wales? It was always his (Mr. T.'s) wish, that his royal highness's debts should be paid, in order that he might assume the reins of government

vernment with his royal mind perfectly at ease. But ministers then resented any discovery of the state of his affairs, probably with a view to having a secret which it would be in their power to reveal, and also to atone for their conduct to his royal highness in 1796, by their behaviour at a time when he had it in his power to give them places. The present case was certainly one that called for inquiry, and the commissioners ought to be examined as to the mode of the application of the 100,000*l.*, which he believed would be found to be the work of a cabal. If an examination should not take place, the people of England would say that the house was wholly indifferent to the burthens of the people, though each man was made to pay a tenth of his income. Upon the present question the character of the house was more at stake than upon any other, as it would be said that those who should vote against inquiry were paying court to the crown. In the present state of the country every man should be convinced that he did not pay one farthing more than was indispensably necessary; all he wanted was a committee; but not like that on the civil list, most of the members of which had been men in official situations. Should inquiry be refused, suspicion would work on the public mind, and consequently do more mischief than any inquiry possibly could do.

Mr. Leach said, it was of no consequence whether the sum had been applied in the manner prescribed by parliament, or to discharge claims that had been sanctioned by parliament. Now the application of 50,000*l.* annually had been sanctioned by parliament to liquidate certain debts, and by so much of the grant of 100,000*l.* having been ap-

plied in that manner, a saving of 50,000*l.* for one year would take place. For these and various other reasons he was decidedly against the motion.

Mr. W. Wynne had never heard a speech that was more directly against the privilege of parliament, the control of that house over the public money, and the very substance of the constitution, than that of the honourable and learned gentleman who had just sat down, as it was a high misdemeanor to apply money in any other way than that for which it had been voted by parliament.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that parliament knew nothing of the prince's debts; but even had they been sanctioned by the house, that would be no justification of such conduct at the present. For himself, he always wished that the house had known of the prince's debts, and he was sure there could have been but one opinion as to the propriety of discharging them. The question had been termed one of form; but it involved those rights for which our ancestors had fought and bled. When Charles I. could raise no more money illegally, by means of prostitute lawyers and unprincipled judges, he came to parliament and said, Give me money, and your own commissioners shall manage it. The control over the public money in the hands of the house of commons was of the very essence of the British constitution, and the basis of our liberty.

The solicitor general contended that the law had not been violated, and that there had been no misapplication to call for a committee, which in other words would be an undeserved censure on his royal highness the prince regent.

Lord Milton gave notice, that in

the event of the motion of the honourable gentleman being negatived, he should submit the following resolution :—" That it appears to this house that 100,000*l.* granted to his royal highness the prince of Wales by the 57th of the king, cap. 9. was made over to commissioners, and applied contrary to the said act of parliament."

The question was then called for, and the house divided.—For the committee, 105—Against it, 225—Majority, 120.

The motion was consequently negatived.

Lord Milton's proposition was put by the speaker, and negatived without a division.

House of lords, June 1.—Lord Lauderdale called the attention of the house to the provisions of the bill for lord Roseberry's divorce, and argued upon the two clauses which prohibited the intermarriage of the offending parties, and which deprived the lady of her marriage settlement, as carrying with them the infliction of pains and penalties, which could be justified only by making similar punishments the general law of the land, and not, as in this case, a particular enactment to meet a particular case. The noble lord referred to the various attempts which had been made to pass a general law which should prohibit, in all circumstances, the intermarriage of the parties, and the manner in which those attempts had been defeated; and observed, that in proportion as their lordships were anxious to grant the relief contemplated by the present bill, they ought to abstain from the introduction of a clause which would risk its rejection in another house. He should first move, that all the parts of the bill which deprived lady Roseberry of the settlement to which she was entitled

under her marriage contract should be left out.

Lord Grenville felt the strongest reluctance to the motion of his noble friend. He certainly was of opinion that it would be most desirable to pass a general law upon the matter of divorce, which should be equally applicable to all parties; but, if that could not be done, or till it was done, they were bound to watch over the interests of society by such legislative measures as were within their reach. With respect to the clause prohibiting the intermarriage of the offending parties, he begged their lordships to reflect what would be the opinion entertained out of doors, when it should be known that they had struck out the clause, not only in direct contradiction of a standing order of that house, but also because they did not think it necessary to prohibit such a marriage as, in this case, must be contracted, if the offending parties were resolved to unite themselves together.

Lord Ellenborough warmly animadverted upon the peculiar character of the adultery committed by lady Roseberry, and the danger which threatened every circle of domestic life if such invasions of its purity and honour were not marked by the strongest reprobation, and visited with the severest penalties. He defended all the provisions of the bill, as consistent with former practice, and as being especially called for from the nature of the transaction.

Lord Lauderdale withdrew his amendment: the report was agreed to, and the bill finally passed.

House of commons, June 2.—Lord Palmerston said, he should merely state to the house, in a general way, the nature of the arrangements relative to the army.

The

The total amount of land forces at Christmas last was 190,252, for which the charge was 5,587,706*l.* for Great Britain, and 1,134,173*l.* for Ireland—in all 6,721,880*l.* But since the rupture with France there had been an augmentation of 9148 men, and 317,219*l.* of charge, leaving the balance of diminution in favour of the present year, of 47,000 men and 2,652,000*l.* of charge. The augmentation to the land forces, since Christmas last, amounted in all to 9148 men, and 384,000*l.* of charge. The augmentation to the staff was 50,000*l.* On a general view, including the augmentation since the change in our relations with France, there was a diminution in the estimates compared with those of last year, without including the militia, but merely the land forces and foreign corps, of 47,000 men, and 2,652,000*l.* charges.

General Gascoigne made some remarks on the subject of officers' widows, and concluded with moving an additional allowance of 500*l.* to the widows of lieutenant-colonels, and of 700*l.* to the widows of majors.

Mr. Bennett objected to the military tone given to the young mind at the establishment of Sandhurst.

Sir John Hope argued upon the propriety of encouraging such a spirit in such an institution: by it we had long been enabled to supply our own staff from our own officers, without being dependent upon other countries.

After some conversation, the resolution was agreed to.—Several sums were then voted for the different heads of army expenditure, which form in all a total of 7,917,387*l.*

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed a vote to complete the army extraordinaries. Towards the

army extraordinaries of the present year three millions had already been voted, and it was now in his contemplation to propose a further vote of nine millions, making in all twelve millions for the army extraordinaries of the current year. Looking to the expenditure of the years 1812 and 1813, excepting the arrears of the former years, it would be found to be between twelve and thirteen millions a year. From those three calculations an approximation might be formed, and he would put it to the judgment of the committee, whether the sum he proposed was too small? That the sum was great he allowed; but on considerations both of policy and æconomy, a great effort, which might bring the contest to a speedy conclusion, was advisable. He concluded by moving a grant of nine millions, to complete the army extraordinaries for the present year.

Mr. Tierney observed, that if we proceeded at our present rate of expenditure, the house should have some reason, before it sanctioned it, to believe that the war would be concluded even before the end of the present year.

Mr. Vansittart said, that the expense of the year would be very great; but it would have been great even if it had not been a year of war, because the arrears of the last war were between 18 and 20 millions.

Mr. Tierney said, it was to be observed, that an arrear of 20 millions had been incurred during the former war, while the expenditure of the war was supposed to have been fully provided for: they should take care that they did not incur another 20 millions of arrears; and notwithstanding the expenditure of 80 millions in the present year, we were not secure against it.

The resolution was agreed to.

June 5.—On the report being brought up from the committee of supply,

Lord John Russell made some observations on the war now commencing: he thought we had no right to say that such or such a person should govern France. Ambition was not unknown to the Bourbons, and the most faithless of attacks was that made even under Louis XVI. in the American war.

Mr. J. P. Grant objected to the resolutions, and the measure which occasioned them. When it was proposed to sanction the war, no views of the means we possessed for carrying it on were laid before parliament; which he thought necessary as the foundation of such a measure, whether it were one of justice or expediency. With 24 millions of war taxes, we might have a deficit of 45 millions. Let it be explained, how we were to go on. If he (Mr. G.) was wrong, he would be set right with pleasure. Nothing he had heard in the discussions had changed his opinion of the impolicy of this war.

Mr. Bennett had some remarks to make on the investiture of Ferdinand of Spain with the order of the garter. He did not mean to enter into his private character, nor his public conduct since he was restored to the throne; nor into his correspondence congratulating Bonaparte on the success of his arms, and begging to be married to one of his family; nor on his congratulation of Joseph Bonaparte when he called himself king of Spain: but what had been Ferdinand's conduct to this country? He made a treaty before the revolution in Spain with Bonaparte, complying with his maritime views, and adopting the principles in an article of the treaty of Utrecht. The cortes did not sanction this:

but when Ferdinand returned, his first step was to destroy the cortes. We who had treated with the cortes had been silent spectators of all Ferdinand's measures of oppression, torture, and death. He wished to know what minister had advised the giving of the order of the garter to Ferdinand; a transaction which he thought a great disgrace to our name and character, and a prostitution of that high honour, unexampled. Who had inflicted this wound on our honour?

Mr. Grenfell wished to know whether the real value was now given for light guineas by the agents of government?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied in the negative.

Mr. Horner wished for the repeal of all those laws which rendered it penal for an individual to do that which government often found it not only convenient but necessary to do. Nothing was more common than to make coin on a foreign denomination: and he had no sort of doubt that guineas were every week melted down, for the purpose of being converted into louis-d'ors.

After a few words from Mr. Baring, the resolutions were agreed to.

Mr. Bennett asked, whether the noble lord had any objection now to state the amount of the debts of the prince regent?

Lord Castlereagh said, that up to the 20th of May there remained 339,000*l.* undischarged against his royal highness.

Mr. Tierney asked, whether it would not be infinitely more to the credit of the country for the house to take the whole subject into its own hands, instead of obliging the prince regent to resort, session after session, to parliament? It would be a great deal more fair and manly to give the creditors some security, and

and to relieve his royal highness from embarrassment.

Sir R. Peel rose for the purpose of moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend and extend the apprentice laws. He referred to the various improvements in our manufactories on the adoption of the powers, first of water, and latterly of steam, by which the system of apprenticeship had fallen into disuse. The custom now was, to take very young children, and to employ them to such an extent as to injure their health and prevent their education.

His first object, therefore, was, to prevent the employment of any children under the age of ten years; and his next, that the hours of work, including those for meals and for education, should not exceed $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours, reducing the time of actual labour to $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The employment not being that of hardship but of duration, he flattered himself that the health of the children would be greatly improved: by a due attention in his own establishment, the mortality did not amount to more than one per cent. being less than in any other pursuit. With respect to the education of the children, many of the provisions of the apprentice laws had failed, from the inattention of inspectors, who did not do their duty in consequence of the pay being inadequate; he should therefore suggest, under his new bill, that inspectors should be named by the magistrates, who should also assign the adequate compensation. As the measure was of great importance, he should only have it printed during the present session, for dispersion through the country. He then moved for leave to bring in his bill.

Mr. W. Smith was glad the measure had been proposed by the honourable baronet, the influence of

whose name would make it less likely to meet with any opposition. He lamented, however, that the bill had not been brought forward at an earlier period of the session, and suggested whether it might not pass even now before the recess.

Mr. Horner observed, that the present bill, as far as he could understand its object, fell far short of what parliament should do on the subject. The practice which was so prevalent of apprenticing parish children in distant manufactories, was as repugnant to humanity as any practice which had ever been suffered to exist by the negligence of the legislature. Those children were sent often one, two, or three hundred miles from their place of birth, separated for life from all their relations, and deprived of all the aid and instruction which even in their humble and almost destitute situation they might derive from their friends. The practice was altogether objectionable on this ground, but even more so from the enormous abuses which had existed in it. It had been known, that with a bankrupt's effects, a gang, if he might use the word, of these children, had been put up to public sale, and were advertised publicly as part of the property. A most atrocious instance had been brought before the court of king's bench two years ago, in which a number of these boys, apprenticed by a parish in London to one manufacturer, had been transferred to another, and had been found by some benevolent persons in a state of absolute famine! Another case more horrible had come to his knowledge while on a committee up stairs,—that not many years ago, an agreement had been made between a London parish and a Lancashire manufacturer, by which it was stipulated, that with

every twenty sound children one idiot should be taken! A practice in which there was a possibility that abuses of this kind might arise should not be suffered to exist—and now, or in the next session when the bill should be discussed, should meet with the most serious consideration.

Leave was given, and the bill was afterwards brought in, read a first time, and finally carried.

June 7.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to propose the schedule of stamp duties of which he had given notice. He observed, that the subjects on which the additional stamp duties were to be imposed, were law duties and newspapers. Though the taxes on law proceedings were on general grounds objectionable, yet when it was considered how small a proportion of the expenses in a lawsuit consisted of law duties, the objections would not appear so great as at first might be imagined. As to the duties on newspapers, the first idea which he had was to lay an additional tax of 1*d.* on each paper; but as it was represented that this tax would have the most disadvantageous effect upon the circulation of the papers, he had imagined the increase of the duty on advertisements in proportion to their length; but though this seemed a fair proposition, it was strongly objected to by the editors of the newspapers, and an additional stamp duty of one halfpenny on each paper and 6*d.* on each advertisement was preferred by the majority of the persons occupied in this line. To protect the public from an increase of the price of the papers beyond the amount of the tax, an additional discount would be allowed to those

who only increased the price of their paper from sixpence halfpenny to sevenpence, which discount would not be allowed to those who increased the price to a greatest sum. Although the proprietors of the London papers were not equally willing to coincide in the arrangement which he had made, he was convinced that no duty would be more cheerfully paid by the public than an increase of one halfpenny on the price of a newspaper. The sale of these publications depending almost wholly on the situation of public affairs, and as at the present time, and probably for some years to come, a laudable curiosity would be directed to the events which were passing, and which exceeded in importance any which for ages before had occurred, the additional price of one halfpenny on the publications through which the public derived their information would not be grudged by the purchasers.

Sir J. Newport thought the tax on newspapers injudicious, as tending to stop the sources through which the public derived its information as to their own affairs. Even at the present time, if the extent of the circulation of information by newspapers were compared with other countries, America for instance, it was a mere nullity. The tax also would be very far from being productive; because the addition which would be made to the price of the paper would diminish the circulation, and thus have a reaction on the revenue. The taxation on newspapers had been overdone already.

Sir M. Ridley said, he did not object to the tax on newspapers on account of the effect it would have on the proprietors; but because it would diminish the circulation of information, he should oppose that
part

part of the resolution. He observed, that it seemed very singular that those papers which adhered to the principles of the chancellor of the exchequer charged most for their advertisements.

The resolution imposing 3s. 6d. on every advertisement was agreed to.—Adjourned.

June 8.—Mr. Rose wished to call the attention of the house to the subject of public beggars. A recent institution of very considerable utility had been the means of many inquiries into the subject. Mr. Martin, a gentleman connected with it, had calculated from pretty good sources, that there were more than 15,000 beggars in and about the metropolis. Of these some had settlements. They amounted to 6,690, of whom 4,150 were children, and 2,540 adults. There were 2,604 who had settlements in the country of England, of whom 1,137 were adults, and 1,467 children. Those without settlement were estimated at 5,320, of whom 2,673 were children. There were Scotch and Irish: the Scotch amounted to 504. Some, 177 in number, we think, had no settlement whatever, and were foreigners. On the whole, there were 9,283 children, and 6,000 adults, living by begging, making 15,283. Some of these could occasionally earn as much as forty shillings a week; but not belonging to benefit societies when they were ill, their wives and children went a-begging. The support of all these people, taking them at 3s. a-day, and he knew that many received much more, would come to 328,000*l.* a-year for the adults. The inconvenience in the streets was the least part of the evil. The great mischief was, that the children were brought up in all sorts of idleness and vice. The beggars would seldom send a child to

the new schools; which, in many cases, had been of incalculable benefit: there were even instances of the children educated therein having reformed their parents. These schools were now very considerable. There was one for the army, and one for the navy; one which taught 1,000 children in that neighbourhood, and which was greatly owing to the exertions of Mr. Speaker. The plan of the institution which Mr. Martin was connected with was extremely good. There was an excellent establishment, called the Stranger's Friend, of which the managing persons went about to inquire into the situation of those distressed persons whose modesty prevented them from public mendicity. There was also the Refuge for the Destitute, which was well known; and there was the benevolent Irish society. He should propose a committee to consider of the state of public mendicity. He would suggest that their object might be, first, to ascertain all the facts, and then consider of the remedies. It would be presumptuous to state sanguine expectations in a matter wherein the best and wisest persons had failed. Those, however, who had settlements near the metropolis should be forced to go to their settlements. The same might be said of those from the country. The expense occasioned would be trifling compared with the evil. Those from Scotland (504) should be sent back. There was a mode of relief there, though not the same system of poor laws as in England. There were no poor's rates in Ireland, and the Scotch gentlemen seemed more charitable to their poor than the Irish did. The principle, however, should be applied to Ireland. As to the foreigners, the Lascars were under the care of the East India company.

pany. Many other foreign beggars might be sent to their own countries. The most importunate beggars were soldiers and sailors who were wounded, and who were, therefore, entitled to their pension of 18*l.* a year. At Edinburgh and Hamburgh, some provisions had been made on this subject; and he flattered himself, that at least something might be done here. He then moved for the committee to inquire into the state of mendicity in the metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood.

After a few observations, the motion was agreed to, and the committee ordered, and their report was afterwards printed.

June 9.—Mr. R. Ward, in rising to move the sums which would be required for the ordnance service, stated that the total of the estimates for Great Britain amounted to 3,459,000*l.*, and the estimates for Ireland to 584,000*l.*, making in all the sum of 4,043,000*l.*, being 582,000*l.* more than if the peace had continued, but 784,000*l.* less than the last war establishment. There was one sum in the estimates, which he would make an observation on, and that was the increase of the allowances to the different clerks in the ordnance office. For years there had been complaints that the salaries of these clerks were not only inadequate to their services, but greatly below those of the clerks in the war-office and navy-office. This additional allowance would enable them to enjoy the common necessities and comforts of life, but would still leave them inferior to the clerks of the other offices.

Mr. Bennett made a few remarks, and stated his opinion, that the board generally had not as much practical knowledge as was necessary.

Mr. Ward observed, that with regard to the non-publication of the maps of the counties, to give them to the world would be most impolitic, since they would fall into the hands of the enemy. The greatest captain of the age, Bonaparte, had been so anxious regarding the maps of France, that on his departure for Elba it was found that a box, which was supposed to contain jewels, was actually filled with the copper-plates of the different provinces.

Mr. Whitbread was much surprised to hear the honourable gentleman call Bonaparte the greatest captain of the age, knowing, as he did, the wonderful admiration of ministers, and, indeed, of the country, of the duke of Wellington. With regard to publishing the maps of the counties, such a proceeding might be censured, if an enemy were in the country, as was the case with Bonaparte, when he carried away the plates of the French provinces in a box, which was thought to contain the crown jewels. They were, however, left to be conveyed out of the country by another sovereign. His honourable friend was perfectly justifiable in the mode in which he had spoken of public officers; he had a right to canvass their competence, and if he (Mr. Whitbread) were to say that the honourable member (Mr. Ward) was wholly incompetent to the duties of secretary to the ordnance, and that the estimates had never been worse stated, or more weakly defended, no man could complain, and it would be the duty of the honourable member (Mr. W.) to show that the charge was not well founded.

Mr. Ward was rather happy than otherwise to be made the object of the honourable member's personal attack, since it showed either that the public grounds of complaint were

were weak, or that the charge originated in rashness of character or constitution. The honourable member was in the habit of dealing his blows in all directions whenever he spoke. When he (Mr. Ward) said that Bonaparte was the greatest captain of the age, he spoke only of the enemy.

House of lords, June 12.—Lord St. John having asked a question of the minister, the earl of Liverpool, said, that the Russian government owed a considerable sum to the merchants of Holland; and from the distressed state of the finances of that empire, and in consideration of the great efforts made by it for the independence of Europe, and more particularly of Holland, it was judged but proper that this country and Holland ought to relieve Russia of the pressure of part of this debt. This transaction, however, took place on the express condition, that the engagement should cease if the possession of the Netherlands did not remain to the sovereign of Holland, thus affording us the guarantee of Russia in an object of so much importance to the independence of Europe.

Earl Grey upon this observed, that the cause in which Russia had made these efforts, was a common one, and not the cause of any particular nation; and the greatest efforts were made by all the other countries, and by this country in particular, as well as Russia; and now when the business was closed, and after we had been subsidizing as far as was possible for us, to enable Russia to perform her part in the contest, he really could not see why we were besides to relieve her of this burthen, contracted at a period long antecedent. Then, were we so abounding in resources?—Was there in the country, at the present moment, such a plethora

of resources, that, in addition to our own burthens, we were to take upon us debts contracted by others? Look at the expenditure of the present year—it was frightful. If report spoke true; the chancellor of the exchequer was at present negotiating a loan for thirty-six millions. This loan, with eighteen millions of exchequer bills, and six millions on the vote of credit, would make in the whole an addition to the debt of the country in the present year of not less than sixty millions! It was in such a situation that the subjects of this country were called on to make fresh exertions!!—After having raised twenty millions of war taxes, with the utmost inconvenience, within the year, there was to be added to our debt three times as much as what was so raised. It was impossible to go on in this way. If this system was continued, a speedy ruin must ensue. The present might be said to be a continued war since 1793. At the commencement of the war arising out of the French revolution, in 1793, the whole capital of the national debt was not more than 240 millions; that is, the whole of the debt contracted from the period of our own revolution down to 1793, only amounting to 240 millions. We were now making an addition to our national debt of sixty millions; and the chancellor of the exchequer had expressed himself in such a way as led to a natural conclusion, that considerably more than this would probably yet be wanted. So that in this year the addition to our debt would most likely not fall short of 100 millions, nearly one half of the whole of the debt from the revolution to 1793! And now having contributed more largely to the common cause than any of the other powers, we were gratuitously to take the burthens contracted by Russia

Russia also upon us. It was impossible that the country could submit to this. There was now, he understood, to be an immediate payment of two millions, and eventually a payment of three millions more. Two millions were to be employed in the repairing of the fortresses in the Low Countries belonging to Holland; and a more useless expense than this he could hardly conceive: it would be altogether nugatory in producing any real and effective defence of that country. With respect to the Dutch colonies, they would be a burthen to this country. He would protest against this system of extravagant expenditure, which was connected with no just views of policy, and which would plunge the country in irretrievable ruin.

The earl of Liverpool said, no man more sincerely regretted the burthens of the country; he was as much aware as the noble lord of the great extent of our national debt, and the heavy burthens which the country had borne since 1793; but he must maintain that the exertions were unavoidable which gave rise to that debt and these burthens; that they had made the country what it now was; and that its present safety and prosperity, even under these burthens, were owing to these exertions. But he would say, that when the circumstances of Russia were considered, and the exertions which it had made in the cause of Europe, the relief which was agreed to be given was only a fair return. This fortunate land had never yet been the seat of extended warfare. Think what would have been the situation of this country, if it had been the theatre of invasion, and our capital had been laid in ashes! With respect to the two millions which were to be expended in the defence of the

fortresses belonging to Holland, he should never have conceived that there could be any doubt as to the importance of securing the Netherlands out of the hands of France.

Earl Grey conceived the security of which the noble earl boasted to be good for nothing, and to be just so much money thrown away. It would have been better to have left the sovereign of Holland his colonies, and to have given the Netherlands to some third power capable of defending them.

Lord Liverpool said, the opinion of the noble earl on this subject was at variance with the opinion of the first military authorities.

Earl Darnley brought forward his motion respecting the manner in which the late war was conducted in America; but during the greater part of his speech he was almost inaudible. He was understood, however, to have said, that the voluminous papers which had been produced to their lordships on this subject contained matter of grave crimination against the executive government. These papers proved, that, insensible to the lessons of experience, our government had long persisted in opposing to the superior frigates of the Americans, frigates of an inferior description, and that it was not till the month of May, 1813, after this country had suffered many losses, that a different system was resorted to. Even after frigates of a larger description were built, they were all inefficient, from being manned in an inferior way. The consequence was a heavy loss on our part, attended with a comparatively trifling loss on the part of the Americans. The naval part of the war had been altogether most miserably conducted. Nothing could equal the absurdity which had been displayed by government in the manner of conducting

conducting the whole of the operations on the Lakes. The last expedition was one which could never have been expected to succeed, and which did not deserve to succeed; it was an expedition of plunder merely—and it terminated in the loss of a most distinguished commander. He wished to call the attention of their lordships to the manner in which this war had been conducted, because we were now entering into a contest, which might ultimately bring about a renewal of the dispute between us and the Americans. The noble earl concluded with a motion for adjournment.

Viscount Melville denied that because the enemy had had two or three ships of a force superior to ours of the same nominal class, that we were therefore to overset the whole system of our navy by the general construction of vessels of equal strength. As for real efficiency in every respect, he would match a certain number of British vessels with a certain number of vessels of any other nation in the world. There was not the slightest foundation for the assertion that our trade had not been sufficiently protected; and with respect to many of the reports of American privateers being on our coast, they originated in the newspapers, and were wholly without truth. As to the operations on the Lakes, if there was any one thing which surprised him more than another, it was that we had been enabled to carry them to such an extent; and that, at their termination, our superiority was so decided and acknowledged, that the American fleet did not dare come out of their harbours. Exposed as our seamen were to temptation, in no part of the world had there been less desertion than in America; and

at no period of our history had there existed less ground of complaint.

After a few words from lord Rolle, and a short reply from earl Darnley, the motion was negatived without a division.—Adjourned.

House of commons, June 12.—

Lord Castlereagh explained the grounds upon which the subsidiary treaty with Holland was arranged. By the events of the war, the Dutch colonies had fallen into our hands; they were of great importance, and rather than have kept them without making a liberal compensation to Holland, he would at once have given them up to her. Independently of this, he considered it as the best policy of this country to lend itself to Holland, for the purpose of enabling her to establish a line of fortifications along the frontiers of the Netherlands. Russia had contracted a loan in Holland, a part of which this country had taken upon itself, for the purpose of diminishing the pressure on that country. The first expense would not take place till 1816, and it would not exceed 136,000*l.* a year till the sum was paid off. The noble lord concluded with moving, that a provision should be made for the payment of the interest on the sum of 25 millions of Dutch florins, &c.

A debate ensued, and on a division, the motion was carried by a majority of 85.—Adjourned.

June 14.—The chancellor of the exchequer rose. In proposing to the house the means of supply for carrying on the war in which we had embarked on the most extensive scale, it was unnecessary to say, that no one could be more deeply impressed with a consideration of the necessity of calling upon the country to support so large an expenditure. It was the unsuggested policy of all the allied sovereigns, that no peace could

could be preserved with France while her former ruler was suffered to remain at the head of her government. His administration was considered as a government that must either destroy the independence and safety of Europe, or be itself overpowered by the united efforts of the allies. Under these circumstances, with a large arrear of former expenditure, and having also to provide for the means of carrying on a new war, it was not to be wondered at, that the sum which the exigencies of the state required for the present year greatly exceeded all former periods. He could not, however, but congratulate the house on the extent of the resources, and the fortitude and public spirit of the country: for, large as our expenses would unavoidably be, he felt convinced that our means were able to meet them, and that the people would cheerfully submit to much larger burthens in order to secure the repose of the world. The right honourable gentleman then made a statement of the supplies, amounting in all to 79,968,112*l*. In making this statement, the right honourable gentleman interspersed a variety of observations on the different items. The subsidies to be granted to the allies amounted to five millions; but provision was also to be made for the expense of maintaining a certain number of

troops on the continent, pursuant to the treaty of Chaumont, and to complete the subsidies of last year. The total amount of those services was three millions, which, with one million to be granted to Sweden, as a compensation for surrendering the island of Guadaloupe to France, left four millions for treaties, independent of the five millions now given to the allies. In addition, however, to those supplies, he should have to submit to the house a service of a peculiar, though not quite a novel nature; he meant a compensation to the army under the duke of Wellington, for the capture of stores. The sum was undoubtedly large in its amount, but had accumulated during seven years of war:—800,000*l*. would be wanted for this service, as well as a sum of 142,000*l*. for stores at the capture of the island of Java. The result of his statement, therefore, appeared to be, that the joint charge of England and Ireland amounted to 81,368,926*l*, and the separate charges to 8,960,000*l*., making an aggregate of 89,728,926*l*. The deductions for the Irish proportion of the joint charge was 9,572,814*l*. and for the civil list and consolidated fund, 188,000*l*. leaving a total for Great Britain of 79,968,112*l*. —The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to make the following statement of the

WAYS AND MEANS.

1814.	3,000,000	Annual duties	.. ..	£3,000,000
		Surplus consolidated fund	.. ..	3,000,000
	20,500,000	War taxes	.. ..	22,000,000
	708,545	{ Lottery	.. ..	250,000
		{ Naval stores	.. ..	508,500
	3,000,000	Vote of credit	.. ..	6,000,000
	1st loan, 22,000,000	{ Exchequer bills funded and	}	18,135,000
		{ Loan in five per cents:		
	2d loan, 18,500,000	Loan	.. ..	27,000,000
				<hr/> £79,898,500

In submitting this statement to the house, the right honourable gentleman had no hesitation in saying, that if he thought an equal expenditure would be incurred in future years, he should consider it proper to make an appeal to the public spirit and magnanimity of the people; but as the extraordinary expenses of the present year were not at all likely to continue, he had deemed it more wise to resort to those means which had been adopted on

former occasions; and he trusted, notwithstanding the largeness of the demand, that we should not have reason to regret the exertions we were making. The loan which had been contracted for on that day, for the service of the present year, amounted to 27,000,000*l.* for England, and 9,000,000*l.* for Ireland, making a total of 36,000,000*l.*; and the terms on which it had been negotiated were as follow:—

For every 100*l.* in money, the contractors got—

Stock.—£130 — 3 per cent. reduced, at 54½	—	71	0	3	
10 — 4 per cents. —————	69½	—	6	19	9
44 — 3 per cent. consols	54	—	23	15	2½

101 15 2½

Discount — — 2 19 7½

£104 8 10¼

Interest.—£130 at 3 per cent.	3	18	0
10 at 4 per cent.	0	8	0
44 at 3 per cent.	1	6	4½

£5 12 4½ exclusive of the discount.

These terms, he had no hesitation in declaring, were perfectly satisfactory to them. The right honourable gentleman then took a comparative view of the taxes during the last and the present year. On the 5th of April, 1813, the total produce of the taxes was 60 millions; but on the 5th of April last, there was an increase of 5½ millions, though the period of 1813 had been less productive. The excess of the supplies for this year, above what might be looked forward to as necessary in future years, was not less than 21 millions. He had, however, the satisfaction of stating, that notwithstanding the pressure of our foreign expenditure, the state of our foreign exchanges had rather improved. As a proof of this, the price of gold, which two months

ago rose to 5*l.* 7*s.* per ounce, had now fallen to 5*l.* 4*s.* and silver from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 6*s.* 5*d.* per ounce. The whole, then, of the supplies of the year necessary to be provided for, would amount to the sum of 79,968,112*l.*;—no doubt a large expenditure; but from every view which he could take of the state of things, and the prospects that might be entertained, there was no probability of its pressing upon us to an equal extent in future years, even should the war continue. In the first place, there was no probability of our being obliged to maintain an expensive naval warfare. From the necessity under which the enemy would be placed, of directing all his exertions to the maintenance of land armies, he saw no reason why our seamen might not be reduced to the number

number of 40 or 50,000, and he believed he was not over sanguine in supposing that the expenses of the navy might be reduced to four or five millions. Taking this into account, together with the arrears to the amount of 21 millions, which he had already stated as bearing heavy on this year, he might be allowed to expect a reduction of 24 or 25 millions in future years, even supposing (which was not the inclination of his belief) that the war should last for a period of length. If, however, contrary to all expectation, the war should continue for a series of years, it might be asked how we were to go on in future, bearing up under such an immense expenditure? To this he would reply, that we were not to presume that the sinking fund would not afford a resource. He trusted that the next year, if the war lasted so long, the sinking fund might be resorted to, to the amount of twenty millions. Probably, also, the loan of next year would not exceed twenty millions, the charge of which, with some assistance from the sinking fund, might be met by additional taxation. But still he would assert, arguing from the experience of the past, that the spirit and resources of the country, guided and regulated by the wisdom of parliament, would meet any emergency that might occur. The contest, though requiring extraordinary exertions, would probably be a short one, and the most effectual means of abridging it was by putting forth all our strength in the first instance. In looking at the causes of the war, we must suppose that the present ruler of France was either called in by a mutinous army domineering over the people at large, or that he was supported by the general sense of the French nation. In the former

of these cases, which he deemed the most probable of the two, the effort would be a short one; but it must necessarily be expensive, inasmuch as it became necessary to combine and support the exertions, made both within and without for the destruction of the present government of France. How far the plan was practicable, he would not take that opportunity of discussing; but seeing the immense force brought into the field by the allied powers, and also the movements and half-suppressed wishes in various parts of France, he was altogether inclined to believe that the struggle would be short. Supposing, however, France to have deliberately thrown off a peaceful government, and to have selected this one from views of ambition and aggrandisement, then this surely would make no difference as to the necessity of energy in opposing a government inimical to the happiness of all other nations. The right honourable gentleman concluded with moving, by way of resolution, that the sum of 96 millions be raised by way of annuities.

Mr. Tierney thought the present one of the most alarming budgets ever laid before parliament. The total amount of the supplies required for the year, 89,728,000*l.* was a sum calculated to stagger even the most sanguine. It was good to see the way in which the progress of expenditure had crept up, till it had at last risen to this portentous amount. Here the right honourable gentleman read a statement of this progress which he had drawn up. In 1808 the war expenditure amounted to 45 millions; in 1809, to 50 millions; in 1810, to 46; in 1811, to 52; in 1812, to 55; in 1813, to 57; in 1814, to 63; and, last of all, in 1815, to 72 millions! It was
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one of the mischiefs in which we were now placed, that from the general condition of our finances, the depreciation of our commerce, and the fall of the exchanges, our expenditure was constantly increasing; all the predictions of reduction brought from time to time had been uniformly falsified, and he suspected that the predictions that they now heard from the chancellor of the exchequer would equally fail. With regard to the loan, it seemed to him a very fair bargain. He congratulated the country on the fairness of the terms; but surely it was not proof of financial prosperity, when we were compelled to borrow such a sum when the funds were somewhat under 54. With respect to the war itself, he only knew that the right honourable gentleman had declared it was determined to carry it on with the greatest vigour and spirit, and to the utmost extent of the declarations of the allies. He begged the committee would turn their eyes to the difference in the situation of France, which had lately taken place. Three months ago Bonaparte landed in France, and very soon afterwards we had seen what he must call a mad declaration issued by the allies, which had been confirmed by another still more mad on the 25th of March, in which they state him to be the basest and most treacherous of characters, and positively bind themselves not only to wage war on him, but never to make peace with him. There was one name to this declaration which he was sorry to see, and which he could not have supposed would have appeared to it; but it showed only how the wisest and greatest men might be led away by the warmth and enthusiasm of the moment. These declarations, how-

1815.

ever, had been of infinite service to Bonaparte.—Did ministers mean to say that Bonaparte was not in a far better situation now than he was even some weeks ago? by the meeting of the Champs de Mai, by which he had secured a legislature, one part of which was chosen by the people, and the other nominated by himself; but which both together were enabled, under the constitution which had been warmly received and accepted by the people, to raise him such supplies as would enable him to carry on the war against all the world? It was evident, therefore, he had made a most rapid progress; for the two houses seemed determined to receive favourably and to carry into effect all the propositions made to them on the part of Bonaparte, whom they had raised to be the head of the government, and whom they appeared to receive in that character with the greatest enthusiasm. The noble lord had often told the house that there were secret murmurs in France: very likely there were; and he (Mr. T.) believed that there were secret murmurs in this country also. Indeed, he did not know in what country there were not secret murmurs. Bonaparte, however, had been able in the short time he had before mentioned to form a very strong government, consisting of some of the leading and most popular men in the nation;—persons of the most eminent talents, of the greatest courage,—and the two chambers (which with Bonaparte himself formed the constitution) seemed determined to support him in defending France from all foreign attacks. Having thus established the means by which he would be able to raise the necessary supplies, if he looked to his army, no one could doubt who was in his

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senses that it must amount to at least 300,000 men well equipped and ready for the field. Against these were to be taken the one million and eleven thousand men which the noble lord had enumerated as being to be furnished by the allied powers, and which he would take for granted would be in battle array against France. In fact, the noble lord was responsible for that number. Allowing then both armies to stand according to the above statement, the war ought not to be begun if peace could possibly be obtained without it. France, he was satisfied, was determined to have a free constitution. He was satisfied also that Bonaparte was not altogether a favourite in France, but they had determined to have him for their general, because he was a man of pre-eminent military talents. All he begged therefore was, that ministers would pause, and endeavour to obtain peace before a blow was struck; because, if you refuse to do so, you would rouse the whole French nation against you, they would be united to a man against you and your allies; and though you might now be able to obtain reasonable securities, when once the sword was drawn it might be found very difficult to do so. But this country, it seemed, was to be involved in a scene of blood, and a dreadful expense of treasure, for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons;—a most delusive and destructive idea, and which that house should exert themselves to prevail on ministers to abandon. He thought it necessary to make these observations on the close of the discussion on a budget which would amount to nearly ninety millions. If ministers did not endeavour to make peace with France now, that nation would be justified in waging eter-

nal war with us. We were already hated, not only by France, but by all Europe, for our overbearing pride and insolence. (Some expression of surprise being evinced from the treasury bench,) Mr. T. said he would give an instance of our insolence, which was the medals which the noble lord had so lavishly dealt out. He then informed the house, that this government had ordered a certain number of gold medals to be struck, which had been done at a great expense,—for they were gold, and executed in the best manner,—which were distributed among the several powers of Europe. The design of the medal was, on one side the head of the prince regent acting for his father, and on the other Britannia supporting Europe! The whole was, no doubt, very magnificent in effect; and he understood that one of the sovereigns had observed, it was an instance of the greatest modesty he had ever seen or heard of. He was certain there were many other causes for our being hated throughout Europe, and he would consider it a crime if we did not at the present moment endeavour to conciliate France rather than to provoke her.

Mr. Arbuthnot denied that we were hated even in France: and as to every other part of Europe, he believed we were highly esteemed and respected.

The chancellor of the exchequer desired leave to make a short reply to the observations of the right honourable gentleman. Great part of the honourable gentleman's speech was a repetition of his political creed respecting the war. He should not enter much into that subject. The honourable gentleman said, that 300,000 Frenchmen would be sufficient to resist the million of the coalesced armies. Doing
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all justice to the skill of the French soldiers, and the bravery of their troops, and not being able to enter into military calculations, yet he congratulated the house on this statement of the honourable gentleman. He should think that it made fearful odds, and gave a reasonable ground for expecting success. If the active party in France were struggling for liberty, it was the last thing honest men would do in such a cause, to put Bonaparte at their head: but a constitution free in its principle was possessed by the French. Under Louis they had no martial law, no arbitrary taxation, which were now brought upon them. As to securities for peace, no securities had been offered by France; nor were any likely to be proposed, that he did not believe the honourable gentleman himself would think insolent. When proper securities were offered, it would be time to consider them.

The resolutions were then passed, and various sums were voted in a

at	£688,807
The produce of the revenues he should estimate at ..	6,100,000
The profits on lotteries, one-half of what had been computed for Great Britain	125,000
Repayment of sums advanced by Ireland for naval and military services	100,000
2-17ths of old naval stores, 15-17ths having been taken credit for by England	90,305
Loan raised in England for the service of Ireland 9,000,000 <i>l.</i> British	9,750,000

Making a total of ways and means of .. £16,854,112

He had stated the whole of the above in Irish currency, and the committee would observe that there was an excess of ways and means, above the supply, of 171,000*l.* The right honourable gentleman then took a general view of the resources of Ireland, and expressed his satisfaction at the increasing prosperity

committee of supply.—Adjourned.

Thursday, June 15.—Mr. Rose brought in a bill to prevent ignorant persons from practising surgery.—It was read a first time, and finally passed.

The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means,

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald said, that it was his duty to bring under the consideration of the committee the amount of the supply which Ireland was called upon to provide for the service of the present year, and the ways and means by which he proposed to make provision for that supply. He should first state the estimated quota of contribution for the year 1815, at 10,574,215*l.*; the interest and sinking fund on the present debt, 6,098,149*l.* making the total supplies 16,672,364*l.*

Having thus stated the supply, he should proceed to state the ways and means. He should first take the surplus, of the consolidated fund,

of the country in every respect. The right honourable gentleman concluded his speech by announcing that Mr. Vansittart would in future, be at the head of the Irish financial administration.

After some discussion, the resolutions were agreed to.

House of lords, June 21.—The earl of Liverpool presented the following message from the prince regent:—

“GEORGE, P. R.—The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, having taken into his serious consideration the signal and splendid victory gained by the army under the command of the duke of Wellington, on the 18th of June instant, over the French army under the command of Bonaparte in person, which has added fresh renown to the British arms, and contributed largely to the independence of Europe, recommends to the house of lords to concur in such measures as may be necessary to afford a further proof of the sense entertained by parliament of the duke of Wellington's transcendent services, and of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation.”

Ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

June 23.—Earl Bathurst rose to move the thanks of the house to the duke of Wellington and his army, for those transcendent exertions which led to the victory of the 18th. He was aware that their lordships must be eager to discharge the debt of gratitude to the duke, who had now so gloriously relieved them from the anxiety which all must have felt for some time past. The campaign was begun by Bonaparte himself. He had not, for this time at least, to accuse the seasons, nor the defection of those from whom he expected support. He could not say that he was obliged to commence the battle by those to whose measures he was compelled to yield, contrary to his own better judgement. It was completely his own act and choice. Under these circumstances he had failed. His attacks were repulsed; the order was reversed—

he was attacked in his turn. His boasted genius shrunk under the ascendancy of a mightier genius, and the result was the complete overthrow of the French army. On the evening of the 15th the duke received intelligence that the Prussians had been attacked, and the forces were immediately ordered to advance. The Prussians were driven from their posts with loss. On the 16th general Picton's division, with the duke of Brunswick's corps and the Nassau regiment, were attacked at Genappe. The battle lasted the whole of the day. The Prussians were likewise attacked, and Bonaparte claimed a victory over both; but it was clear that the Prussians maintained their position. But the Prussians having lost 16,000 men on that occasion from their refusing to take quarter, and a great proportion of their forces not having yet come into line, it was deemed by prince Blucher prudent to retire. In consequence of this, the duke of Wellington also retired to Waterloo. This position was a very strong one. The enemy attacked our troops in that position on the 18th, with the whole of his army, except one corps, which was left to observe the Prussians. They fought with that intrepidity for which the nation is distinguished, but they were met with a resolution and firmness in which the British forces are not outrivalled by any nation. In the course of this desperate contest, the duke performed the duties of military officers of all ranks. As a commander in chief, as a general of division, as colonel of a regiment, he exerted himself in encouraging the troops to maintain their resistance to the repeated and desperate attacks of the enemy. Towards the close of the day, Bonaparte himself, at the head of his guards, made a desperate charge upon

upon the British guards, and the British guards instantly overthrew the French. The battle lasted nearly nine hours, and at length our troops repulsed these desperate attacks by forces infinitely superior in number. Here then, the battle ended, as far as concerned the attacks of the enemy. But the duke of Wellington, with his accustomed promptitude and decision, observing that the retreat of the enemy was attended with confusion, he ordered the whole of those of his troops who had not suffered, to move upon the enemy. The troops advanced, attacked the enemy, drove them from the heights, and put them completely to the rout. He continued the pursuit till the troops, overcome with fatigue, could proceed no further, and then the Prussians were left to follow up the victory. The consequences of this victory, as far as he could at present state them, were these:—About 5000 prisoners had arrived at Brussels—2000 were on parole, and more were expected to be brought in; and besides this, a great quantity of ammunition and baggage was taken. He was not then speaking of what was accomplished by the Prussians during the pursuit, as no regular account of it had as yet arrived. An achievement of such magnitude could not be performed without great loss. It had been wisely ordained by Providence that we should taste neither of joy nor of grief unmixed; and the price at which this victory was gained must teach us to check our exultation. But who could recollect without admiration and sorrow the stern and manly virtue of sir Thomas Picton, the firm and amiable character of sir H. Ponsonby, or the heroic character of the duke of Brunswick, who, having refused to be included in the armistice at Wa-

gram, and traversed hostile Germany with his little band, had at length here terminated his life in a manner so worthy of his own conduct and the race from which he sprung? The duke of Wellington himself had written a private letter to the earl of Aberdeen, with intelligence of his brother's death. In looking at the list of the wounded, their lordships found the name of the brave earl of Uxbridge, who had headed every charge of cavalry himself. They would also see the name of that gallant youth the hereditary prince of Orange, who had shed his blood in defence of the Netherlands, and thereby acquired a better title to those dominions than more formalities could afford. It remained for him to advert to the conduct of marshal Blucher and the Prussians. The duke of Wellington had expressed in strong terms the assistance which he had received from the Prussians. Without that assistance, though the attack of the enemy would not have succeeded, he could not in his turn have made that attack on the enemy which had terminated in his complete rout and overthrow. Prince Blucher himself, worn out with the constant exertions, had retired to bed; but as soon as he received intelligence that the duke was attacked, he rose, and headed a corps to assist the British. He hung all night on the rear of the enemy, and no doubt amply avenged the fate of those brave Prussians who had fallen in the battle of the 18th, by their refusal to take quarter. He had now, then, only to move their lordships, "That the thanks of this house be given to field marshal the duke of Wellington, for the consummate ability, unexampled exertion, and irresistible ardour, displayed by him on the 18th of this month, on which

day the British army under his command, and in conjunction with our allies, had gained a decisive and splendid victory, by which the glory and renown of the British arms were exalted, and the territory of his majesty's ally was protected from invasion and spoil."

The marquis of Lansdowne should give his cordial concurrence in voting for a monument as imperishable as the glory which had been gained by the transaction, and by the means by which it had been achieved. He wished to be understood as likewise concurring in the vote about to be proposed for a further provision for the duke of Wellington, as an additional testimony of the sense entertained by parliament and the country of his transcendent services. The splendour and national importance of the event was such as almost to stifle the feeling of individual calamity, and to make us look upon the brave who had fallen, as we regard the fate of those *quos neque lugeri neque plangi fas est*.

The vote of thanks to the duke of Wellington having been agreed to *nem. dis.*—

Earl Bathurst moved thanks to the prince of Orange, lord Hill, general Clinton, and other officers. He then moved thanks to the non-commissioned officers and privates. He then moved thanks to prince Blucher and the Prussians. All these were agreed to *nem. dis.*

The message of the regent recommending to the lords a concurrence in any provision to be made for the duke of Wellington being read,

Lord Liverpool said, he had one or two facts to relate, which would operate, he had no doubt, as an additional inducement. He was one of the trustees of the grant already voted to the duke of Wellington. It was stipulated, that out

of the sum given, 100,000*l.* were to be applied towards procuring a mansion fit to commemorate the nation's gratitude for the distinguished services of his grace: but it was soon found to be absolutely impossible with such a sum to erect a house in any degree adequate to the intended object. Every man, as soon as he heard the account of the recent victory, a victory which he had no hesitation in saying was unequalled in the history of this country, anxiously inquired whether no other proof of the nation's gratitude could be bestowed besides the thanks of parliament? Could the house, under such circumstances, hesitate to furnish to the duke the means of supporting his exalted rank? His lordship concluded by moving, that the house do agree with the address of the prince regent. Carried *nem. dis.*—Adjourned.

[The same subject was discussed and decided in the same way in the house of commons.]

House of commons, June 23.—

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed that the sum of 534,713*l.* should be granted to make good the deficiency of the civil list on the 13th of April last. The right honourable gentleman observed, that this excess resolved itself into two branches—the increase in the diplomatic arrangements resulting from the peculiar circumstances of the war, and the excess in the household. In regard to the latter, after allowing for the expenditure occasioned by the visit of the foreign sovereigns to this country, and also for the charges incurred by the prince regent on assuming the royal authority, it would be found that the civil list had not exceeded that proportion of excess which was estimated by the late Mr. Perceval in 1805.

The resolution was then agreed to,

to, as was one for granting the sum of 200,000*l.* for expenses incurred, not chargeable on the civil list, and also several others.

The house shortly after adjourned.

House of lords, June 27.—The earl of Liverpool presented a message from the prince regent, stating, that the prince regent thought proper to acquaint the house that the duke of Cumberland had with his the prince regent's consent contracted a marriage with the princess of Salm, and that he relied upon the liberality of the house of lords, and their attachment to the royal family, for their lordships' concurrence in whatever steps it might be necessary to take, in order to enable their royal highnesses to support the rank and dignity becoming their station.—Ordered to be considered to-morrow.—Adjourned.

House of commons, June 28.—Lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for a committee to take into consideration the message relative to the marriage of the duke of Cumberland.—The house having resolved itself into a committee, his lordship said, the junior branches of the royal family had an allowance of 18,000*l.* per annum, subject to property tax; it was his intention to move an addition of 6000*l.* per annum to the income of the duke of Cumberland. Unless this sum were granted, it must be apparent that his royal highness's income would be inadequate to his augmented expenditure; he trusted the house would see that the resolution had been framed with reference to a proper degree of public economy.—After some further observations, his lordship moved a resolution "to grant to his majesty out of the consolidated fund the sum of 6000*l.* per annum, as a further provision for his royal highness the duke of

Cumberland, the same to be settled on his duchess during her life."

Mr. Whitshed Keene said, he was as much attached to the limited monarchy of this country as any man; but he could not concur in this grant.—The prince already had 18,000*l.* per annum. If the royal duke resided abroad, 18,000*l.* would be equal to 30,000*l.* in England. In the present state of the country he could not consent to the grant—he would rather give four times the sum to those who were sufferers by the battle which had just produced such glorious results.

Sir M. W. Ridley professed much respect for the royal family, but could not consent to this vote in the present state of the country.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended that the splendour and dignity of the royal family were connected with the prosperity of the country; and the principle of monarchy would be degraded if a suitable degree of splendour could not be upheld.

Mr. Bennett opposed the grant, from the present state of the country, and the many large and merited claims upon its liberality. He also opposed it on the ground that the royal family had among them a million annually, and the duke of Cumberland had already a considerable income. The crown had last year expended upwards of a million. Whatever feelings of respect he had for the rest of the royal family, he had none for the duke of Cumberland; and he was the only one of that family with a request in whose favour he could not comply. On that subject there was but one opinion. The king would never have given his consent to such a marriage. Had not the marriage been once broken off? Had not the queen opposed it, and said that the

duke of Cumberland ought not to marry that woman, whose marriage with the duke of Cambridge had been broken off?

Sir C. Burrell said, that in addition to the duke's income from the civil list he had a house within the palace which was equal to 1,000*l.* per annum, and a regiment of cavalry equal to 1500*l.*, making in all an income of about 21,000*l.* per annum.

Lord Castlereagh deplored the turn the debate had taken, as being injurious both to the crown and the country. Such a subject ought not to have been discussed upon the principle of personal character; nor could ministers give explanation, when they had never heard of the facts that were required to be explained. Such a debate must be peculiarly injurious in this country, where political feelings were apt to be so strong. He had never heard of any improper conduct of the duke of Cumberland while he was in Hanover, nor at all inconsistent with what was due to his brother. Under a monarchical government the branches of the royal family must be upheld in pre-eminence above all others. The duke of Wellington had an income in perpetuity, the duke of Cumberland only for his own life. His regiment was in fact a source of expense to him. The princess (of Salm) he believed had no fortune, and that was a reason why a settlement should be made upon her. He trusted the house would take a broad view of the subject, as affecting alike the monarchy and the country.

Mr. W. Wynne begged leave to ask, was this marriage one which would operate in favour of domestic virtue? Had the princess no fortune from her former husbands, prince Lewis of Prussia, and the prince

of Salm? If the noble lord had brought forward such a measure at an earlier period of the session, there would have been no probability of its succeeding.

Lord Castlereagh said, the marriage had been celebrated in the presence of the princes of the house of Mecklenburgh, and of the king of Prussia, who had made a liberal provision for the children of the marriage.—The house divided:—For the grant, 87—Against it, 70—Majority, 17 for the grant:—[The subject was brought again twice or thrice before the house, and finally lost by a small majority.]

July 4.—Sir I. Majoribanks disclaimed all personal views in the motion he was about to submit respecting the duke of York. He had not the honour even of being known to the royal duke. He acted solely from a conscientious feeling, that a tribute of respect and gratitude should be paid by that house to the services of the illustrious duke. He concluded by moving, that the thanks of the house be given to his royal highness the duke of York, captain general and commander in chief of the British forces, for his continued, effectual, and unremitting attention to the duties of his office during a period of more than twenty years, during which time the army had improved in discipline and in science to an extent unknown before, and had, under Providence, risen to the height of military glory.

The chancellor of the exchequer was far from opposing the motion, which he thought would meet no dissentient voice; yet he thought such a motion would have been more proper when the services of the army were brought to a close by the termination of the war. Much merit must undoubtedly be due to the duke of York, who had for so many

many years conducted and organised the army.

Mr. Western had no wish to detract from the merits of the duke of York, but was ready to allow the full extent of his services; but had the office of commander in chief been held by any other person, was it likely that they would have heard of this motion?

Mr. W. Pole was surprised that precedent should have been coldly calculated, when it was declared by the duke of Wellington himself, that the victory which had shed so bright a glory over the British arms, could not have been won but for the improved condition of British troops; an improvement that had taken place entirely since the administration of the duke of York. "Never," as his grace had written to himself, "had he fought so hard for victory, and never, from the gallantry of the enemy, had he been so near being beaten."

Mr. Whitbread said, he knew not how to object to it without the appearance of ingratitude, after the noble tribute paid to his royal highness by the duke of Wellington, on his late memorable triumph. Notwithstanding, therefore, the warmth so unnecessarily introduced into the debate by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. W. Pole), and the importance of the constitutional principle suggested by his hon. friend (Mr. Western), he could not withhold his sanction from the present vote.—The question was carried. [This was Mr. Whitbread's last speech.]

July 11.—Mr. Rose brought up the report of the select committee on madhouses. On moving that it be printed, Mr. Rose took the opportunity of observing, that all who read the report must feel satisfied of the indispensable necessity of legislative interference. In

no country were there any set of people so unprotected as the unhappy persons to whom the report referred. The way in which they were usually confined was that of criminals; and their treatment was in general worse than the ordinary treatment in jails. The number of persons appointed to take care of them was in most cases utterly insufficient; in consequence of which the greatest severity was too frequently resorted to. He trusted that the subject would be fully considered by honourable members during the recess, and that all would be disposed in the next session to give their assistance towards the formation of a measure calculated to diminish the existing evil. That in many cases those who were afflicted might, if properly treated, recover their sanity, was very evident. One strong instance was mentioned in the report of a poor insane woman, who having for some time been chained down to the floor in a parish workhouse, disturbed all the other inmates of the dwelling by her cries; and who, on being removed in consequence to a more proper place of confinement, was, by proper treatment, perfectly cured in the space of five months.

The report was then ordered to be printed.

Mr. Rose brought up the report of the select committee on the state of mendicity in the metropolis. On moving that it be printed, Mr. Rose begged to call the attention of the house for a few moments to the subject. When in the early part of the session he had moved for the appointment of the committee, he stated that his object was twofold—to better the situation of those who were really distressed, and to repress scandalous and abominable imposture. The evidence obtained by

by the committee confirmed more strongly his previous opinions on this subject. They had found that there were a great many objects of real compassion, but that there were many more of the worst description of impostors. The number of mendicants in the metropolis was estimated at 30,000, but probably it was much greater. Most of these persons gained more than many industrious individuals of the lower classes of the community. One man actually acknowledged that his profits were about thirty shillings a day. This might be a singular case, but it was proved by the strongest evidence that the average receipts of mendicants in London were from three to six shillings a day each. This money was spent in the most exceptionable manner in dram shops, at feasts, and even in the purchase of luxuries of all sorts, eatable as well as drinkable. The committee had ascertained a fact which was unknown to him before. Many parishes farmed their poor. About one hundred parishes he believed in the city did so. Six or seven shillings a week each were allowed to those by whom they were taken, and who then sent them about to beg during the day for the purpose of saving their provision! It was desirable that the conduct of parishes in this respect should be more carefully watched, even when they maintained their own poor. It appeared by the minutes of evidence annexed to the report, that in one case 22 paupers were compelled to sleep in a single room of small dimensions, thus creating a great risk of pestilential disease. Many of the paupers of the metropolis were Irish, who coming to this country with the laudable intention of obtaining employment, failed in that object. In a court which led out of one of the

fashionable streets of Mary-le-bone, 700 of these poor persons were crowded into 24 small houses! It would appear by the report that the number of private charities in the metropolis was almost inconceivable. But unfortunately most of those by whom they were supported contented themselves with giving their money, and never examined into its application. The house would hardly believe that there was one benevolent institution, supported by peers, members of that house, and other opulent individuals, the object of which was to purchase beef, and sell it to the poor at a moderate price. Nothing could be more commendable than this institution, were it properly administered. The revenue of it was 600*l.* a year. But it appeared that the whole of it was managed by a single individual; and it had been recently discovered that this man put the whole of the money, with a trifling exception, in his own pocket! It appeared in evidence, that in one year he had purchased only 27*l.* worth of beef, and that the largest quantity he had ever bought within the twelvemonth was to the value of 72*l.* he appropriating the remainder to his own use. On a Bow-street officer's being employed to apprehend this person, it was found that he was the subject of other charges of as serious a nature. There were various practices described in the report, by which the most cautious as well as the careless had been imposed upon. It had never been in his contemplation, that a complete remedy could be discovered for these evils; and he was persuaded, that the closest attention was necessary to the formation of any measure calculated materially to diminish them. The existing laws were evidently too severe; in consequence

sequence of which they were never acted upon! There must be some alteration in the law. It was evaded in a hundred ways. One man with a dog, when taken up by the parish officers, remonstrated, exclaiming, "I am no beggar, it is my dog that begs; you see that he has his hat in his hand." It was but justice to the beadles and parish officers in the city to say, that they had discharged their duty with commendable activity. But the only present effect of apprehending beggars in the metropolis was, to remove them to the vicinage—to Cheshunt, to Eggham, &c. The best course that could be adopted with respect to them would be, to provide places in which they could be employed; but this would be attended with great expense to the public. At all events, he trusted the house would feel, that this was a subject which demanded their most serious attention.

After a few words from Mr. W. Smith, the report was ordered to be printed.

The marquis of Tavistock.—Sir, I am persuaded that it must be quite unnecessary for me to say that I am at this moment labouring under feelings of the most painful and afflicting nature. I wish, however, shortly to state to the house the reasons which induce me to depart from the usual practice in moving for a new writ, in order that I may pay a humble but sincere tribute of affection to the memory of my departed friend Mr. Whitbread. Sir, it is not on any consideration of private friendship—it is not on any contemplation of his many virtues as a private individual—it is on the reflection of the great space which he occupied in this house—it is on the recollection of his splendid abilities—it is on the conviction which

we who thought with him on political subjects entertain of the advantage which the country derived from his exertions, that I found my excuse for this address—that I even claim the concurrence of all those who hear me in the feelings which agitate me at the present moment. I am well aware, sir, that a great majority of this house thought his opinions erroneous. But—I speak it with confidence—I am sure that there is not one of his political opponents who will not lay his hand on his heart and say that he always found in him a manly antagonist. The house of commons will I am persuaded ever do justice to the good intentions of those who honestly dissent from the sentiments of the majority. Accustomed to defend his opinions with earnestness and warmth, the energies of his admirable and comprehensive mind would never permit the least approach to tameness or indifference. But no particle of animosity ever found a place in his breast, and, to use his own words on another melancholy occasion, "he never carried his political enmity beyond the threshold of this house." It was his uniform practice to do justice to the motives of his political opponents; and I am happy to feel that the same justice is done to his motives by them. To those, sir, who were more immediately acquainted with his exalted character—who knew the directness of his mind, his zeal for truth, his unshaken love of his country, the ardour and boldness of his disposition—incapable of dismay; his unaffected humanity, and his other various and excellent qualities, his loss is irreparable. But most of all will it be felt by the poor in his neighbourhood. Truly might he be called "the poor man's friend."

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Only those who like myself have had the opportunity of observing his conduct nearly, can be aware of his unabating zeal in promoting the happiness of all around him. Thousands of individuals have benefited by the generosity of his heart; and the county, the principal town of which he represented, contains imperishable records of his active philanthropy, as well as that of the good man who went before him. His eloquent appeals in this house in favour of the unfortunate—appeals exhibiting the frankness and honesty of the true English character—will adorn the pages of the historian; although at the present moment they afford a subject of melancholy retrospect to those who have formerly dwelt with delight on the benevolence of a heart which always beat, and on the vigour of an intellect which was always employed for the benefit of his fellow creatures. Sir, I am conscious that I need not entreat pardon of the house at large for thus indulging in the praise of my lamented friend; but I owe an apology to those who loved him, for the feebleness with which it has been bestowed. I move, sir, that the speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown to make out a new writ for the election of a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the borough of Bedford, in the room of Samuel Whitbread, esq. deceased.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed the gratification which he felt at the pathetic speech of the noble marquis, which afforded an additional proof that the best eloquence was that of the heart—He wished to add his testimony to the excellent qualities of the lamented individual whose death had rendered the present motion necessary; and in doing so, he could with truth declare, that

he was only one of many thousands, rich as well as poor, by whom his character had been most highly estimated. Well had it been termed by the noble marquis “a true English character.” Even its defects, trifling as they were (and what character was altogether without defect?), were those which belonged to the English character. Never had there existed a more complete Englishman. All who knew him must recollect the indefatigable earnestness and perseverance with which, during the course of his life, he directed his talents and the whole of his time to the public interest; and although he (Mr. Wilberforce) undoubtedly differed from him on many occasions, yet he always did full justice to his public spirit and love of his country. He was capable (as had been seen at various times,) of controlling the strongest feelings of personal attachment, when he thought that his duty to the public compelled him to do so. It was a melancholy satisfaction to those who loved him, to see that those who had differed from him on many political questions, nevertheless considered him as one of those public treasures, the loss of which must by all parties be deeply lamented. For himself, he (Mr. Wilberforce) could never forget the important assistance which he derived from his zeal and ability in the great cause which he had so long advocated in that house. On every occasion, indeed, in which the condition of human beings was concerned—and the lower their state the stronger their recommendation to his favour—no one was more anxious to apply his great powers to increase the happiness of mankind.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that it was far from his wish to detain the house after the address, replete

teplete with feeling and propriety, which they had heard from the noble marquis, and after the excellent observations of his honourable friend. All that he desired to say was, that it must be some consolation to the noble marquis, and to the whole house, to feel, that whatever difference of opinion might exist on political questions, there was no one who did not do justice to the virtues and talents of the object of their regret, or who for a moment supposed that he was actuated in his public conduct by any other motive than a conviction of public duty.

Mr. M. A. Taylor gave notice, that early in the next session he would revive the subject of the abolition of the punishment of the pillory, unless some measure of that kind should originate in another quarter; and also, that early in the next session, unless a considerable alteration should take place in the mean while, he would renew the bill for better paving the metropolis.—Adjourned.

House of lords, July 12.—The regent came to the house at two o'clock. The speaker of the house of commons, attended by the members, appeared at the bar, and delivered the following speech:—

“May it please your royal highness,—We, his majesty’s faithful subjects, the commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in obedience to your royal highness’s commands, attend your royal highness; and, according to our ancient privilege, we crave leave to present with our own hands our grant of supply, which concludes the labours of the session. In the ordinary course of our proceedings, much of our time has been occupied in discussing measures of great importance to the state, with respect to its agriculture, shipping, and finances. We have

endeavoured so to regulate our corn laws, with prudence and firmness, that protection and encouragement may be given to the agricultural interest of every part of the united kingdom, without endangering the prosperity of our trade and manufactures. We have endeavoured also to derive new means of maritime strength from the valuable resources of our Indian possessions. And after devising and preparing such plans for adjusting the public revenue and expenditure as might suit a period of returning peace, we have been called upon, by unlooked-for events, to renew our exertions and sacrifices upon the most extended scale of war. Scarcely had we closed our contest with America, and scarcely had the congress of Vienna laid the first foundation of those arrangements which were destined to consolidate the peace of Europe, when, in direct contravention of the most solemn engagements, the disturber of Europe and destroyer of the human race re-appeared upon the throne of France; and the world was once more in arms. In the short space of three months, by rapid strides, the fate of Europe has been again brought to issue; and the conflict was tremendous; but the result has been glorious. The most warlike nations, headed by the most renowned commanders, have met in battle; and, as Britons, we have the triumphant satisfaction to know (however much that triumph may be saddened by private grief), that it is now no longer doubtful to what name and to what nation the world will henceforth ascribe the pre-eminence for military skill and unconquerable valour. To consecrate the trophies and perpetuate the fame of our brave countrymen who fell in that unrivalled victory, we have declared

clared to be our ardent desire ; and it will be the distinguishing glory of your royal highness's days, to erect in the metropolis of this empire such a lofty and durable monument of their military renown, and our national gratitude, as may command the veneration of our latest posterity. Great, however, and glorious as this victory has been in itself, it is not to the joint exertions and heroic achievements of the British and Prussian arms in that memorable conflict that we must limit our admiration,—we have also to contemplate with equal pride and satisfaction its immediate consequences, military, political, and moral. We have seen the illustrious commanders of the allied armies advancing at once into the heart of France ; and Paris, twice vanquished, has again opened her gates to the conquerors. The usurper of a throne, which he has twice abdicated, has sought his safety in an ignominious flight ; and the rightful sovereign of France has once more resumed the sceptre of his ancestors. With these awful scenes passing before us, we may presume also to hope, that the period is not now distant when the hand of Providence will finally extinguish the remaining efforts of that guilty and perfidious spirit of domination which has so long raged without control, and restore to desolated Europe the blessings of peace and justice.—But, sir, whatever may be the final issue of these great transactions, we look forward with confidence to their satisfactory conclusion, under the auspices of your royal highness ; and we doubt not of the happiest results, from the same councils which have planned, and the same hands that have executed, those wise and vigorous measures which have been hitherto

crowned with such signal success. On our part, it is our humble duty to strengthen the means of your royal highness's government ; and towards effectuating that purpose, we, his majesty's faithful commons, do this day present to your royal highness a bill entitled " An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of six millions for the service of Great Britain ;" to which, with all humility, we entreat his majesty's royal assent."

The prince then gave the royal assent to the bill, and delivered the following speech from the throne :

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I cannot close this session of parliament without again expressing my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.—At the commencement of the present session I entertained a confident hope, that the peace which I had concluded, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, would meet with no interruption ; that, after so many years of continued warfare and of unexampled calamity, the nations of Europe would be allowed to enjoy that repose for which they had been so long contending ; and that your efforts might be directed to alleviate the burthens of his majesty's people, and to adopt such measures as might best promote the internal prosperity of his dominions.—These expectations were disappointed by an act of violence and perfidy of which no parallel can be found in history.—The usurpation of the supreme authority in France by Bonaparte, in consequence of the defection of the French armies from their legitimate sovereign, appeared to me to be so incompatible with the general security of other countries, as well as with the engagements to which the French nation had recently been a party, that I felt

felt no alternative but to employ the military resources of his majesty's dominions, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, to prevent the re-establishment of a system which experience has proved to be the source of such incalculable woes to Europe. — Under such circumstances, you will have seen with just pride and satisfaction the splendid success with which it has pleased divine Providence to bless his majesty's arms, and those of his allies.

—Whilst the glorious and ever memorable victory obtained at Waterloo, by field marshals the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher, has added fresh lustre to the characters of those great commanders, and has exalted the military reputation of this country beyond all former example, it has at the same time produced the most decisive effects on the operations of the war, by delivering from invasion the dominions of the king of the Netherlands, and by placing, in the short space of fifteen days, the city of Paris, and a large part of the kingdom of France, in the military occupation of the allied armies.—Amidst events so important, I am confident you will see how necessary it is that there should be no relaxation in our exertions, until I shall be enabled, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, to complete those arrangements which may afford the prospect of permanent peace and security to Europe.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“I thank you for the very liberal provision you have made for the services of the present year.—I deeply lament the continuance and increase of those burthens which the great military exertions of the present campaign, combined with the heavy arrears remaining due for

the expenses of the former war, have rendered indispensable, and which his majesty's loyal subjects, from a conviction of their necessity, have sustained with such exemplary fortitude and cheerfulness. You have already seen, however, the fruit of the exertions which have been made; and there can be no doubt that the best œconomy would be found to result from that policy which may enable us to bring the contest to a speedy termination.

“My lords, and gentlemen,

“The brilliant and rapid success of the Austrian arms at the opening of the campaign, has led to the restoration of the kingdom of Naples to its ancient sovereign, and to the deliverance of that important portion of Italy from foreign influence and dominion.—I have further the satisfaction of acquainting you, that the authority of his most christian majesty has been again acknowledged in his capital, to which his majesty has himself repaired. The restoration of peace between this country and the United States of America has been followed by a negotiation for a commercial treaty, which, I have every reason to hope, will be terminated upon conditions calculated to cement the good understanding subsisting between the two countries, and equally beneficial to the interests of both.—I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the labours of the congress at Vienna have been brought to a conclusion by the signature of a treaty, which, as the ratifications have not yet been exchanged, could not be communicated to you, but which I expect to be enabled to lay before you when I next meet you in parliament.—I cannot release you from your attendance without assuring you, that it is in a great degree to the support which you have afford-

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ed me, that I ascribe the success of my earnest endeavours for the public welfare ; and on no occasion has that support been more important than in the course of the present session.—In the further prosecution of such measures as may be necessary to bring the great contest in which we are engaged to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion, I shall rely with confidence on the experienced zeal and steady

loyalty of all classes of his majesty's subjects : and they may depend on my efforts to improve our present advantages in such manner as may best provide for the general tranquillity of Europe, and maintain the high character which this country enjoys amongst the nations of the world."

Parliament was then prorogued to Tuesday, the 22d of August.

CHAPTER VII.

Introductory Remarks—Effects of Peace on the domestic Interests of Great Britain—on its Agriculture—Retrospective View of the State of Agriculture from the Beginning of the French Revolutionary War—Causes of the high Price of Grain and the increased Rent of Land—Operation of the Country Banks on the Price of Grain, and on the Improvement of Land—Brief Re-consideration of the New Corn Bill.

IT is interesting and instructive to trace and to note the gradual progress which historical narration has made, from its earliest and rudest form, to its present comprehensive, systematic, and artificial structure. At first the few events which the history of barbarous and uncivilized tribes presented, were recorded under the form of chronicles ; in these the leading and general features alone were noticed ; they seldom expanded into detail, or indulged in narrating particulars. Afterwards, as the transactions of nations became more important, complicated and momentous, history also advanced in its progress, and assumed a more regular and dignified form : still, however, it was a mere record of facts, and of those facts only which had reference to martial achievements : the causes which produced

the events that it recorded, the motives that influenced the most celebrated characters, whom it handed down to posterity, and the consequences which flowed from these events, as well as from the actions of these characters, were only incidentally touched upon. Philosophical history next arose : the most useful and important in its nature, as well as the most dignified, if conducted with a sufficient knowledge of facts, and with due intelligence, acuteness, and candour : but even this species of history was confined in a great measure to the politics and wars of nations : from reading it, it might have been conjectured that no nation presented any thing worthy of notice or of record, but the details of its political intrigues and of its murderous wars. It was reserved for comparatively very modern times to extend the province

province of history to more pleasing as well as infinitely more valuable and useful topics. This last species of history, without neglecting the wars and political intrigues of nations, embraced a regular notice of their finances, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, literature, science, arts, and manners. Unfortunately, however, such a very large portion of the existence of all communities is devoted to warfare; and the actions which it presents are decorated with such an alluring brilliancy, that history, even when written by the calmest philosophers and by the truest friends of mankind, is too apt to be turned aside from what is illustrative of the real dignity and happiness of the human race, to what is merely imposing and captivating. While wars, therefore, are carried on, the narrative of those wars, the causes from which they sprung, and the results which they produced, must fill the largest portion of history. But, during the short and unfrequent periods of peace which the history of modern nations presents to view, it is not only allowable, but imperative on the historian and annalist to turn his attention to the state of society in the country or countries which he has chosen for the employment of his pen, as that is indicated by the state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, literature, science, arts, and manners.

In the Introduction to the last volume of our Annual Register—anticipating the continuance of the repose of the nations of Europe at least for some years, and of Great Britain among the rest—we promised to direct our attention and investigation to its finances, &c. That anticipation has not been accurately fulfilled: the repose of Europe

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has been again broken in upon; and Great Britain, who has always shown herself foremost in combating the principles and actions of revolutionary France, of course was involved in the new contest. But that contest was of short duration: and while it did continue, it can hardly be said to have disturbed or impeded the operation of the effects of peace, at least on our own country. We may therefore, without impropriety, commence the domestic portion of the history of Great Britain with tracing and recording the effects which peace has produced and is producing on these islands.

It is scarcely possible to conceive any subject more important or interesting than that with which we have deemed it proper to commence this portion of our history. In all wars, the real and ultimate effects which they are likely to produce (we do not here allude to the attainment or loss of the object for which they were commenced, but to their effects on the prosperity, real strength and wealth of the nations engaged in them,) cannot possibly be known or even accurately conjectured till they are actually terminated. This remark applies with peculiar force and propriety to the revolutionary wars from which Great Britain has just extricated herself. They were so different in their nature and objects from any which were ever before waged, carried on on so much more an extensive scale, and with such very extraordinary means, that the experience of former wars could do little in enabling us to anticipate the state in which they would leave us. Besides, it may be remarked, that depression, lassitude and weakness in the body politic, as well as in the human body, bear a regular proportion to the stimulus by

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which both have been raised to exertion :—while that stimulus lasts, no fatigue is felt ; we seem to be endued with supernatural vigour and strength, and to be as it were all soul : but no sooner is the object obtained, or has the stimulus been withdrawn, than more than usual imbecility falls upon us. So it is with nations :—to what degree it is so with this nation, since it has regained peace, it is our present object to inquire.

We shall therefore examine into the present state of our agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and finances, and afterwards devote a few of our pages to the present state of the poor and of the labouring classes, before we proceed to the record of those events and transactions which are more generally considered as exclusively belonging to the province of history.

Great Britain has long been distinguished among the nations of Europe for the political and civil freedom which she enjoys ; and at least during the last fifty years she has been almost in an equal degree distinguished for her immense national wealth. Her revenue, her expenditure, her taxation, and her debt, are equally subjects of astonishment and wonder to all the nations of Europe ; and they are only regarded with less astonishment and wonder by ourselves, because they have grown up amidst us, and we daily see every thing going on as smoothly and regularly as if in these respects we did not differ from the other nations of Europe. When, however, we do pause, and reflect that our national debt is fast approaching to one thousand millions, that the interest of it is between 40 and 50 millions ; that our expenditure is nearly 81 millions, independently of what is raised by way of

loan ; and that within the short period of 25 years our debt was under 300 millions, and the interest and expenditure proportionably small,—we shall feel surprise at the sources from which this immense debt has been drawn, and no small degree of alarm at the effects which it may produce. The effects are already beginning to be felt ; the artificial state in which the nation has long been kept has given way to a more natural and regular condition : but till the sources of our wealth can be rendered conformable to that condition, they must be deranged, and consequently give out less than their usual supply. Our agriculture has suffered first and to the greatest degree, from causes which it may be difficult to trace ; but which perhaps will rise to our view, if we conduct the investigation in an impartial and candid manner. Long before our manufactures or our commerce had risen above the level of those of the continental nations, we had been distinguished for the excellency of our agriculture, and for the consequent abundance of our agricultural produce. It is quite foreign to our design even to draw the outline of the history of our agriculture ; but it may briefly be noticed, that our agricultural improvements originally seem to have been derived from Flanders ; having been brought into Norfolk—a county having frequent and regular communication with that part of the continent, and strongly resembling it in its soil and surface. Agricultural improvement next took a surprising start in the south-eastern district of Scotland. In these two parts of the kingdom (Norfolk and the south-eastern districts of Scotland) the improvements were independent of the stimulus of high prices

prices for agricultural produce, while over most of the other parts of Great Britain they were carried by means of this stimulus.

Till beyond the middle of the last century we were an exporting country; from that period till very lately we have imported more grain than we have exported. This latter fact may at first sight seem utterly at variance with an advance in agricultural capital and skill: but it is not so; it only proves that our agricultural produce did not increase in proportion to the increase of population, or that it did not change conformably to the change of demand produced by an increase of wealth. Within the last fifty years we have become a great manufacturing nation: manufactures extended, and increased wealth; wealth generated a demand for luxuries among the rich, and for wheaten bread and animal food among those who previously had been obliged to content themselves with humbler fare. Thus, though the land was better cultivated, and though a larger quantity of it was under cultivation; yet the nature of the produce being altered to suit the demand, we became an importing instead of an exporting country.

Agriculture was in this state at the period when the first French revolutionary war broke out. At its commencement, and till France overran part of the continent, our agriculture could not be differently, or to a greater degree, affected by this war than by former wars. But it so happened, that just about the time when the victories of France enabled her to close some of the most fruitful parts of the continent against us, we were visited by a scanty harvest. The natural and necessary consequences followed: the price of all kinds of

grain rose suddenly and enormously: the profits of the farmers rose nearly in the same proportion; the demand for farms became urgent; rents were raised excessively; and the price of corn, which had been increased by an accidental circumstance, was thus sustained by a certain and regular cause.

The successes of the French still continuing, and being directed uniformly to the shutting us out from the continent, it followed that, though our harvests now produced an average crop, yet, from the cause just stated, operating along with the increased rent of land, the price of corn continued high; the competition for farms consequently continued and increased: not only did new competitors appear, but those who already held farms, having increased their capital by the high price of grain, were anxious to occupy more land. Thus in a very few years the rent of land was more than doubled; though it was evident that it was much above what could be paid, if corn ever resumed a moderate price, and proportioned to the price of other commodities.

In the year 1799–1800, at a time when our warfare was by no means successful, when the national burthens pressed heavily on every individual,—we were again visited with a very deficient crop of all kinds of grain. The consequence was, that corn, and especially wheat, rose to an enormous price, which at once stimulated, and enabled the farmer to renew his lease at a very great advance. A reaction again took place; the high prices which had originally given birth to exorbitant rents were continued by those rents, since it is evident that the price of each commodity must be equivalent to the price of the

raw commodity, (which land may be considered), the price of the labour bestowed in producing it, and to an adequate return for the capital and skill of the producer or manufacturer. In this last component part of the price also, there lurked another active cause of the continuation of the dearness of agricultural produce: for it was natural that the farmer should no longer be content with that mode of living which his forefathers had followed;—with his gains, his desires and ambition increased; and consequently he looked above that moderate profit which would have confined him to the sphere of his forefathers.

But these were not the only causes of the sustained high price of agricultural produce. It is evident that as poverty or inadequacy of capital will necessarily oblige the producer or manufacturer to bring an abundant supply into the market, and to dispose of it almost at any price; so an abundance of capital will induce and enable the producer or manufacturer either to withhold his article, or only to sell it on his own terms. The farmers indeed in most instances laid out their capital in improving or extending their farms. But nearly at the period when the great rise in the price of agricultural produce took place, a number of country banks began to be established: from these the farmers found no difficulty in procuring advances of large sums. Thus, being under no necessity of disposing of their produce, unless they obtained their own terms for it, and the majority of farmers being equally accommodated, while they all naturally endeavoured to get as high a price as possible, the buyers were obliged to yield to their terms. In fact, a great command of capital in the case of such

a commodity as corn, operates nearly in the same manner as a monopoly; for corn being an article of the first necessity, it is evident that if the sellers persist in asking a high price, a high price must be given; and whenever there is not a necessity to dispose of it on the part of the sellers, equal to the necessity to purchase it on the part of the community, the sellers will ask and obtain a high price. It is proper, however, to observe, that the advances of money by the country banks to farmers was not productive of this effect only; it also operated in a manner highly beneficial to the community, and, as we shall afterwards have occasion to point out, detrimental to the farmer. For, by means of this borrowed capital, agricultural improvements were pursued on a much more extensive scale, and with much greater spirit and effect than they could possibly otherwise have been done. A farmer who obtained those advances from the bankers, in fact obtained lime and manure for his land; cattle and sheep to stock it in the most adequate and proper manner, and labourers to improve and work it. In this respect the borrowed capital was a blessing to the country; but in so far as it rendered the farmer independent of the regular sale of his produce at a fair remunerating price, it tended to produce evil.

We should not be giving a just or complete sketch of the state of agriculture at this period, if we were to omit the improvement which took place in the character, the manners, and the acquirements of the farmer. In too many instances, perhaps, dissipation and luxury, and a futile and ridiculous attempt to rise above his rank in society, were the visible and disgusting effects of the increased wealth of the farmer:—such instances

instances were proper and legitimate objects of satire and invective. But it is only justice to remark, that in almost all parts of the kingdom the farmer employed the means which his increased wealth afforded him, in acquiring for himself, or at least in bestowing upon his children, a better education, and thus in advancing his profession in the scale of society, as useful and intelligent members of it. Hence it has resulted that Britain now may pride herself on a superior race of cultivators of the soil to any that can be found elsewhere.

The high price of corn, the increase in the rents of land, the increased income of the landlord in some instances, and in other instances the increased income of the tenant, continued, with few and feeble interruptions, till the power of Bonaparte was on the eve of its dissolution. We have already noticed in our former volumes, that in the session 1813-14 the prospectus of a law was laid before parliament for raising the import price of grain, and in the session of 1814-15 the import price was actually raised.

This measure originated with some of the Irish members; for in that part of the united kingdom the evil first began to make its appearance, which threatened there to take deeper root and extend more widely than either in England or Scotland. The agriculture of Ireland at the period of Arthur Young's travels in that country, between the years 1760 and 1770, was in a most deplorable state of ignorance and backwardness: perhaps there was then no country in Europe in which all its operations were conducted in such a rude and barbarous manner. The consequence was, that this portion of the united empire,

with a soil (not including its bogs) much more fertile as well as more easily and cheaply worked than the soil either of England or Scotland, and a climate by no means unfavourable even to arable husbandry, and certainly very propitious to every thing connected with the rearing and fattening of cattle, afforded only a very simple and by no means abundant food for, at that period, a scanty population. Even long subsequently to the period of Arthur Young's travels, the agriculture of Ireland was in a very depressed and rude state: but within these last twenty years it has started forward in a most surprising manner. The causes of this it may perhaps be impossible accurately and satisfactorily to trace:—the grand cause of an increased demand for the produce of its soil, and of that advance in the civilization of the people which naturally gives birth to enlarged views and desires, must of course have operated. This increased demand arose chiefly from two circumstances. In the first place, the long continuance of an expensive war; and secondly, the failure of the usual crops, during two periods of the war, in Great Britain. The long and expensive war of course called for large supplies of animal food for the navy and army; and the partial failure of the crops in Great Britain, at a time when supplies could be drawn from the continent only inadequately, precariously, and at a considerable expense, increased the demand for grain in Ireland, consequently raised the price of it there, and thus stimulated the farmers to the improvement and more extended cultivation of their lands. It is a well-ascertained fact, that North and South Wales, as well as most of the north-western counties, and

some of the south-western counties of England, which were formerly in a great measure supplied from the grain districts of England, are now principally supplied from Ireland. Another fact, equally indicative of the improved agriculture of Ireland, was substantiated by evidence on the corn bill given before the house of commons; viz. that several counties in that part of the united kingdom, which formerly cultivated no wheat, had latterly produced a considerable quantity of that species of grain.

The consequence was, that the rent of land rose in Ireland in a much greater proportion than it did even in Scotland, where it had risen much higher than in England. —While the high price of grain and other agricultural produce continued, the high rents were not felt as an evil; but as soon as the price of agricultural produce began to decline, the alarm was felt more keenly and deeply, as well as spread more extensively in Ireland than in any part of Great Britain. This may very easily be accounted for. The rent of land had been forced up not only above its natural level, as indicated by what might be expected to be the average price of grain in time of peace, but also very far above the capital of the Irish farmers.

We have judged it right to give this sketch of the state of Irish agriculture, because, as has been already stated, the proposal for a new corn bill originated in the Irish members of the house of commons; from a conviction, no doubt, that their country imperiously called for it. During the session when the Irish members first moved the question respecting a new corn bill, nothing was done respecting it, but only examining witnesses regarding the

state of agriculture in Ireland, and the necessity of some legislative measure on the subject of corn for that part of the united kingdom. In the subsequent session of parliament, the English and Scotch land-owners and farmers had fully participated in the alarm of the Irish agriculturists. In consequence of the unexpected and sudden reverses which had befallen Bonaparte, the probability of a peace was great, while already most ports of the continent were open to British ships, and consequently it might be expected that foreign grain would be poured into the home market, and sold there at a price far below that at which the British farmer could afford to sell it. Meetings were therefore held in different parts of the kingdom, and petitions presented to parliament, praying it in its wisdom to adopt such measures as would be a sufficient protection to the interests of British agriculture.

The only measure which parliament could adopt was the raising of the import price of grain: that is, not permitting foreign grain to be brought for sale into the united kingdom, till the home-grown corn was selling at a price which would remunerate the grower. We have already, in our former volume, given a general view of the arguments advanced by both parties on this important and intricate question; but it may be proper in this place briefly to recapitulate them, in order that by appealing to facts which have since occurred, we may be the better able to judge of the soundness of the arguments on each side.

The grand position on which the advocates for a new corn bill rested the whole of their case and arguments was this; that it is in many respects

respects highly advantageous to a nation, that it should derive from its own agriculture the necessities of life:—the precariousness and inadequacy of a foreign supply of grain, especially in time of war; the dependence which was thus produced on foreign nations, and the natural and unavoidable consequences of that dependence, were strongly insisted upon. Considering this foundation for their case and future arguments as laid with sufficient strength, the advocates for a new corn bill proceeded to point out the price which would be a proper and adequate remuneration to the home grower of grain, in order that the importation price might not be fixed below this standard. On this point, very full and minute evidence was given both before the house of commons and the house of lords. In general those who were examined were of opinion that the farmer could not pay his rent, work his land in such a manner as to produce the greatest crops from it, and obtain a fair and reasonable profit to himself, unless the price of wheat averaged four pounds the Winchester quarter.

Those who opposed any alteration in the corn bill were divided in the arguments by which they supported that opposition: some were decidedly averse to all legislation on the subject, and of course would have proposed the annulling of the former corn bill, rather than the passing of a new one. Those, however, who were of this opinion, do not seem sufficiently to have attended to the artificial state of society which has long existed in Great Britain. Total freedom in the trade of corn may not be productive of any mischief; it may even give birth to much benefit to the agriculturists, as well as to the com-

munity at large, where total freedom in all other kinds of trade is permitted. But it is evident that in a country where particular manufactures and trades are protected and encouraged by duties on foreign manufactures of the same kind, and where thus the price of the home-made manufactured articles is raised above its natural and fair level, the growing of corn must receive a proportional protection and encouragement; otherwise capital will not be invested in it to that degree which the interests of the community would demand. As to the answer to this reasoning, That even if agriculture at home were in the most depressed state, and robbed so completely of its capital that it could not support the population for the space of one month, we should still be able to procure corn from abroad, in exchange for our manufactures,—it scarcely deserves notice; since those who urge it, surely never reflected that the superfluous corn of all the continent of Europe, even in the most abundant years of its produce, would not feed the population of this country for a few months; and that it could not be brought here in the quantity which they suppose, in all the shipping which Europe possesses. The case of Holland is by no means parallel. Holland, indeed, procured grain from foreign countries, and raised little or none from her own soil: but Holland contains a comparatively small population; and being a continental state, has facilities of procuring grain, especially in time of war, which we do not possess.

As therefore the case and arguments of those who were against all legislative interference with regard to the commerce in grain, though strong, or at least plausible

in theory, cannot stand before fact and experience, and totally overlook the artificial state of society, we may dismiss the further consideration of them, and turn our attention to the arguments of the other class who opposed the corn bill. In this view of the question, the principal point to be determined respects the minimum price which would sufficiently remunerate the farmer. It is evident that the farmer must be enabled by the price which he receives for his produce, in the first place to work his farm properly; secondly, to support himself and family; thirdly, to obtain a fair and reasonable profit for his capital; fourthly, to pay the taxes; and lastly, to give a fair and reasonable rent for his land. Regarding some of these particulars, no doubt can be entertained; respecting others, however, there naturally will be considerable doubt and difference of opinion. In the first place, a question arises, what ought to be the gain of the farmer; and here it appears to us, that even the farmers have not, in their statements or arguments, done justice to themselves: for they ought to obtain not merely the interest of five per cent. on the capital which they bring to the cultivation of their farms—which per centage they would obtain for their capital without risk or labour of any kind,—and another per centage, not so easily fixed, for their own labour, attention, and skill; but they ought also, in the course of their lease, to draw from their farms the capital which they originally invested in them. This last point was not insisted upon with sufficient force and clearness in the evidence given before parliament; and yet it is of the utmost importance. The manufacturer or merchant who invests 20,000*l.* in trade,

expects, when he leaves off business, at least to draw out that sum, besides receiving annually, while he continues in business, the interest which that sum would command without risk or labour; and a second per centage for his labour, attention, and skill. So it ought to be with the farmer: but, as we have already observed, in the evidence this point was certainly not distinctly and strongly stated. As, however, the farmer at the end of his lease cannot, as the merchant or manufacturer when they leave off trade, dispose of that in which he had invested his capital, except so far as it has been invested in the mere stocking of a farm; it follows that the chief portion of his capital ought to return to him, in the course of his lease, in the shape of annual gains, above the interest for his money, and the recompense for his labour, attention, and skill. All that portion of his capital that has been laid out in improving his farm, ought to be returned to him in this manner. Considering the matter in this light, it is evident that the farmer is entitled to an annual return of much more than the fair and usual returns of the merchant and manufacturer, on a capital of the same amount.

It was, however, urged that the farmers lived much more expensively than formerly; and that in settling the proper remunerating price, and of course the new importation price, no regard ought to be had to their increased expenditure; but that they ought only to be secured in such an income as they would have obtained prior to the rise in the price of grain. But even on this point injustice was done to the farmer, and by injustice to him, the country was exposed to injury; for there can be no doubt that

that by far the largest part of the money which had been obtained in consequence of the high price of grain, had been expended in benefiting agriculture, either directly by improving the land, or indirectly to the same effect, by increasing the intelligence of the farmer. As therefore he had risen in the scale of importance and intellect, and had essentially benefited his country, he was well entitled to rise in society. It would therefore be not only harsh and ungrateful to the farmer, but prejudicial to the nation, to endeavour to force him down to the rank which he held twenty or thirty years ago.

The next point, respecting which there was considerable difference of opinion, regarded the rent which was paid for land. Those who objected to fixing the importation price for wheat so high as 80s. per quarter, contended that the necessity for such a high price could only arise from the circumstance that rents were exorbitantly high; if therefore, they said, a lower importation price were fixed, it would have the good effect of bringing down the rent of land to its fair and proper level. There can be no doubt that the excessive dearness of corn in 1794-5 and again in 1799-1800, as has been already observed, produced such a rage for farming, that rents were forced up beyond all precedent: and it seems equally evident, that it would have been but fair to permit the rents to fall to their proper level, provided this could have been done without injuring the farmers, and through them the agricultural interests and produce of the country. But it is obvious, that if the price of corn fell below a fair price, in all cases where farms were held on lease the farmer's fair profits would only be curtailed, while the

landlord persisted in taking his original rent. It does not appear to have been sufficiently adverted to, that the prosperous or adverse state of agriculture is of infinitely greater importance to a country, than the prosperous or adverse state of its manufactures or commerce; and that the consequences take deeper root, extend more widely, and are not so easily or speedily remedied where agriculture languishes.

Allowing therefore that the rent of land was much too high, and even admitting that the profits of the farmer were greater than they ought to have been, and that consequently both ought to be reduced, still it behoved the country to pause in demanding that reduction, if it could not be effected without injuring agriculture, especially if the evil complained of consisted merely in the land-owner and farmer obtaining more than their fair profit, and if it did not extend beyond this.

But those who opposed the new corn bill, maintained that the high price of corn, which it was avowedly intended and calculated to keep up, would be not only throwing an unfair profit into the hands of the agricultural classes, but would also to the same degree injure the country. The process of reasoning by which they attempted to make out this position was short and simple. They assumed that the price of labour, and of all commodities, would rise in the same proportion as the price of corn rose; and that consequently our manufactures, being increased in price, could not compete with the manufactures of those countries where corn was cheaper. The argument thus triumphantly urged, certainly does away completely the force of another argument, by which the new

new corn bill was opposed ; for, if the price of labour follows the price of corn, the labouring classes, and indeed all classes who had any thing to sell, could not be in the least affected whether corn were dear or cheap. It is impossible, therefore, on these data, to urge with any show of reason, at the same time that high-priced corn can be both unfavourable to our manufactures in the foreign market and unjust to the labouring classes, &c. in this country ; for, if high-priced corn does not raise the price of labour and of other commodities proportionately, it cannot affect the price of our manufactures : if it does raise the price proportionately, then, as was before observed, it must be a matter of indifference to all classes, except those who only buy and do not sell, at what price corn is sold.

But allowing that the price of all commodities is raised proportionately to the rise in the price of corn, then foreign commodities must also rise in price ; and consequently if the articles we get from foreign nations bear the same proportion in price to the articles they take from us, they can just as well afford to purchase our commodities, whatever the price may be.

But it is needless to discuss this subject further, especially as we have already adverted to it in our former volume. We shall therefore conclude this chapter with briefly recapitulating the effects which each party—those who opposed, and those who supported the new corn bill—expected from its operation.

Those who supported the bill, of course expected that, by excluding foreign wheat from the home mar-

ket till the price was above 4*l.* the quarter, they had accomplished the grand object of raising the average price of that species of grain nearly if not quite to that price. It may be asked, On what data did they proceed, when they concluded that the price of home-grown wheat, when it had the monopoly of the market, would average 4*l.* the quarter ? Probably from the belief that the produce of that grain in the united kingdom, on an average of years, was rather short of the consumption ; or, at least, that it barely would meet the consumption : of course, as they supposed that the supply and demand would be equal, if foreign grain were excluded, they concluded that the average price would be 4*l.* the quarter, as being a price that would not be more than sufficient to discharge the rent, taxes, and expenses of a farm, and afford the farmer a fair interest for his money, labour, &c. and the replacement of his capital at the end of his lease.

Such seem to have been the expectations of the friends and supporters of the new corn bill. Let us now see what evil consequences its opponents predicted from its operation. Its first effect, in their opinion, would be, to keep up the price of wheat to the average of 4*l.* per quarter, and consequently to give the agricultural interest a profit to which they were not entitled. They afterwards foresaw the increased misery and poverty of the labouring classes, and the declension of the demand for our manufactures in foreign markets, in consequence of their advance of price.

CHAPTER VIII.

Depressed State of Agriculture soon after the passing of the Corn Bill—Examination of the different Causes which have been assigned to account for this Depression—The probable Causes detailed—Statement of the Consequences likely to result from the Depression on Agriculture—Rents—and Taxes—The Remedies that have been suggested—Necessity of a speedy as well as effectual Remedy.

HAVING thus briefly detailed the arguments for and against the new corn bill, and concluded the last chapter with a statement of the consequences which its supporters and opponents expected from its operation, we shall now proceed to depict the state of the agriculture of the united kingdom, as it began to exhibit itself soon after the passing of this bill, and as it still exists. After depicting this state, we shall examine the different causes which have been assigned to account for it; the immediate consequences which have followed it; and those which are likely to ensue hereafter; and the remedies which have been proposed.

Before the new corn bill passed, the prices of all kinds of agricultural produce, particularly of wheat, which regulates the price of all other species of grain, had begun considerably to decline. This, at first, created no surprise or alarm amongst the farmers, since the old corn law admitted foreign corn to the home market, and the late peace had brought in a very large quantity: but they confidently expected, that as soon as the new corn bill began to operate in closing the ports to foreign grain, the corn markets would rise. The reverse, however, was the case; they gradually sunk; and became uncommonly dull: no kind of grain, except what was of the best quality, could be sold; and even for

that, the demand was not brisk or great. The corn market of London first felt the depression, but in a very short time it extended over the whole of the united kingdom. The price of wheat from 5*l.* the quarter, which a very short time before could easily have been obtained, fell below 2*l.*: other species of grain experienced a similar depression of prices; while the fall in the price of the productions of the pasture-farmer was equally great and rapid.

The complaints of the farmers at first met with little attention, regard, or sympathy: they were not indeed believed: and when believed, it was maintained, that as they had enjoyed high prices for a long series of years, they could not be materially injured or impoverished by obtaining a low price for one or even two years' crops. In a short time, however, the most incredulous and prejudiced were convinced that the farmers, generally speaking, were in a deplorable situation; where they held their land only from year to year, they were enabled to extricate themselves, before entire ruin overtook them, by quitting their farms: but where they were bound by leases, which they could not prevail on their landlords to annul or alter, they found themselves obliged to endure the evil. Their names appeared in almost every gazette among the bankrupts; a circumstance probably before

fore unknown, at least to the same extent, in this country.

Still, however, though the evil was now too extensive and glaring to be denied, yet the fate of the farmers met with very little sympathy. It seemed to be believed by many, that they might be impoverished or even ruined, and yet that the mischief would not be felt by any other classes. The farmers naturally kept on their accustomed number of labourers, and managed their land in the usual manner, as long as they possibly could; because they were sensible that, if they managed it at less expense, they would obtain less produce from it, and consequently for the sake of present saving expose themselves to greater ultimate loss. But before the same expense in labour, &c. could be laid out on their lands, it was necessary that their rents and taxes should be paid, and that they and their families should be supported at least in an economical manner. When these things were done, they found it absolutely impossible to manage their farm in the same manner as they were wont to do: of course they were under the necessity of dismissing some of their labourers, and of expending less in manure, lime, &c. Here then was undoubted proof of the severity as well as the extent of the evil under which the farmers were suffering: for it cannot be supposed that they would manage their lands ill, if they could afford to manage them well.

The consequences to the community at large from this state of agriculture, we shall afterwards consider; at present we must attend to the ramification of the evil, which at first touched only the farmers: the agricultural labourers of course suffered most deeply and generally. Corn indeed was cheap

—cheaper indeed than it had been known for a great number of years; but of what importance can it be to a person that corn is cheap, if he possesses not wherewithal to purchase it? While corn was dear, agriculture flourished: the farmers were constantly employed in improving their lands; consequently there was a great and regular demand for agricultural labourers, and their wages were high. A change had taken place. Corn was now cheap; agriculture languished; the farmers could not afford to improve their land, and consequently there was a very limited demand for agricultural labourers. Such was the evil as it extended from the farmers to their labourers. But it did not rest here: the labourers could not starve; if they could not obtain work sufficient to maintain themselves and their families, they were under the necessity of applying for parish relief: and thus the poor rates were increased; and those who paid less for their bread and meat were obliged to pay more towards the support of the poor.

We have not yet, however, by any means traced the evil through all its ramifications. Much has been said in respect to the riches which the country derives from foreign commerce: but this source of employment and wealth is trifling, compared to the demand in the home market. By the returns given under the population act, in the year 1811, the number of families chiefly employed in agriculture, in England and Wales, amounted to 770,199; and those employed in trades, &c. to 950,632. Besides, it is evident that of the latter description many must be *indirectly* dependent on agriculture, either entirely or in part.

Now

Now it is evident, that a fall in the price of agricultural produce must injure much more than it benefits all the former class; and probably many tradespeople, whose business depends on the agricultural class. And this is the fact:—not only do the farmers and their labourers suffer, but many descriptions of tradespeople; and in general the shopkeepers in all the agricultural districts of the united kingdom feel to their dismay, that cheap bread may be obtained at too great a cost.

Let us take the fall in the price of agricultural produce at only 25 per cent.—the value of it in England and Wales, before this fall, was stated at upwards of 100 millions: hence it is evident that 25 millions of the demand derived from the agricultural classes must have declined. This falling off in demand, especially when it takes place so very rapidly as it has done in the present instance, must be regarded as an evil not only of great magnitude, but as necessarily falling on a large portion of the community. It may however be urged, that if the consumers of agricultural produce pay 25 per cent. less for it than they were wont to do, they will be able to lay out what they thus save; and by this means the demand for goods in the home market will be to the same extent as formerly, though in different hands. There is no doubt this must be the case in the end; but it is long before circumstances adjust themselves to a sudden and great change with respect to what part of the community possesses capital; and while the adjustment is going on, a national evil must be suffered.

Having thus depicted the deplorable condition of the agricultural interest, especially towards the close

of the year 1815, we shall now proceed to inquire into its causes.—The change in the value of agricultural produce has come on so suddenly and to such an extent, that surprise seems to have taken away in a great measure the desire to trace the cause. Some content themselves with referring to the termination of the American war, when the value of land fell extremely, and agriculture as well as manufactures and commerce were in a very languishing state. If the cases are parallel, this may be the source of consolation to those who are suffering; since the kingdom at that period soon recovered;—but the reference to what occurred then, does not explain the cause either then or at present. Whether the cases are parallel, or whether in so far as they are we may expect a similar revival, will be afterwards considered: our immediate object respects the cause.

Some think that they have satisfactorily accounted for the depression in the value of agricultural produce, by the withdrawing of government contracts for provisions from the markets. But it is obvious that this is a very inadequate cause: for, even allowing that the men that formed the whole of our army and navy during the war were no longer fed at all by the agricultural produce of this country, still they bear so small a proportion to our whole population, that the withdrawing of their subsistence could not have much effect on the corn and cattle markets. But they in fact are still fed from the home produce; and though not so abundantly or with the waste that occurs in war, yet, as during the war the army in the Peninsula was chiefly supplied with foreign

corn,

corn; it may be questioned whether at present they do not consume as much home produce as they did while fed by government: at the same time it must be acknowledged that the withdrawing of the regular demands of the contractors may have contributed, in a small degree, to the fall in the price of agricultural produce. It has been stated by high authority that the cause must be sought for in the diminution of the circulating medium occasioned by the enormous loans of the last two years: but admitting for a moment that there has been such a diminution, ought it not to have operated before this time, and gradually rather than suddenly? There has, however, been no such diminution: the circulating medium of this country is paper; the loans raised are paid in paper: but the expenses of the war, *out of the country*, were not defrayed by paper money. However enormous therefore may have been the sums raised, either by loans or taxes, they must still be in the country; or, in other words, the circulating medium of the country cannot have been diminished in the manner alluded to.

A cause, somewhat akin to the one just examined, has been started by a political writer, who perhaps has no equal in the boldness and skill with which he exposes any measure, and in the coarse and homely vigour of his illustrations and style, but who is totally inadequate to the examination and discussion of any subject that requires either comprehension or profoundness of intellect. This writer maintains that the fall in the value of agricultural produce is occasioned by the diminution in the quantity of paper money; and that this diminution has taken place by the direction or

influence of government, for the purpose of putting a stop to its depreciation; of bringing gold to its mint price; and of rendering the foreign exchanges favourable to this country. To this it seems sufficient to reply, that there is no proof that the quantity of Bank of England paper is less than it was: on the contrary, by the last return it was greater. Government, however, have no influence over the country banks, with regard to diminishing the quantity of their notes, except indirectly through the Bank of England. That some of the country banks have failed, and that many are diminishing their issues, is true; but this we shall endeavour to show hereafter is rather the consequence than the cause of the fall in the value of agricultural produce.

The importation of foreign corn that took place immediately before the passing of the new corn bill is regarded by some as the principal cause of the decline in the price of grain. But a little reflection will be sufficient to convince us that this importation could not produce such an effect: for, in the first place, it was comparatively very trifling; and in the next place, a considerable quantity of this foreign grain was re-exported. None of these causes, therefore, seem sufficient to account for the very sudden and extreme depression in the prices of agricultural produce; nor even the admission that the large crop was very abundant—which however is questioned by many. It will therefore be necessary to search for other causes; and though on such a point we can only assign probable causes, and approximate to the truth, yet it is believed that the following statement, much of which rests on unquestioned

unquestioned and notorious facts, will account for the agricultural depression, at least much more satisfactorily than any of the opinions just examined.

It has long been an established maxim in political economy, that the price of any article depends on the proportion between the supply of it, and the demand for it. There can be no doubt that any variation in this proportion will cause an alteration in the price; but the price could not originally be fixed thus. Whoever produces any article for sale, naturally expects a price that will in the first place reimburse him for the expenses which he may have incurred in the production, and next enable him to live in a certain manner, and obtain a certain profit besides. Now it is evident, that though in all countries, and all ages, that part of the price which consists in the reimbursement must be fixed, yet it is equally plain that the other element of the price must be adjusted in each country and age, by the style of living, and rank in life, which by the manners and habits of that country or age the producer has a title to uphold. Thus in many parts of the continent corn is cheap, not only because the rent and taxes are low, but because the producer looks for a very small profit, and lives in a very low rank, compared to the farmer in Great Britain. And again, corn was comparatively cheap half a century ago, not only because rent and taxes were then moderate, but because the farmers, at that period were in an inferior condition of life. Here then is one cause, which must have gradually operated to raise the price of corn, and by the total or partial withdrawing of which it is evident that corn would be rendered cheaper. But

this cause was rendered much more effective, by the credit which the farmers very generally obtained from the country banks. Let us suppose that the harvest produced an average crop; and that, on the sale of this, brought in the usual and proper proportions to the markets throughout the year, the farmer entirely depended for the payment of his rent, taxes, and labourers, the support of his family, &c. It is evident, that in such a case he would be contented with a lower price, than if he were independent of the sale of his corn for paying his rent, &c. while it is equally evident that if, thus independent, he sought a higher price than he would have done if he had depended on the sale, that price, if not very extravagant, would be given, as corn is an article of the first necessity, and the farmer possessed the monopoly of the home market, no foreign corn entering into competition with him. This would take place without any understanding among the farmers: it is indeed the natural result of attention to self-interest: the large majority of the farmers not being dependent on the sale of their corn, very naturally sought a higher price than they would otherwise have done; while the consumers, being absolutely dependent on the home-grown corn, were obliged to give it. The scanty harvests which we have had during these last twenty years, and the state of the continent, all co-operated with the independence of the farmer on his sales, to raise the price of grain. The profits of the farmer being thus increased, his style of living was raised; and he hence naturally expected a regular increased price for his corn, in order to support that style; while his increased rent and taxes, and the increased expense of cultivating his

his farm equally demanded an increased price.

Such was the state of things at the period when there was every probability that Britain would be at peace with all the continent. The old corn law still being in force, foreign corn could be imported; the produce of the harvest of 1814 had been very abundant; there was a considerable quantity of old corn in the country. All these circumstances naturally alarmed the farmer; he foresaw a great depression in the markets, which the competition of foreign corn would render him unable to prevent; he therefore brought in his corn and offered it at a lower price. This was general; the farmers throughout the country were now desirous to sell at whatever price they could obtain. The consequence was, that the price of corn fell.

Under these circumstances, the country bankers, who had made large advances to the farmers on the faith of the high value of their produce, seeing the value of that produce greatly decline, naturally on their parts took the alarm, and called on the farmers to repay the advances: this the latter could not do, but by bringing more corn to market, and selling it at whatever it would bring:—thus the further reduction of agricultural produce was effected. There were still other causes operating towards the same effect: it is evident that the taxes would require the sale of a much larger quantity of corn when it was low, than when it was high, as well as the rent, and all the expenses on a farm: hence, again, the farmer was obliged to bring more to market; and all these demands being pressing, and he no longer having the support of the banks, the price of his corn was in a great measure

at the mercy of the buyer. The buyer, on his part, seeing this, was shy in purchasing, and would only take off the best grain. Thus by shyness on the part of the buyer, and urgency on the part of the seller, the great and rapid reduction which has so distressed agriculture took place.

Such appear to us to have been the leading causes of the sudden fall in the price of agricultural produce.—We shall now attend to the consequences which it is likely to produce.

In the first place, its first effects must be felt by the land: the high price of corn had brought into cultivation much inferior land, which of course will not support the requisite expense if corn continues low, and therefore must fall back into its original state. The effects will also be felt in the inferior cultivation of all sorts of land. It has been remarked that, contrary at first sight to expectation, there is this year as much wheat sown as there used to be; but this is easily accounted for: before the great depression in prices, and at a time when the farmers expected the new corn bill would operate in their favour, their land was in a great measure prepared for wheat; and as from this crop their greatest returns are made, and, moreover, they could not sell inferior grain, which, however, was perfectly fit for seed, they very naturally and wisely did not diminish the quantity of their wheat land. It cannot be doubted, however, that if the prices of corn continue low, much land will be suffered to go out of cultivation altogether, and much will be cultivated in a very inferior manner.

Secondly, the rent of land must fall: this consequence is so obvious, that

that it hardly needs to be mentioned.

In the third place, a much more serious as well as a much more difficult question arises: What effect will be produced on the revenue of the country? The political writer to whom we have already alluded, as attributing the low price of corn to the diminished issues of the bank of England, brought about by the influence of government, represents government as in a dilemma. If they had permitted the issues of paper money to have continued as abundant as they were in time of war, he argues that the prices of all commodities would have been so high, and the exchange so unfavourable, that we could not have carried our manufactures to a foreign market; while the capitalists and annuitants here would have sought a cheaper country: on the other hand, he contends that government by lowering the price of agricultural produce, by the means of lessening the paper circulation, have rendered it impossible that the taxes should be paid to the necessary and usual amount. But, as before observed, the whole of this depends upon an assumption for which there is no evidence. Allowing, however, that the price has fallen in consequence of the diminished issues of paper money, it by no means follows that any taxes (except *ad valorem* taxes) will be less productive. Let us first suppose that the price of all commodities has fallen in the same proportion: in this case the price of a yard of cloth and of a pair of shoes may have fallen, each from 12s. to 8s. Let us further suppose that the taxes on each of these articles amount to 4s. It is evident that, at the reduced price, the shoemaker and cloth seller will

be as able to purchase each other's commodities, and to pay the taxes on their respective articles, as they could have done when the price was at 12s. In both cases the tax on each article, 4s. is paid; the only difference is, that when the price is low, 4s. is the medium of exchange between the articles, instead of 8s. With respect to these two tradesmen, therefore, they can have no difficulty in paying the tax; while it is evident that the man who lives upon his money as it is called, having only 8s. to pay for his shoes and cloth instead of 12s., can afford to buy a larger quantity of other articles, and thus increase the revenue. Let us now suppose that the fall in the price of commodities is unequal, as is the case at present, when the farmer obtains 25 per cent. less for his produce, while he is obliged to pay the same price for most articles he purchases. He of course cannot afford to purchase so much; so far the revenue must fall off, if there were no increased purchase from another quarter: but it is plain that if the corn, &c. in the country is sold 25 per cent. cheaper, it must be bought 25 per cent. cheaper; and that those who save 25 per cent. in their food, are just as much better able to pay taxes, as the farmers are less able.

It ought to be remarked, that we are not contending that the taxes will not fall off in consequence of the depression of prices, but only that the depression of prices cannot (except in the cases of *ad valorem* duties) diminish the taxable income of the country. The taxes must fall off, because the change in the possession and expenditure of money, occasioned by the fall in the price of agricultural produce, cannot possibly be met by a corre-

P spondent

spondent change in the objects of taxation.

We shall now conclude this most important subject by the consideration of the remedies which are likely to be of service to the agricultural interest. In the first place, the evil will in some measure remedy itself; for the produce of the country must diminish in consequence of the land being less favourably cultivated, and much of it either being thrown out of cultivation, or converted to the more profitable purposes of the dairy. But as much mischief has ensued, and must ensue, while this remedy is operating, and as the remedy itself is an evil, it will be proper to consider whether other relief cannot be afforded to the distressed agriculturists.

They ought therefore, in the second place, to be relieved from the pressure of public burthens, as much as possible. The income tax on the farmer is most oppressive as well as unjust: he pays $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—not on his profits; but on his rent; as if the higher the rent he paid, the more profit he must make, whereas the reverse would be the more natural conclusion. Thus a farmer who has had a lease of a farm at 500*l.* a year, and who cannot renew it under 700*l.*, is supposed by government to make a greater profit when he pays 700*l.* than he did when he paid 500*l.*! This is so palpably absurd as well as unjust, that it ought immediately to be remedied. Moreover, the support of the poor and of the clergy falls entirely on the land; if the whole community were to pay equally towards their

support, it would be a great relief to the agricultural interests.

A bounty on the exportation of corn has been proposed; but the policy as well as the justice of this measure may well be doubted. Under the circumstances, respectively, of Great Britain and Europe, in which they will be placed whenever peace produces its full and regular effect, it would require a very high bounty to enable the British farmer to sell his corn in a foreign market.

To conclude: it is much more easy to dwell upon the nature, extent, and probable consequences of the depressed state of agriculture, and even to assign probable causes for it, than to point out a remedy that would be both efficient and quick in its operation; and if it be not quick as well as effectual, irreparable injury may be done to the agriculture of the country; for agricultural capital cannot be so easily replaced as manufacturing capital: in the case of manufacturing or commercial distresses, what is lost by one party is generally gained by another: but it is different in agriculture, at least so far as the capital vested in a farm is concerned: it cannot be taken out at pleasure; it cannot even be valued, except that part of it which consists in stock. It is therefore of the utmost consequence that the remedy should be quickly applied, in order that the great source of our real wealth—a source compared to which manufactures and commerce are trifling—may not be materially and permanently diminished.

CHAPTER IX.

View of the Manufactures and Commerce of the United Kingdom—Causes of their Improvement and Extension—Effects of the Revolutionary Wars on our Manufactures—Evils resulting from the Fluctuations in their different Branches—Danger of Rivalship in foreign Nations—Notices respecting the Home Market for our Manufactures—State of Commerce during the War—Consequences of our Merchants having recourse to forged Papers to introduce their Goods on the Continent—Advantages and Disadvantages of our commercial Situation.

FROM the brief and rapid sketch which was given in the last chapter but one, of the progress of British agriculture during the last fifty years, it is evident that, in this most important and essential of all arts, Britain has advanced far beyond most of the nations of the continent. The agriculture of the Netherlands may indeed in some respects be justly regarded as more perfect and productive than the agriculture of Britain; but if we take into our account the comparatively unfavourable soil and climate that the united kingdoms possess, the great extent of their surface compared to that of the Netherlands, and the comparatively recent period at which improvements in agriculture began to make their appearance among us; we shall, on the whole, be induced to place Britain above all the rest of Europe in the science and the practice of agriculture.

But with regard to manufactures and commerce, the pre-eminence of this country is still more extraordinary and undisputed; and the beginning of this pre-eminence is of late date: in fact, all our great improvements in manufactures and the wonderful extension of our commerce cannot fairly be dated further back than a few years before

the commencement of the first French revolutionary war.

The object of this chapter is to take a brief and rapid glance at the improvements in our manufactures and the extension of our commerce from that period to the present time; to examine into the character which our commerce was compelled to assume, in consequence of the peculiar nature of the two revolutionary wars; the effects which resulted from that character; and to present to the reader, not merely the present state of our manufactures and commerce, but also the probable condition in which they will be, when the nations with whom we had commercial dealings shall have regained a permanent state of tranquillity, and recovered from the effects of the two wars.

That all our improvements in manufactures, and the extension of our commerce, have arisen from the exercise of superior skill and industry is abundantly evident: but whence has it happened, that in this country there have been displayed greater skill and industry than in the other nations of Europe? The position that our greater taxation has in any shape or degree contributed to this end, may at first sight appear paradoxical; yet on reflection we shall be convinced

it is nevertheless true. The stimuli that rouse to industry, that call forth and sharpen the powers of the mind, are various; but they all agree in one feature: they all suppose a desire to avert some evil or to obtain some good. A man who has a large family depending upon him for support, must, if he has the feelings of a parent, put forth more industry than he whose labour is required only to maintain himself. What acts on individuals acts on nations; for, in fact, nations in this respect are only individuals associated together. But it is evident that the mere stimulus will be of little avail, unless other circumstances are also favourable to exertion, and promise success. These circumstances are to be found in Great Britain to a greater degree, and more closely combined, than in any other nation in the world:—they are civil, political, and religious freedom; the possession of large capital; that almost indispensable article for machinery of all kinds—coal, and that in great abundance; and a peasantry capable not only from the structure of their bodies, but from their temperament and their moral constitution, of steady labour. All these things have co-operated towards the production of the same effect—the improvement of our manufactures and the extension of our commerce.

Besides the stimulus, however, that arises from the pressure of taxation, there are other incentives to industry in this country, which are not to be found to the same extent and degree, or in combination, in other countries. All classes in Britain look anxiously forward to the attainment and enjoyment of comforts, and a mode of life, to which the same classes in other nations do not aspire; their wants and desires

are more exalted and numerous; their character more elevated; they feel a constant aspiration after a higher rank in society, and they plainly perceive that nothing is requisite to attain that object but their own exertions.

It is quite foreign to the purpose of the present work, even to give the outlines of the various improvements in the different branches of manufacture, which this country by the skill, industry, and talents of its inhabitants has brought to light during the last fifty years; but we may shortly remark, that the source of all these improvements may clearly be traced in those circumstances which we have just noticed;—strong stimuli of various kinds, all acting towards the same end,—and the fortunate combination of capital, the requisites for machinery, and a peasantry admirably calculated to enrich the country.

Although, however, it is foreign to our design to point out the particular improvements in our manufactures which the last fifty years have witnessed; yet we may be permitted generally to allude to the cotton manufacture—(at present rivalling the old staple of this country, the woollen manufacture)—the hardware manufacture,—and the potteries; all which are comparatively of recent introduction, yet are now in a state of perfection, as well as carried on to an extent, unknown to every other nation.

When the first French revolutionary war broke out, Great Britain, having thoroughly recovered from the effects of the American war, had sprung rapidly forward in the career of improvement in all those branches of industry which constitute the strength and contribute to the wealth of a nation. It

was soon ascertained that the French revolutionary war, in its origin differing from all preceding wars, would also in its effects on our manufactures and commerce be different. Preceding wars had been (if the expression may be allowed) purely military; they were directed solely to the military destruction or weakening of the nations engaged in them: the commerce of those nations also suffered indeed; but only incidentally, and to a comparatively trifling amount. Even the belligerents carried on, indirectly, trade with each other: but in the French revolutionary wars, the case was very different: it was soon perceived by the French government, that Britain was the soul of the alliance against them; and they were equally persuaded that the strength of Britain lay in her manufactures and commerce. All the varying governments of France, therefore, republican, consular, and imperial, directed their utmost efforts to put an end to British commerce. While France was at enmity with the nations on the continent, of course she could not hope to be successful in her object; but as soon as she had overrun the greatest part of the continent, she compelled the subject sovereigns to shut their ports to the introduction of British merchandise.

Our object at present is not with the folly of this measure, on the part of the French government; but with the effects it produced on the British manufactures, and the character of British commerce. Although, from the elastic nature of commerce, the efforts of the French government were in a great measure, and in the long run, unavailing; and though the evil proposed to be inflicted on us fell on

them; yet it must be confessed that, in some points of view, the measures directed against our commerce were productive of consequences prejudicial at the time, and which may be still traced by the mischief they have left behind them.

One of the most striking consequences, so far as our manufactures were concerned, regarded the frequent and great fluctuations to which they were thus subjected. Although, when it was the interest of our manufacturers to introduce their goods into the continent, and not less the interest of the people of the continent to obtain them, it may well be supposed that no regulations, however strict, would long impede their introduction; yet, for a time, they were kept out; and even when introduced, they could only be so in much smaller quantities, and at a much greater price, than formerly. Thus the manufacturers were reduced to the necessity of frequently intermitting their labour: of course, wages became low; when perhaps a short time afterwards, in consequence of a brisk demand, wages again rose above their usual level.

Manufactures, even when conducted with the utmost attention to the morals of those who labour at them, and when work is steady and regular, are by no means favourable to the cause of virtue; but when there are rapid and sudden changes from high to low wages, the consequences to morals are very dreadful. Nor were these deplorable consequences confined to the mere labourers; they extended in some measure to the master-manufacturers: instead of proceeding gradually, and by the slow process of regular labour and of sure but small profits, to the attainment of

a competency—they saw themselves at one period acquiring wealth in the most rapid manner—and at another period their gains disappearing as rapidly. The effects of such a mode of life are deplorable in many respects: at present we shall regard them principally as striking at one of the sources of that wealth which this nation derives from her manufactures; this source is steady, undeviating industry, which presses forward to its object in a manner thoroughly understood before it is adopted. What can be more destructive of this steady, undeviating industry, than the fluctuations in the demand for our manufactures which were so frequent and so great during the two revolutionary wars?

But if thus the British manufacturer has, it is to be apprehended, lost one of the causes of his former superiority and success, it is equally true that at present he has more need of it than ever. It has been observed, that all the efforts of the French government could not prevent the introduction of British merchandize on the continent; but it certainly was not introduced so regularly nor in such quantities as before the war; while the efforts of France were more successful in stirring up the people of the continent to manufacture for themselves, and infusing into them a jealousy of Britain's superiority in trade. Notwithstanding all that this country has done and suffered, to rescue the continent from the tyranny of France; notwithstanding those very burthens, which render her merchandize dearer than it was, were taken upon her not so much for her own sake, as for the benefit of the continent;—yet her manufactures are still viewed with jealousy, and she has already experienced

that peace, instead of opening to her a wider and better market for them, has in fact rendered the continent a worse market than it was before.

This may at first sight seem an extraordinary consequence of such a peace as we have gained by our perseverance and our victories; but a little reflection will serve to take away our surprise, and unfold the causes of that which now astonishes and perplexes us. The power which the French for a long time possessed on the continent having been exerted both to impoverish the people, and to throw such obstacles into the way of the introduction of British merchandize as necessarily increased its prices; the inhabitants naturally began either to break those habits which demanded British merchandize, or to satisfy their wants and desires by the manufactures of their own country. When peace returned, therefore, the continent was in a state very unpropitious to the British manufactures: the people had either changed their habits, or they had been impoverished, or they had accustomed themselves to their own manufactures. The sovereigns of the continent, even those who were most indebted to Britain, were solicitous to cherish and support their native manufactures in their infancy; and they adopted those very measures which had been so efficacious in protecting and rearing up our manufactures while they were still young. They either prohibited the introduction of British manufactures, or laid such heavy duties on them as amounted to a prohibition. Such is the case in Austria and Prussia, with regard to cotton piece goods; in these countries, they are not yet able to spin cotton so well or so cheaply as is done in Britain. Cotton,

ton-yarn, therefore, is permitted to be imported duty free, or at least with a very small duty levied upon it; but cotton piece goods are totally prohibited.

Hitherto we have adverted exclusively to the foreign market for our manufactures, and shown that the peace is not likely to extend or improve that market. But, as the home market is by far the most extensive in its demands, it will be necessary to advert to the state of it, before we can justly depict the present condition of our manufactures.

We have already noticed the consequence of the depressed state of agriculture on the home market for manufactures: it is true, as has also been remarked, that though the farmer, by obtaining less for his produce, has less to expend; yet those who buy the produce of agriculture at a cheaper rate must have more to purchase. But it must necessarily be some time before the increased demand of those who are benefited by the fall in the price of agricultural produce, can be turned into such a channel as to compensate the manufacturers for the decrease of demand occasioned by the depression of the agricultural classes. In fact, this transfer of property from the agricultural classes to those who purchase agricultural produce (for so it may be deemed) must draw after it all the bad effects which, we have already observed, operated during the war, against manufactures, in consequence of the unsteadiness of the foreign markets. And there is reason for apprehension that the bad effects will be of longer continuance; for during war the vicissitudes of war were constantly opening some new channel for British merchandize; whereas the evil under which the country now labours,

can hardly be counterpoized by an advantage of a similar nature.

We have hitherto confined our observations to manufactures; but it will be proper to advert to the state of our commerce during the war, and to the state in which it now exists, and is likely to be, during peace. In the observations which we may make on this subject, we shall examine not merely the political and pecuniary consequences which have flowed from the state of our commerce as it existed during the war, but also the moral effects which that state necessarily produced.

There can be no doubt that that nation is not only most powerful, but also most virtuous and happy, in which the individuals composing it do not exhibit the extremes of enormous wealth and abject poverty. It is also equally true, with respect to commerce, as with respect to manufactures, that that wealth which results from patient and unwearied industry, is not only favourable to the morals and happiness of the individual, but also indicative of the real strength of the nation. But the wars from which we have at length escaped had a strong tendency to alter the whole-some character of British commerce, and the honourable character of the British merchant;—they introduced too much of the spirit of gambling into our commercial transactions. Formerly, British commerce was conducted on a smaller scale, and with the hope of obtaining wealth at the end of a long series of years, and by means of regular industry and close application to business. In the infancy of commerce, cunning occupies that place which is afterwards filled by real wisdom; for the merchant, even without reference to the obligations of honour,

morality, or religion—perceives that his interest is best consulted by fair and just dealings. A striking and lamentable change, however, in this respect, was brought about by the state into which British commerce was reduced by the measures of the French government against it; and this change was the more alarming, as it was defended as justifiable. We allude to the system of counterfeit papers; for system it may be called—it was conducted on such an extensive plan, and in such a regular manner.

In consequence of the anti-commercial decrees of Bonaparte, no merchandize known or suspected to be British could be admitted into France, or into the countries subject to France; recourse therefore was had by the British merchants to forged papers, for the purpose of deceiving the French. It is admitted that those who countenanced this system of forged papers would have rejected with scorn and indignation any proposal to extend that system against any power but France; but he must be lamentably ignorant of human nature, who does not perceive that where this system was once acted upon, and defended as just, a door was opened to its extension, and a laxity of morals was near at hand.

In fact, we need only compare the character of the British merchant as it now presents itself, with the character of the British merchant as it existed before our commerce had recourse to fraud and speculation to support itself, to be convinced that it has lost some portion of its respectability. The speculating nature of British commerce, during the two last wars, seems to have contributed in no small degree to the facility with

which the system of false papers was admitted: of the effects of this speculating nature, in the bankruptcies which it occasioned, it is needless to speak.

We shall now pass from the contemplation of our commerce during war, to its state at present during peace. Scarcely was the continent open to us, when it was inundated with British goods: this very circumstance sufficiently proves how very unreflecting the merchant of the present day is: he did not consider that he was sending his goods to nations which had been impoverished by a long war, and stripped of every thing by the French; and who, therefore, even if disposed, were not able to purchase to any extent: but, as has been already remarked, their wants and desires had undergone a change, and they had also learnt to supply themselves with many articles which they formerly had from us. We have said that the merchant acted thus from want of reflection: but this conduct arose also, in some degree, from the gambling and speculating spirit which has grown up among British merchants; which leads them to expose themselves to very great risks, stimulated by the bare chance of sudden and enormous wealth.

We have yet to advert to one of the worst consequences in a national point of view—of the manner in which our commerce has been carried on during war, and the state in which it at present exists. When those interested in it cast their eyes back on the extent to which it was carried on during war, and on the fortunes that were then made, and look to the present stagnation of trade—they cannot conceal from themselves, nor even from the world, that war is their harvest. In fact,

in this country, from various causes which it would be tedious to enumerate, an interested love of war has risen up among a great many classes; the agricultural class, who could obtain their own prices for their produce while the war continued, and who now see themselves on the brink of ruin from the circumstance that there is a very lifeless demand for their produce, even at a price which will not nearly reimburse them,—at once regard the war as their friend, and peace as their enemy: so natural is it for us to look upon two consequent events as cause and effect. Commercial men fall into the same mistake. The anti-commercial decrees of Bonaparte, the warfare of the whole continent, did not witness such a stagnation of trade as peace has brought.

Another surprising circumstance is, that while complaints are heard from all quarters of the stagnation of trade, it appears from the official returns laid before parliament, that the value of our exports was greater last year than it had ever been before. This, however, only shows how futile it is to rely on the value of the exports as a criterion of the prosperous trade of the country.—We conclude a peace with a nation which has been long at war with us; our merchants immediately use all their capital and credit in purchasing goods to send out to that nation; of course, the official return of our exports thus presents a greatly increased value: But what is the real state of the case?—what has been the real state of the case, in almost every instance of this nature? The goods arrive in such abundance, that the market is overstocked, and most of those who had thus embarked their capital, or bought upon credit, either

suffer themselves, or inflict sufferings on others. Can therefore the country be benefited by such a kind of traffic? is not an official return of great exports, under such circumstances, a proof, not of prosperity and strength, but of misfortune and weakness?

It is not easy to point out the method by which the commerce of this country may regain its honourable character and wholesome and nourishing qualities; nor to foresee exactly into what state it will settle, if peace should continue for several years. With regard to this latter topic we may, however, form some conjecture; that is, we can see what advantages and what disadvantages we still possess, with respect to commerce, as compared with other nations.

First, with regard to our advantages: we still retain a capital far exceeding any which foreign nations can hope to acquire for a great number of years; and this capital, if we keep at peace, must accumulate at a much more rapid rate than it has hitherto done.—When we come to treat of the finances of the country, we shall offer some remarks on the policy and utility of the sinking fund:—here it may only be necessary to state, that that fund, paying off at the rate of twelve millions a year, must necessarily create capital to that amount; or, more strictly speaking, change what before was income, into capital, to the amount of twelve millions annually. If, therefore, we can retain our superiority in point of capital, we retain a superiority in a most important respect; since thus we shall be enabled to buy low, and sell low, and consequently compete with those who have advantages over us in other respects.

Our next advantage may be stated

stated to be our coal mines; machinery saves labour, and thus expense; but the most extensively useful machine, as well as that which saves most labour, is the steam engine, which cannot be wrought to the best advantage where coals are not plentiful.

A third advantage consists in a circumstance which has been already adverted to: viz. the peculiar excellency of our workmen; they unite in themselves qualities which are not found combined in any other workmen in the world:—in other countries, the workmen may be more active, but their activity soon dies away; whereas a British workman goes on steadily and unweariedly. Other workmen may possess greater quickness of intellect; but uncombined with that command of thought, which is much more frequently required, and infinitely more useful. Britain possesses other advantages, but these are the principal. We shall now advert to the disadvantages under which she labours.

The first of these is her immense taxation: the price which her manufacturers obtain for their articles must not only replace what has been paid for the raw material, and what has been consumed during the manufacture, as well as the profit of the manufacturer, but must also pay a certain sum to the national creditor, as well as support the current expenses of the state. During war, this disadvantage was but partially felt, from various causes: the continental states, being the seat of war, and thus impoverished, could not afford either the capital or the workmen necessary for carrying on manufactures on a large scale, and at a low price. Britain, in fact, then possessed the monopoly of the continent, and consequently ob-

tained her own terms. The state of exchange being unfavourable to Britain, during the war, was favourable to the exportation of her manufactures; since thus a bounty was in fact given on their exportation; for the exporter could afford to sell them at a lower price, in continental money, so long as that lower sum in continental money commanded, from the state of the exchange, a larger sum in the money of his own country. But now, when peace is restored to Europe, so that the foreign markets can be supplied from other quarters as well as from Britain; and when the exchange is restored to par, so that the low price of the goods cannot be made up by the gain on the exchange, the disadvantages arising from our enormous taxation must be felt.

Another disadvantage, though of a more dubious nature, may arise from the higher rate of labour in this country, and from the master-manufacturers themselves requiring larger profits, as occupying a higher rank in society here, than on the continent. We have said that this disadvantage is of a dubious nature; in the first place, because it is not fair to compare the wages of a labourer in this country with the wages of a labourer abroad; the proper comparison should be between the money paid here and abroad for the same quantity of work. For it is evident that a workman here, being more active and expert, and especially having the assistance of machinery, is in reality deserving of much higher wages than a workman abroad not so active and expert, and not aided by such excellent machinery. With respect to the greater profits expected by the master-manufacturer in this country, it may be remarked that

that greater profits may arise either from a larger per centage on the same capital, or the same per centage on a larger capital: and it is undoubted that in this country the per centage of profit on the capital is smaller than on the continent; the larger profits arising from the greater capital employed, and the improvements in machinery &c.

We have thus taken a view of the state of agriculture, and of manufactures and commerce, as well during the late wars as at the present moment: our view has necessarily been cursory and rapid; yet rapid and cursory as it has been, we are almost afraid it may seem to require some apology for being introduced into the present work. If apology be deemed necessary, we must seek for it in the following considerations: The great objects of history are to interest and instruct; and the history of that country will interest and instruct in the highest degree, which has performed the most splendid actions, and exhibited the human in-

tellect and the nobler virtues of the human character in the greatest perfection. That Britain has so done cannot be denied: it certainly must therefore be most worthy of our inquiry, how she has been able to achieve what she has. The virtues which her free constitution nourishes in the breasts of her children undoubtedly have stimulated to these achievements: but still a further inquiry arises, By what means has she been enabled to perform that to which she was thus stimulated? What are the sources of her national wealth? how have they been acted upon by the late wars? have they come out untouched? if affected, to what degree?—are they likely to be re-invigorated by the possession of peace? or what effect will it have upon them? If these inquiries are interesting or important, then the subject of these chapters, which regard the two great sources of Britain's wealth—her agriculture, and manufactures and commerce—needs no apology.

CHAPTER X.

View of the Finances of the United Kingdom—Expenditure—Revenue as derived from permanent and from War Taxes—Origin of the latter—in what they consist—Income Tax—Peace Expenditure—Remarks on the Management of the Civil Affairs of the Country—Naval and Military Expenditure in Time of Peace—National Debt—Remarks on the Utility of the Sinking Fund.

AFTER the consideration of the state of our agriculture, and of our manufactures and commerce, the consideration of our finances naturally follows. This subject divides itself into the expenditure of the country, the revenue which supplies that expen-

diture, the national debt, and the means that have been adopted to pay off that debt.

With regard to the expenditure of the country, this of course varies according as the nation is at peace or war. In time of peace, the civil expenses are the most considerable;

table; in time of war, the military and naval expenses far exceed those of a civil description. From many causes, the national expenses of all descriptions, during the last war, far exceeded those incurred during any former wars. In the first place, it was carried on, on a much larger scale, both by Britain itself, and by the powers whom she subsidized. In the second place, in consequence of the depreciated value of money, a much larger sum was requisite, even for the maintenance and support of the same force.

The two principal branches of the revenue of this country, prior to the French revolutionary wars, consisted in the custom and excise duties; the former being principally levied on the import and export of certain articles, the latter on articles during their home consumption: supposing the rate of duty to have continued the same in both these branches, it is evident that, if they increased, the increase must have arisen, with respect to the customs, from the increase of foreign trade; and with respect to the excise, from the increase of home consumption; in both cases indicating an increase of wealth in the nation at large. Now the fact is, that both the customs and excise have been much more productive (even taking them at the old rate) latterly than they were formerly. The same remarks may be made with regard to all the sources of permanent revenue.

Before the revolution, in this country, the usual as well as the war expenses that were incurred were defrayed almost entirely, from money raised within the year, from the people at large: of course no debt was incurred; or, where there was a debt, it was to a trifling amount, and soon paid off. Soon after the revolution, a different sy-

stem was begun: in order to give the wealthy classes of the community an interest in supporting the revolution, the system of borrowing was adopted; and the money thus borrowed was not to be repaid, at least immediately, by the state. The creditors received interest for their money, and had it in their power to sell that interest, the punctual payment of which rested on the faith of the nation, and the taxes paid by them:—the interest of the money, thus borrowed, constituted what are called the public funds; and the price of the public funds varies, as may be supposed, from different causes. At the commencement of the national debt, it is probable that the state of the country, as indicating the stability or instability of the new government, principally affected the price of the funds. They are also still affected by the same cause: but they are also affected by another circumstance; for, as they partake, in every respect, of the nature of a commodity which is regularly bought and sold; their price must vary, according to the proportion between the supply and demand: when there is much stock in the market, or, in other words, when there are many people who are anxious to dispose of their right to the interest of the national debt, while there are comparatively few who wish to exchange their capital for stock, the price of stocks must fall; and they will rise as often as the reverse takes place, that is, when there is a demand for more stock than there is in the market.

But to return from these remarks, which in this place are digressive from the main subject of this part of the chapter. The mode of borrowing during war, for the purpose of defraying the current expenses

expenses of the year, it is plain, enabled government to spend more than if they had confined themselves to the old plan of raising all the supplies within the year. This plan of borrowing for all the expenses of the year was pursued till a few years after the commencement of the first French revolutionary war. At this period, Mr. Pitt resolved to raise part of the supplies within the year during which they were wanted. To this he was induced by different reasons. In the first place, the frequent recurrence of large loans had an unfavourable effect on the public funds. This we shall easily conceive must be the case, when we reflect that by every loan new stock was necessarily created, while the ability to purchase stock was, at least for a time, diminished by withdrawing money to the amount of the loan, from the market: in the second place, the commercial exertions of the country were necessarily cramped by large and frequent loans: and lastly, the national debt was greatly increased. For these reasons principally, and that the generation which engaged in the war might, as they justly ought, pay more of the burden of it than posterity, Mr. Pitt had recourse to what are called the war taxes; that is, taxes which, as their name implies, were to cease with the war, and which were raised not to pay the interest of a debt already contracted, or of any loans, but to defray current expenses.

Of these war taxes, that on income was the most considerable and productive; it likewise deviated most from the nature of the regular taxes of the country: the other war taxes consisted principally in additional duties of customs and excise, which, however, were kept se-

parate from the regular duties under those heads. The income tax was levied on the principle that every person ought to pay towards the support and exigencies of the state, in proportion to his means; which, of course, would be in proportion to the stake he possessed in the country: in this point it differed from all the other taxes; for it is evident that they touch expenditure only, not income or property; and therefore a person of the largest fortune, and who therefore is most deeply interested in the support of the state, may contribute very little towards that support, provided he is a man of small expenditure.

We are not now to examine into the justice or policy of the income tax, or to consider the objections which have been brought against it on account of the inquisitorial powers with which those who collect it are invested, and the unfairness of taxing under it, income and property at the same rate. We are now regarding it, in connexion with the other war taxes, solely in a financial point of view. By having recourse to those taxes, Mr. Pitt was enabled to make more advantageous loans than he otherwise would have done;—to have recourse to them less frequently, and to keep up the stocks.

The income-tax, being found very productive, at 5 per cent. the rate at which it was first laid, and being a tax levied at comparatively little expense, was raised first to 6½, and afterwards to 10 per cent.

Thus there are two distinct branches of our revenue; one consisting of the permanent taxes, and the other of the war or temporary taxes: the total produce of them both, during the last year of the war, was upwards of 78 millions: of this enormous sum, about eight millions

millions was expended in defraying the expense of collection; leaving 68 millions to be paid net into the exchequer. This, of course, consisted partly of the produce of the permanent, and partly of the produce of the war taxes; and as the produce of each is kept quite distinct, the produce of the former was ascertained to be in round numbers about 44 millions, and of the latter about 24 millions: of this 24 millions, the income-tax alone produced about fourteen millions.

At the conclusion of the war, the nation naturally looked to some relief from their burdens—particularly to be relieved from the income-tax, as this had been laid on entirely as a war tax, and parliament was pledged to take it off on the arrival of peace. In our preceding volume we offered some remarks on this tax: those we shall not repeat, but merely add, that in our opinion parliament ought never to pledge itself on any subject; because circumstances may occur in which their duty to the nation will not permit them to redeem their pledge; and because the mere giving of a pledge seems to imply, that unless they gave it, they would not be disposed to discharge their duty. At the same time, it must be admitted that it is wrong in every point of view, that the government of a country should be exposed to that temptation to extravagance or want of economy, which naturally arises from the facility of raising money; and that they ought to make out a very clear and strong case of absolute necessity, before they should continue a tax, which they pledged themselves to remove, and which is so generally and loudly condemned by the nation.

The peace expenditure of this

country naturally divides itself into two branches; the payment of the interest of the national debt; and the necessary expenses of the civil list, and such part of the army and navy as it may be deemed requisite to keep up during peace. The payment of the interest of the national debt will be afterwards considered: with regard to the other branch of expenditure, a few remarks may here be offered.

In the first place, it may well be doubted, whether the civil affairs of the nation are managed with due economy; due economy may regard both the system on which they are conducted, and the manner in which that system is carried on. There can be little doubt, that the same system on which the affairs of a merchant are conducted might be applied to the regulation of the affairs of the nation; their mere extent and magnitude is no objection; because, where the system is good, it applies to all cases, and only requires a little more judgement and attention in applying it, in proportion as the affairs are more complicated or extensive. There is too much reason to believe, however, that the national affairs, in most of their branches, are conducted on a very imperfect system; and that while mercantile affairs, in this country, are now conducted with a regularity, a simplicity and efficiency of detail, as well as a comprehensiveness of plan, truly astonishing, and which ensure accuracy and dispatch, at the least possible cost, the affairs of the nation are carried on, nearly on the same imperfect system which was pursued half a century ago. But the execution of this system, imperfect as it is, is still more objectionable, and productive of greater evil: and here it is difficult to sug-
gest

gest a remedy. The affairs of a merchant are well regulated, and the system he lays down strictly pursued, because he who is most interested superintends the whole concern;—but the case is very different with respect to national affairs: all those are servants; the upper servants indeed are paid to superintend the whole concern, and to see that the inferior servants faithfully discharge their duty, but *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*—This evil can be remedied only by the selection of such servants of the public in all the higher and more important branches, as are men of the most scrupulous honour, as well as of adequate talents and skill: if such men were always chosen, it is difficult to say what savings might be effected in the management of public affairs, as well as how much better they might be managed.

The next branch of the peace establishment regards the naval and military forces. It seems to be the disposition of ministers to reduce the former very much, and the latter very little; whereas a regard to the real policy and interest of this country would dictate the reverse. Not only can we never become a great military nation, but we ought not, if we could: at all times, we, as a commercial nation, ought to keep ourselves free from wars; but especially now, when in the opinion of all parties we have nearly stretched taxation to its utmost limits, does it behove us to remain at peace. We ought therefore, in regulating our peace establishment, to look to that branch of force, which will serve best for our defence; not to that which may be of use in offensive war:—to that branch which is as it were natural to these islands; not to that which can only serve still more to assimilate

late and connect us to the continent. With the continent we have already, in times past, been too much connected, under an erroneous impression that the real interests of this country were dependent on the real interests of the continent; and if to this impression be added, the consciousness, or the belief, that by possessing a large military force we can with more advantage interfere in their concerns, there is too much reason to apprehend that we shall soon find pretext and occasion to interfere. On no reasonable ground, therefore, can a large peace establishment of land forces be necessary; and for several reasons it is very objectionable.

On the whole therefore we may conclude, that under the present circumstances of the country,—with an agriculture reduced to an unprecedented state of depression; with our manufactures and commerce exposed to rivalry in various parts of the world; and with our taxation stretched to its utmost, while our agriculture, manufactures and commerce,—the great sources of it,—are not nearly so flourishing as formerly; the most rigid economy ought to be immediately adopted, and strictly pursued.

The necessity of this economy in our peace establishment will still further appear, when we attend to the magnitude of our national debt. We have already stated that the interest of it amounts to about 4½ millions.

The national debt began in the time of king William: at first, loans were had recourse to in anticipation of the produce of taxes, which were imposed for a certain number of years: but the produce being frequently insufficient for paying the principal and interest of these loans, within the period for which the taxes

taxes were imposed, it became necessary to prolong the original term: by this means a debt was incurred; the total amount of which at the end of the year 1716 amounted to upwards of 48 millions: this was afterwards reduced by the operation of a sinking fund to about 37 millions; and in the year 1737 the interest of the public debt was reduced from 5 to 4 per cent. Soon afterwards encroachments were made on the sinking fund, so that the whole sum paid off from its establishment in 1716 to 1739 was only about eight millions: at this latter period, the total amount of the national debt was upwards of 47 millions. The war which then began, increased it to upwards of 78 millions; but in the year 1749 government were enabled, by a rise in the funds, to reduce the interest on upwards of 57 millions of the debt, from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and afterwards to 3 per cent.: this increased the activity and power of the sinking fund, which must have operated to great advantage had it not been diverted from its proper and usual purpose. The total amount of the debt at the commencement of the war in 1756 was upwards of 74 millions; at the end of the war in the year 1763 it had risen to upwards of 136 millions, exclusive of the unfunded debt. After the peace in 1763 the income of the sinking fund increased considerably; during the twelve years of peace, ending in the year 1775, there were discharged about 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the public debt. During the American war the debt was greatly increased: the loans at first were small, only 2 or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions; but in 1782 the loan was 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions: the total debt incurred by the American war amounted to upwards of 115 millions; and the

interest on it to upwards of five millions per annum: the total amount of the national debt, funded and unfunded, was on the 5th of January 1786 upwards of 286 millions, and the interest payable on it upwards of nine millions. A new sinking fund was now established, the policy of which we shall afterwards examine: by the operation of it, the total amount of the national debt in the year 1792 was reduced to about 238 millions; the annual interest, and the allowance for the management of which, amounted to upwards of nine millions. The total amount of the loans raised during the first revolutionary war amounted to upwards of 200 millions, by which a debt was created of upwards of 300 millions; the second revolutionary war was equally expensive, so that at its termination in the year 1815 the total funded and unfunded debt amounted to upwards of 1000 millions.

Such is a brief sketch of the rise, progress, and present amount of the national debt; and certainly nothing in this extraordinary nation is so extraordinary as the amount of this debt. Long before it had reached one quarter of its present amount, it was confidentially predicted by some of the most acute men that this or any other country ever produced, that it had nearly reached its limits, and that a national bankruptcy was at hand. These predictions were falsified by the event; but when the expenses of the revolutionary wars were seen, and the trade of this country was exposed to the evils of those wars, it was repeated with redoubled confidence, that those predictions must necessarily soon be verified. Again the events falsified the predictions; and in the year 1815 we are

are supporting a debt of upwards of 1000 millions, besides raising taxes for the regular expenditure of the country. The only explanation that can be given of this wonderful and unprecedented phenomenon must be sought for in the industry of the country, aided as it has been by all those inventions and improvements which render industry productive at the least expense. This is undoubtedly the only explanation that will bear scrutiny, and that will satisfactorily account for the flourishing state of the country, under such a load of debt; for it is hardly necessary to examine the position, that as the debt is owing to ourselves, it is in fact no debt; since it is plain, that to whomsoever owing, it must be paid, and can only be paid, as all private debts are paid, either by economy or by increased industry. Economy would do little towards paying it; since most of the taxes which go to the payment of the interest of the debt, would be rendered less productive if economy were followed, that is, if there were a diminished consumption of the articles on which they are laid. At the same time it must be admitted, that the interest of the national debt being paid to people in this country, and spent in this country, necessarily creates a demand for labour, which would not otherwise exist: and as all labour supposes profit, an increased demand for labour creates an increased source of profit; and thus the national debt indirectly contributes to the payment of its own interest. After the repeated falsifications of the prophecies respecting the inability of the nation to sustain a greater load of debt, it would be presumptuous to offer any conjecture on the point, whether it has now attained its acme, were it not 1815.

that all parties seem agreed that the objects of taxation are nearly exhausted, and that those articles already taxed, cannot bear any additional taxation. Under this impression, it is certainly prudent to avoid increasing the national debt if possible, and to turn our attention to every means in our power for its reduction.

We have already adverted to the sinking fund. It will be necessary, however, now to consider it more at length, confining our remarks to that which was established by Mr. Pitt.

"By the act passed in 1786, for establishing the new sinking fund, the annual sum of one million was placed in the hands of commissioners, who are, the speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, the comptant-general of the court of chancery, and the governor and deputy governor of the bank of England for the time being respectively. This million was to be issued in four equal quarterly payments, and to be applied either in paying off such redeemable annuities as shall be at or above par, in such manner as may be directed by future acts of parliament, or in the purchase of annuities below par at the market price. The dividends on the sums redeemed or purchased, with the annuities for lives or terms of years that fall in or expire, and the sums which may be saved by any reduction of interest, were to be added to the fund, which, according to the original act, was to continue thus increasing till it amounted to four millions per annum; which it was then computed would be about the year 1812, when upwards of fifty-six millions of stock would be redeemed. From this time the dividends

on such capital as should in future be paid off or purchased by the commissioners, with such annuities as might afterwards fall in, were to be at the disposal of parliament.

"The commissioners were directed by the act to make their purchases 'in equal portions, as nearly as may be, on every day (Saturdays and Mondays excepted) on which the same shall be transferable.' They were empowered to subscribe towards any public loan, to be raised by act of parliament, upon perpetual annuities, subject to redemption at par; and an account of the sums issued to them, and of the stock purchased to the first of February in every year, was directed to be annually laid before parliament on or before the 15th of February. The purchases at first were all made in the 3 per cents, probably with the view of redeeming the 5 per cents, if the state of the public funds should render such a measure practicable, or of inducing the proprietors to agree to a reduction of the interest at the time when they would become redeemable.

"On the 17th of February 1792 the minister proposed, for the purpose of accelerating the operation of the fund, that the sum of 400,000*l.* should be issued in addition to the annual million; and stated that, in consequence of this and future intended additions, it might be expected that twenty-five millions of 3 per cents. would be paid off by the year 1800; and that in the year 1808 the fund would have arisen to four millions per annum, being the sum to which it was restricted by the original act. The accumulation, however, was not to cease till the interest of the capital discharged, and the amount of expired annuities, should, together with the annual million only, and exclusive

of the proposed additions, amount to four millions. But the most important improvement was a provision, that, whenever in future any sums shall be raised by loans, on perpetual redeemable annuities, a sum equal to one per cent. on the stock created by such loans should be issued out of the produce of the consolidated fund quarterly, to be placed to the account of the commissioners; and if the loan, or any part, is raised by annuities, for a longer term than forty-five years, or for lives, a computation is to be made, of what will be, at the end of forty-five years, the actual value of such part of the annuities as may be then outstanding, and the sum to be placed to the account of the commissioners is to be equal to one per cent. on this computed future value. By this means the immediate progress of the fund was accelerated, and future loans were put into a regular course of redemption.

"This appropriation of one per cent. was to form a distinct fund; and a separate account was directed to be kept of the progress of each fund, by which it appeared, that on the first of February 1802 the original fund had increased to 2,534,187*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* and the new fund to 3,275,148*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* It was now deemed expedient to unite the two funds, and to apply the whole amount indiscriminately to the reduction of the total debt. With this view, the former injudicious limitation of a fund established professedly on the principle of compound interest was done away; the usual annual grant of 200,000*l.* per annum was made a permanent charge upon the consolidated fund; and the whole amount of the sinking fund was directed to be regularly applied to the purchase or redemption

demption of stock, 'so as that the whole of the several redeemable public annuities, now charged upon the public funds of Great Britain, shall be paid off within forty-five years from the respective periods of the creation of such respective charges and public annuities.'"

In the year 1814 the chancellor of the exchequer thought it safe and proper to make use of part of the sinking fund; and this he did, without infringing the terms, or counteracting the views on which it was established by Mr. Pitt; for by this time it had paid off an amount of debt equal to that which existed at the period of its establishment.

Having thus given a sketch of the rise and progress of the present sinking fund, we shall now consider whether, during war, it was of any real service to the public; and whether, during peace, it ought to be touched, or suffered to proceed in its operations. When the sinking fund is explained to be a fund for the liquidation of debt, it may at first sight appear superfluous to inquire whether it is a benefit; but a little reflection on its operations, and on the circumstances of the country during war, will lead us at least to hesitate, before we pronounce it a real benefit, while the nation is engaged in hostilities.

During war, we have constant loans, and at the same time the sinking fund is paying off part of the national debt: What then is this but contracting new debts at the very same time that we are paying off old debts? Would it not therefore have been a more plain and simple measure, to have done without loans, and to have applied the sinking fund to the expenditure of the country? To make the case clear, let us suppose that during each year of the last war the loan

raised amounted to eight millions, and the sum of national debt paid off by the operation of the sinking fund also amounted to eight millions: it is evident that, if the sinking fund had been applied to the service of the year, the loan for that year might have been dispensed with. The complex operation therefore of paying off and borrowing seems useless; and therefore on that account alone ought not to have been followed,—but it was not only useless, it was also expensive; because the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt were to be paid. Why therefore was this useless and expensive measure adopted and persisted in?

In the first place, it is said that the stocks were thus kept higher than they could otherwise have been: But what keeps up or depresses the stocks; and how were they kept up by the operation of the sinking fund? Clearly, by the commissioners going to the stock market, and thus increasing the demand for stock. But it is equally clear, that if at the same time additional stock was created equal to their increased demand, no real benefit was done to the stocks. The commissioners bought in annually eight millions of stock; but the loan created annually eight millions; therefore no real benefit was done to the stocks by the demand created by the sinking fund. In the next place, it is contended, that by the operation of the sinking fund the debt is now much less than it otherwise would have been: but this is a mistake; for allowing that at the rate of eight millions per annum, in the course of ten years, eighty millions of debt have been discharged, yet if annual loans to the amount of eighty millions have been made in the same period, the debt will at the

end of that period be exactly what it was at the commencement of it: the whole effect, therefore, is to render complex an operation which ought on every account to be simple.

We may conclude, therefore, that as long as the expenditure of the country exceeds the revenue to a greater amount than the amount of the operation of the sinking fund,—and when consequently a loan must be obtained greater in amount than the portion of the national debt paid by the sinking fund,—the sinking fund is useless, and an unnecessary expense; even when the excess of the expenditure, and consequently the loan, is just equal in amount to the amount of the operation of the sinking fund,—it is of no use:—but whenever the expenditure and revenue are equivalent, then the sinking fund really benefits

the country; or even when the loan is not equal in amount to the sinking fund. Thus, if the loan required be four millions, and the sinking fund eight millions, the latter will really benefit the country: but it will benefit most and in the most direct manner, by applying four millions of the fund to the expenditure of the country, instead of having recourse to a loan to that amount, and by permitting the other millions to operate as a sinking fund. On the whole, therefore, as in time of peace it may be hoped that the revenue will be equal to the expenditure, it would be impolitic to touch the sinking fund, as its operation then must be effective and beneficial, not only in paying off the national debt, but also in sustaining the public stocks, and through them the public credit.

CHAPTER XI.

Remarks on the present Condition of the poor and labouring Classes, and the Amount of the Poor Rates in England—Different Classes of Poor—Objects which Poor Laws ought to have in view—Measures in a Train of Operation, which have a Tendency to amend the Situation and the Morals of the labouring Classes of the Community—These Measures not objectionable, but the reverse, because they are supported, not by the Government, but by the People: First, the National Education of the Poor—Secondly, Bille Societies—The direct and indirect Consequences of these Societies equally beneficial—Thirdly, the Institution of Saving Banks—Temptations to Idleness and Immorality, which ought to be removed: First, Lotteries—Secondly, Means of Intoxication.

BESIDES the immense sums that are annually raised in this country for the support of government, an annual sum is raised for the support of the poor equal to the whole revenue of many countries on the continent of Europe. At first sight it may appear extraordinary, and almost inexplicable, that where so much is produced by

labour, there should be such a numerous and expensive poor, who of course do not contribute in the least to those manufactures that are the great source of the wealth of Britain. It would indeed be impossible for this country to support the expense which it does, or to produce the quantity of manufactured goods that are produced by it, if the large propor-

proportion of its population who are poor and consequently unproductive, were not more than counterbalanced by the saving of labour created by machinery. If we consider each machine or improvement as equivalent to the labour of the number of people which it renders unnecessary, we shall perceive that the unproductive class, or more properly speaking that class whose poverty obliges them to depend on the exertions and benevolence of others, does not bear a larger proportion to the working class in this, than in other countries.

In the year 1803, a very minute and probably a very accurate account was taken, by order of parliament, of the number of those supported by the poor rates, in every parish in England, as well as of the amount of the sums raised for their support. At present a similar inquiry is going on; and though it is not completed, or at least the returns are not yet made out, yet it has been ascertained that the amount of the sum annually raised for the support of the poor in England is upwards of 5,000,000*l.*:—it is scarcely necessary to remark that in Scotland and Ireland there are no poor rates.

The poor laws in England were first instituted in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The motives by which the legislature at that period were induced to pass this measure, were undoubtedly laudable. The dissolution of the monasteries, which, as in all Roman catholic countries, especially at that time, had given regular support to all who were unable, and to many who were not disposed to labour, had necessarily thrown great numbers of people into a state of great distress. To remedy this distress, and to afford the poor a relief as regular and ef-

fectual as that which they had derived from the monasteries, the poor laws were instituted.

The impolicy of the principle on which these laws were instituted, and the evils which unavoidably followed their most attentive and impartial application, have long been felt and acknowledged; and many attempts have been made to introduce either a total or a partial alteration in them; but the difficulty of the subject has deterred all parties from pursuing these attempts far.

It is acknowledged, even by the greatest enemies of the poor laws, that those who by sickness or old age cannot work, as well as those who from other causes cannot obtain work, ought not to be suffered to starve; and that perhaps on the whole it is better that such persons should be supported by the nation, than that they should depend entirely on private charity. Such persons, however, as are able to work, and can obtain work, it is allowed by all, ought not to be supported either by private or public charity: but according to the present system of poor laws, there are too many instances in which parochial relief is granted to them. The poor laws, therefore, ought undoubtedly to be altered in such a manner, as to take away all claim of persons of this description to parochial relief, while they ought still to secure ready and sufficient relief to such as were disposed, but not able to labour. So far a legislative enactment might operate to reduce the burthen of the poor rates, to lessen the number of the poor, and to improve the character of the lower orders of society.

But there are other things equally desirable, which legislative enactment could not touch; but which it appears to us that certain public measures, now in a train of opera-

tion, are calculated to effect. It is desirable that the labouring classes should not only be as industrious as possible; but that feelings of independence on the support of others should be implanted in their bosoms; and that to those feelings should be added that degree of prospective wisdom, which will lead them, in the days of their youth and health, or when work is brisk and well paid, to lay up what will support them in their old age or sickness, or at a period when they either cannot obtain work, or are obliged to labour at reduced and insufficient wages.

We have said that certain public measures are now in a train of operation, which will stimulate the industrious habits of the labouring people, as well as implant in them a proper and useful degree of prospective wisdom. Briefly to sketch these measures, and to examine their tendency, surely cannot be out of place in the history of our country; and to us it is a more pleasing task, than to confine ourselves to what is generally regarded as the only business of the historian—the narration of battles and of political events.

We have called the measures to which we allude, public measures. By this we do not mean measures adopted and carried into execution by government; but only measures which have met the concurrence and the support of the nation at large; and we esteem them more useful on that account: for government seldom or never interferes with any thing not strictly within its province, except to do mischief; and fortunately the government of this country has the good sense to leave many measures to the good sense and zeal of the people, which in other countries are cramped in their utility, by being made exclusively state measures.

The first of those measures to which we allude, as likely essentially to benefit the labouring classes, we have already noticed in a former volume;—we mean the Lancastrian and national system of education. This system is proceeding gradually: the zeal with which it was at first hailed and adopted, perhaps has cooled a little; but this we do not consider an evil: zeal is generally too much connected with mere feeling, and too little with principle and judgement. The consequences of this system of education cannot be expected to develop themselves rapidly; for, as we observed in a former volume, the education of the poor in England has to struggle with difficulties which it has not to encounter in the smallest degree in Scotland; and therefore it would be unfair to expect speedily to see here those effects of the education of the poor, by which Scotland has been so long distinguished and blessed. But there can be no doubt that the operation is going on: it will appear first most distinctly in the country, because there bad examples are not so numerous, and temptations to vice are not so strong.—Already one decisive proof that if the poor are educated, and imbued with a desire to gain knowledge, they are less exposed to vice, has been obtained, since it has been ascertained that of the criminals with which the metropolis is infested, none have had the advantages of the new system of education.

As operating towards the same good effect of meliorating the condition by amending the morals of the labouring classes, the Bible societies may next be mentioned. We have no disposition to enter in the least into the controversies on this important subject, nor to inquire, whether by the distribution of the Bible

Bible alone, or of the Bible and the Prayer-book, most good will be effected: we believe good will be done in either case, and that the moral precepts of the gospel will be the principal instrument of that good.

Here too we may quote the example of Scotland, though here we must guard against expecting that in England the beneficial consequences will be as powerful and extensive. In Scotland all learn to read; and no book is more frequently or earnestly read than the Bible; by the poorest classes, the possession of the sacred volume is deemed the greatest blessing; and perhaps there is scarcely a poor person in that part of the united kingdom, to whatever distress he may have been reduced, who does not retain possession of this book.

But independently of the obvious and direct advantages which the morals of the poor must derive from acquiring a habit of reading the Scriptures with attention and zeal, there are indirect consequences flowing from the institution of Bible associations among the poor, which cannot fail to be of essential service to their character, and consequently highly beneficial to the nation at large.

In the first place, by the very plan of these Bible associations, the poor who join in them must acquire the habit of regular saving and prospectiveness—which, as we have already remarked, will be advancing one considerable step towards rendering them independent either of public or private charity: even if the habit could be acquired of regularly saving the smallest sum per week, it is scarcely possible to foresee all the beneficial consequences of this habit. In fact, the labouring poor of this country gain more wages than is necessary for their healthy and

comfortable support: they are poor and dependent—not because their wages are too low, but because their wages (at least in the manufacturing districts) fluctuate so frequently and so much; and because they are accustomed to look to others and not to themselves for support, in sickness, old age, or when they cannot obtain employment. Bible associations, therefore, by holding out to them a sufficiently powerful motive to save part of their earnings, must be regarded as indirectly conferring on them a great benefit, besides the direct and obvious advantages flowing from them.

But there is another great indirect advantage arising from the Bible associations and societies;—not indeed confined to the poor and labouring classes, but enjoyed by all who support them;—we allude to the destruction of religious bigotry and prejudice, which must be effected when Christians of all denominations join together for one object, and that object so benevolent and godly as the distribution of the Holy Scriptures. How much the lower classes may be benefited in this point of view we shall perhaps form some estimate, when we reflect how easily and fatally they have often been made the instruments of the religious intolerance and bigotry of the higher classes. We cannot suppose that those of them who have united in Bible associations, who have met there Christians of all denominations, will suffer themselves either to indulge religious hatred, or to be made its instruments.

It may also be mentioned, as an indirect benefit flowing from these associations, that the habit of attending to them, and of taking an interest in their proceedings, will raise the understandings and ameliorate the feelings of the poorer classes,

besides operating, in conjunction with the morality of the Gospel, in drawing them off from frequenting those places where they make shipwreck of their virtue and squander their money. Many instances have occurred in which the contributing Bible associations has been followed by the saving of a considerable sum from dissipation. Whatever has a tendency to make a poor man fond of his home and of the society of his family, must be a blessing to himself, to his family, and to the country at large; and certainly a fondness for reading, especially such a book as the Bible, which, independently of its religious and moral treasures, presents so many interesting incidents in a style particularly suited to uncultivated minds, must generate a fondness for domestic society.—What are the distinguishing features of the Scotch peasantry as contrasted with those of England? In the first place, that soundness of principle and independence of character, which leads them to look only to their own exertions and savings for the support of themselves and families, and even of their old or disabled parents; and secondly, that fondness for reading the Holy Scriptures, which chains them with delightful interest to their homes, at times when the peasantry of England are squandering their earnings in the most beastly dissipation. How shall the peasantry of England be assimilated to those of Scotland? Undoubtedly by the very means by which the Scotch peasantry were originally made, and are continued, such as they are.

But something else seems still wanting to complete the reformation of the labouring classes—so far as that reformation respects the ren-

dering them dependent solely or principally on their own labour for their support in old age, or in sickness, or at those times when they cannot obtain employment. We cannot suppose that a man, who has been induced to abstain from spending the fruits of his labour in dissipation, and to save regularly a part of them, will continue thus reformed, unless he knows how to dispose of his savings: if he does not, we may be sure he will go back to dissipation, and soon squander all that he has saved. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to put the utmost facility of depositing and increasing their savings in the way of the labouring classes: of this they have long been sensible, and hence the institution among them of friendly societies. But to these there are several objections: In the first place, the meetings of these societies being frequent, and held at public-houses, of course consume a good deal of time, and expose the members to the temptations of drinking and other kinds of dissipation. In the second place, these friendly societies receive only a certain sum weekly, which can neither be increased nor diminished: but it must often happen that a labouring man cannot pay his regular quota, without distressing himself and family; and it may sometimes happen, that he can afford to pay more than his usual quota: in each of these cases, the friendly societies are not beneficial to him. In the third place, the contributions to these societies are repaid only in cases of sickness: but it may happen, that a labouring man might wish to employ his earnings in beginning business for himself; in portioning his daughter, or in setting his son up in the world: in short, what he contributes cannot be

be drawn out again; nor does it increase, or he draw any advantage from it, except in case of sickness. The last objection to these societies which we shall mention, respects the insecurity of them: they are insecure, both because the calculations on which they proceed in their payments in case of sickness may not be correct, and because the funds of them are necessarily intrusted to members always without capital, and it may be dishonest.

Probably these objections weighed with the peasantry of Scotland; as the fact is, that friendly societies were never so numerous there as in England: and yet unless some very obvious and weighty objections had operated against them, we should have expected that they would have been more numerous. However, within these two years, institutions have been formed there, and indeed are lately begun in England, which, besides avoiding all the objections to friendly societies, are in several respects more beneficial:—we allude to the institution of saving banks:

The general object of these saving banks is to give to such of the labouring classes, as save part of their earnings, security, and interest for their property. For this purpose, in almost every parish in the lowland part of Scotland the most respectable people, that is, those in whom the labouring classes have the most confidence, undertake the management of these banks: thus the labouring poor are not called upon to give up any of their time, nor are they exposed to the temptations to which, at the meetings of friendly societies, the members are exposed: there is also thus less risk. Into the saving banks the smallest sum is received; and this sum may be increased whenever,

and to whatever amount, it suits the contributor; it may also be withdrawn at his option. In most cases when the sum contributed amounts to 10s., interest at the rate of 4 per cent. is allowed; and this interest is either paid to the contributor, or goes to increase his principal in the bank.

Such is a slight sketch of the plan of the saving banks: it is obvious, that if they become general their effects must be highly beneficial: they supply indeed what was absolutely necessary to render the labouring classes desirous of being systematic in their savings. A person engaged in trade, even on the smallest possible scale, can be at no loss how to employ his savings; by means of them he extends his business: where savings to a considerable amount are made by those not engaged in trade, or who do not wish to extend their trade, these savings can be lent out at interest: but the trifling savings of the poor cannot be so disposed of; they cannot be sufficiently large for that purpose, till they have gone on for a great length of time; and where are they to be deposited till they accumulate? besides the risk of being squandered in the mean time.

But good principles and habits, through the influence and operation of which, those who are now profligate, thoughtless, or so mean in spirit as to prefer dependence and alms, to support from their own exertions and savings,—even when those principles and habits are assisted by the means of securing and increasing those savings,—will not be so efficient as they might be, and as it would be desirable they should be, unless as many temptations to evil as possible are withdrawn. In a manufacturing and commercial country such as this, it will not be

be possible greatly to lessen the number or diminish the influence and strength of temptations to evil; and it may well be doubted, whether for the real purpose of efficient and permanent national prosperity and strength, manufactures and commerce, if carried to a great extent, do not minister more mischief than good; as there can be no doubt that, when pushed very far, they are most fatal and destructive enemies to the morality and real happiness of a people. But though, while Great Britain continues such a manufacturing and commercial nation as she now is, the influence of evil will be extremely powerful, and must be met by all possible means of forming and strengthening good principles and habits, yet there are temptations which may be withdrawn; or, at least, which ought not any longer to be encouraged and upheld by government.

The first temptation, which owes its existence exclusively to government, is the lottery. Some years ago a committee of the house of commons was appointed to inquire into the nature and extent of the evil consequences which flowed from the system of lotteries: their report was full of well authenticated instances of wretchedness, poverty, insanity, and crime brought upon individuals by the lotteries. It is impossible to read this report without shuddering at the scene which is there displayed: and yet the parliament of Great Britain—containing men whose benevolence is not less conspicuous than their wisdom—men to whose exertions Europe is indebted for the abolition of the slave trade—which numbers amongst its members men distinguished for their religion—which includes a Wilberforce—this very parliament still permits the people,

whose morality as well as interests it is their sacred duty most carefully to guard, to be trodden down in the lowest mire of misery and vice by the continuation of lotteries.

It is scarcely possible to conceive by what argument the religious statesman defends his conduct, in not raising his voice most powerfully against the continuance of this source of crime and misery; and it is equally difficult to perceive, how the statesman who looks only to revenue should wish its continuance. The sum raised by means of lotteries is generally about 200,000*l.*, a sum most paltry when compared to an expenditure of upwards of 60,000,000*l.* It may be urged, indeed, that a larger sum is put into the possession of government, by means of the stamps for lottery tickets; but even allowing that the whole receipt of revenue, direct and indirect, from the lotteries, is one million, and it cannot be nearly so much—can it be doubted that the revenue suffers to a much greater amount through them? What is the source of the revenue of a country? is it not the industry of the people? what more effectual method could be devised of draining this source, than by introducing and encouraging gambling? Whence, indeed, does the 200,000*l.* directly made by lotteries, as well as the indirect revenue, proceed, but from that class of people, generally speaking, who ought to be kept as much as possible free from taxation?—But idleness and extravagance are not the worst consequences which proceed from lotteries, nor are these the only consequences prejudicial to the revenue: crimes of all descriptions are nourished by it; and thus a greater number of the people are put to death, transported,

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or imprisoned, than there otherwise would be; and consequently the state is rendered weaker as well as poorer than it otherwise would be.

On what account, therefore, are lotteries continued, when they produce so much misery and vice, and when even they are prejudicial to the wealth and revenue of a country? Is it not possible to raise the 200,000*l.* which they supply, or even the million which may directly and indirectly flow from them, in any other manner? It cannot be seriously affirmed, that all other modes of taxation are exhausted;—the only excuse that can be made for the continuance of lotteries, is, that they supply a fruitful source of patronage; and thus the morals and happiness, and even, what in the eyes of a statesman is generally of more consequence, the wealth and prosperity of the nation are set at nought, in order that patronage may not be diminished.

The other temptation, the existence of which in a great measure depends on government, arises from spirituous liquors of various descriptions. It may be doubted how far government ought, or could interfere in this case; and we are by no means disposed to recommend the interference of government on points which are not strictly within its province; the interference of government in trade, religion, or education, is much more likely to do harm than good. But we certainly think, that, with respect to the temptations to which we allude, government with great propriety might so act as to do good.

In the first place, with respect to the laws which regulate distilleries, and which enact the duties on spirituous liquors, government, as in the case of the lottery, seems to have had an eye exclusively to re-

venue: provided the revenue was increased, they do not care how much morals are injured. Perhaps there is no nation existing, among which the common people are so brutalized by habits of intoxication as England: almost all the features of our national character that are disgusting, are formed by those habits; most of the poverty which has spread so widely amongst us springs from those habits. Taking up the subject, therefore, as political economists, not as moralists, can it be doubted that, if the sums of money now squandered in drink were applied by the sober possessors of them to increase their capital, or to form a store in case of old age or sickness, the nation would not, in fact, be much richer than it is at present? It is plain that, if less time were spent in drinking there would be more time for work: but the fruits of labour are the sources of taxation, and if there were more labour, there would be more produce to tax.—But it may be asked, In what manner ought government to proceed? what ought they to do, which they have not done? and what ought they to leave undone, which they have done?

As we repeat that we think government ought to do little on any point not connected with the proper objects of government, we shall confine ourselves to the pointing out what they ought to leave undone of what they have done.

In the first place, they ought to endeavour to revive the good old English taste for malt liquors, in preference to spirituous liquors: to effect this, they ought to lessen the duties on malt to such a degree as to induce the working classes to return to the ancient beverage of the country, and to enable the brewers to supply that beverage at a cheap rate.

rate. It is absurd to expect that the labouring classes will refrain altogether from drinking strong liquors; all that ought to be aimed at, is to direct their taste and habits to that which is the least hurtful to their health and morals, and to induce them to drink as little of this as possible. Now it cannot be doubted that malt liquor is both more healthful and less prejudicial to morals than spirituous liquors: the intoxication produced by the former is dull and deadening; it deprives the person both of the inclination and of the power to do mischief; whereas the intoxication produced by spirituous liquors is maddening, and frequently leads to the most dreadful crimes.

In the second place, government might prevent so much of either kind of liquor from being consumed as there is at present; by making some regulations respecting the power granted to magistrates of licensing public houses. Not merely in the metropolis and in large towns, but in the smallest villages throughout the kingdom, are public houses much more numerous than there can possibly be any occasion for: if their number were lessened, it is obvious that the temptations to drunkenness would be also lessened.

We have thus, in the preceding chapters, endeavoured to give a clear and impartial picture of the present state of Great Britain in two of its most interesting features; first, as respects the sources of its wealth, as existing in its agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and as indicated by its income and expenditure; and secondly, as respects the improvements which are making, or may be made, in the morals and happiness of that class which in every age and country

form the bulk of the population, and which, from various causes, have had too little attention paid them both by the statesman and the historian.

It is not easy to determine which of these two points is the most interesting or important: perhaps, indeed, they ought to be regarded and treated as mutually dependent on each other; for at all times much of the prosperity of a nation, so far as that prosperity consists in wealth and strength, depends on the sober and industrious habits of its labouring classes: and if this position be true with respect to all countries at all periods, how much more important is it in the present situation of our own country!

We have for a long time ranked far above all the other nations in the world, certainly in respect to national wealth, and the resources from which that wealth must always be derived; and we have at least been on a level with the most distinguished nations for literature and science. But the time of trial and competition—if we are not much mistaken—is now arrived; and it behoves us to put forth all our strength, in anticipation of this period. Against us, there is an immense load of taxation; in our favour there are superior habits of industry; superior skill, greater improvement, and a great saving of labour by machinery; and a much greater capital. All these, however, probably will be unavailing, unless they are brought into the most vigorous action: for this purpose the most politic measures must be taken to render these sources of our wealth productive in the highest degree: the smallest possible portion of our population must be suffered to continue poor and useless: idleness and vice, as
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equally contributing to national poverty and degradation, must be attacked in every quarter, and by every kind of weapon. In short, we must endeavour to render the mass of the people intelligent, provident, industrious, and frugal: we shall thus render them the sources,

not the consumers, of our wealth: and if to a population of this character be added an æconomical government, more intent on preserving peace than on going to war, we need not be apprehensive that the best of Britain's days are gone by.

CHAPTER XII.

Remarks on the public Feeling, and the State of Parties, as they at present exist—Public Feeling with respect to the King—Cause of the Interest taken in his Situation—Public Feeling with respect to the Prince Regent—Causes of his Want of Popularity—State of Parties—Causes of the Decline of the Opposition Party, and their not being supported by the People—General State of public Feeling with regard to National Measures and Prospects—Indifference of the People—Dangers arising from this Indifference.

THE public feeling and the state of political parties, in such a country as Britain, are always subjects of great interest, that ought to fix the attention of the historian much more frequently and deeply than they generally do. In other countries, public feeling scarcely exists; because in them it has scarcely any opportunity or means of displaying itself; and under such circumstances it cannot long continue to exist in any effective shape: but in Britain public feeling is always active and strong. All classes here consider themselves as forming part of the nation; not only as having an interest in its welfare, but as having a right to declare their sentiments respecting the measures that may affect that welfare: and many cases have occurred, at all periods of our history, which sufficiently prove that when the public generally and strongly express their sentiments,

it is prudent in the government to attend to them.

It is scarcely in any instance possible, clearly and satisfactorily to trace the causes which have formed national character: but circumstances which tend to preserve it when formed, may be more easily pointed out. In Great Britain the mass of the people are much more accustomed to act and deliberate together, than in other countries: they meet on parish concerns, as well as on other matters; these they discuss with freedom: hence arises in some degree the interest which they take in public measures. Most, if not all of them, have the choice of some officer, however subordinate, to whom they commit the management of the affairs of the parish, in the concerns of the poor: the conduct of this officer they are accustomed to examine; and hence they are taught to look up to the conduct even of those who govern the

the nation. From these and other causes it happens that political measures and men are canvassed much more keenly and with more freedom in Great Britain than in other countries; and it is always interesting, and often instructive, to inquire into the opinions which they entertain respecting them.—In this chapter we propose to inquire into the state of parties, both among the members of parliament and the nation at large, as they existed in the year 1815.

Before proceeding, however, to this main subject, it may be proper to premise some observations on the state of the public with regard to the person at the head of the government. The king himself has undoubtedly become a much greater favourite with the nation since his lamentable indisposition than he ever was before: this in some measure may be attributed to sympathy for his mental affliction; for the most violent party-man in this country forgets his political animosity, whenever he is called upon to feel as a man ought to feel: but there are other causes which have contributed to render the sovereign popular, which causes could not operate with full force while his political character remained. In the first place, his excellent domestic character: in the second place, his possessing so many of the distinguishing British features—particularly his plainness and simplicity; his aversion to parade and show, and his excellent moral habits. He never permitted the fashionable levity or profligacy, which had long been encouraged, or at least not checked, at the continental courts, to approach the British courts. Hence, though his reign has by no means been fortunate, and though his measures in many instances

seemed to trench upon popular freedom, George the Third is a favourite of his people.

The prince regent, on the contrary, cannot be said to be popular; yet no reign of any sovereign ancient or modern can display such a continued series of most splendid actions as Britain has achieved while he has been regent. When he became regent, the affairs of Europe presented a dismal prospect, and the affairs of this country were by no means flattering: the power of Bonaparte seemed so firmly rooted in the affections of the French, and consolidated by the subjugation of the continent, as to bid defiance to any attempt to destroy it: scarcely was unrestricted authority given to the prince regent, when our victories began in Spain, and those were followed by the overthrow of Bonaparte and the restoration of the Bourbons. It cannot be denied, that the perseverance of this country in the arduous struggle was mainly owing to the prince regent, and it is well known that he always was inimical to treating with Bonaparte during the campaign of 1814. To him, therefore, individually, may be ascribed in a great measure the present situation of Europe, and the proud character of this country, as the liberator of Europe; yet, notwithstanding all this, the prince regent is not popular: not even his most zealous friends or his most courtly flatterers will say that he is popular:—he will go down to the house of lords, to close a session, during which the most signal successes have been obtained; yet he passes to the house, and returns to his palace, scarcely noticed by the few people who are assembled. Whence does this arise?

It is at all times difficult to assign the

the real cause of the popularity or unpopularity of any public person : but in the case of the prince regent some circumstances may be pointed out, which probably have contributed to his want of popularity.

In the first place, his change of political sentiment and conduct. We do not mean to say that he has changed from the popular to the unpopular side: but a want of consistency and steadiness will always injure a public character in the opinion of the people of this country: it may even be contended, with considerable plausibility, that the steadiness, or, as it was often called, the obstinacy of George III., in no slight degree contributed to the interest which the people took in him; for it is scarcely possible not to connect conscientiousness even with obstinacy.

In the second place, there is much less of the real British character about the prince regent than there was about his father! He is not so scrupulous in his company or conduct; he has more fondness for show and parade. His difference and separation from the princess of Wales also contributed to lessen his popularity.

After all, however, it must be deemed an extraordinary circumstance, that a prince, whose reign has been so splendid, and who has undoubtedly the positive merit of having retained those ministers and continued the pursuit of those measures which have been the means of giving his reign that splendour, notwithstanding his previous opinions and habits were inimical to them, should have failed to attract the favour of his subjects.

Till within these very few years, there were at least three parties in parliament; and the nation ranged themselves with one or other of

these parties. The first and most considerable in point of numbers and influence, both in and out of parliament, undoubtedly was that of the minister. Next to them might be ranked the regular opposition, as they are termed; their party, however, was much more formidable in parliament than in the nation at large. The third party consisted of those who censured the opposition as not being consistent; as not going far enough; as opposing ministers, merely because they were not in power themselves; and as having followed nearly the same measures, and forgotten all their patriotic sentiments and promises, when they actually were in power. This party was strong in the nation, and weak in parliament.

At present there can hardly be said to be any party, either in or out of parliament; the two opposition parties have been losing ground ever since the war in Spain; they both united to professions of a love of liberty, such an eagerness to exalt Bonaparte, and defend all his measures, and to depreciate British valour and success; and such an eager and systematic anticipation of disaster to their own country and triumph to the enemy, as disgusted the people. Perhaps nothing has hurt the cause of parliamentary reform, as well as reforms of less equivocal utility, so much as its being defended by those who were backward in acknowledging the valour and success of their countrymen, but who always overrated the success of the enemy; and who, while they were bitter enemies to the slightest appearance of wounded liberty in Britain, shut their eyes to the tyranny of Bonaparte, or even went the length of defending it. As long as such men harangued on the liberty of the
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press, on freedom of speech, and the danger to Britain from a military force, they found friends and supporters among the people at large: but when they were heard praising Bonaparte, who had annihilated both the liberty of the press, and freedom of speech; and representing France as enjoying greater privileges than Britain, though she was subject to a military despotism; their followers greatly decreased in numbers, and cooled in zeal and ardour.

The old and regular opposition sunk still lower in the opinion of the public; for to all these causes of suspicion and dislike they added this fatal circumstance—that they had been tried and found wanting. On them therefore the people looked with an indifferent or a suspicious eye; and at present they may be regarded as equally weak in parliament and with the nation at large.

In the mean time, the ministry—that ministry who on the death of Mr. Perceval had almost voluntarily declared themselves incompetent to manage the affairs of the nation, have gradually risen in the opinion of the country:—not that they have even now credit for superior talents; nor that the wonderful and beneficial change that has been effected in the affairs of continental Europe is ascribed entirely, or even principally, to the wisdom of their measures; but from other causes: they are unpretending; they conduct themselves with more modesty respecting their claims to public favour, and more moderation in regard to public measures, than was expected from them: in short, they are generally deemed conscientious men,—men who, though they may be mistaken, and though in some instances their

situation, and in others the infirmity of human nature, may lead them to improper conduct—yet, on the whole, have a steady eye to what they conceive to be the public good.

Among the public at large, that eagerness which a few years ago was so conspicuous when any public measure was adopted by ministers, has greatly abated; an indifference has ensued; even the battle of Waterloo—a battle, the news of which a very few years ago would have been hailed with even more transport and exultation than the battle of Trafalgar,—did not by any means excite any extraordinary joy; and the duke of Wellington, though he has raised the military character at least to a level with the naval character of the nation, as it was left by Nelson; and though he has the additional merit of having almost formed from the foundation that military character, whereas Nelson only added to the naval character, is not nearly so popular as Nelson was. This we by no means are disposed to attribute to a blindness on the part of the people to the greatness of his exploits, or to the consequences that they have produced; but they are grown nearly indifferent to glory derived from war: besides, military glory does not meet the ideas and feelings which they have imbibed from their forefathers; it is not of that kind which Britain has so long been accustomed to claim as exclusively her own.

Even that part of the nation who a very few years ago were almost extravagant on the subject of the reform of parliament, now betray a great and marked indifference on that point: it is seldom canvassed in company; scarcely any pamphlet discusses it; no meetings are held to petition for it; and
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what we consider most conclusive regarding the small hold it now has on the public mind, its great champion sir Francis Burdett is not nearly so popular with the nation at large, and is less spoken of even among his constituents in Westminster.

What then are the causes of this indifference on the part of the people to political measures and men, and ought we to regard it as a favourable or unfavourable system? One principal cause in our opinion is, that the pressure of taxation is now felt so generally, that all other subjects are viewed with indifference; and military triumphs are no longer considered in one point of view—as raising the glory of the nation,—but are also traced to the expense at which they have been achieved. It might be thought, however, that, as the pressure of taxation is so generally and deeply felt, that subject would rouse an interest in the minds of the people. It undoubtedly has and does; but it is transitory: they are sensible that the expenses already incurred, and consequently the taxation which defrays them, must be borne: in short, they do not perceive in what manner they can be relieved from any considerable part of their burthen. The scheme of parliamentary reform, which they formerly regarded as a panacea for all their disorders, is now viewed by most people as very little calculated to benefit them: and besides, their confidence in public men, especially in those who systematically oppose ministers, is much weakened. With respect to the regular opposition, it is weakened, because in many cases they have gone along with ministers in supporting a system of useless expenditure, and because the short time they were in power they to-

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tally forgot the principles which they professed, and the promises which they made before they came into power. And with regard both to the regular opposition and to the party of sir Francis Burdett, the public cannot forget that their prophecies respecting the issue of the war have failed, while those of the ministry have been accomplished: that the prophecies of the former parties were always favourable to the enemy, and unfavourable to their own country; and that they always manifested a backwardness of belief, and a coolness of joy, whenever the intelligence of a victory achieved by British arms was announced. Here, then, are two causes why the people, after having given up in a great measure the interest they formerly took in the measures of ministers when they brought about victory, because they now count and feel the price of victory,—cannot turn that interest to the measures of the opposition parties; they cannot view them as genuine Britons, because the cause of Britain's enemy seemed always to be uppermost in their thoughts; and often having witnessed the total falsification of all their prophecies, they cannot regard them as eminent or enlightened statesmen.

Is this indifference in the public mind a favourable or an unfavourable symptom? Does it augur well or ill for the future prosperity of the nation? These are interesting and important questions; but at the same time they are extremely difficult of decisive and satisfactory solution. It may be, that in some respects and in some points of view this indifference of the public is a favourable symptom, while in others it is an unfavourable one: it may be regarded under the former character, if it weakens that fondness

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for war which has too often fatally plunged this country into hostilities. The people blame ministers for engaging in unjust or impolitic wars; but we believe it will be found, that in every war, whether just and politic or unjust and impolitic, unless ministers had met the support of the nation, they would not have begun them nor carried them on. Undoubtedly when the people felt the pressure of those burthens which the expense of the war occasioned, then the war became unpopular, and a clamour was raised against ministers for not immediately putting an end to it. But it is obvious that a war once begun, cannot easily or speedily be concluded with honour and safety. We allude to no particular war; but, generally speaking, we contend that if the nation had not been supporters of war, this country would not have been so frequently engaged in hostilities as she has been.

If then this indifference of the public mind leads the nation to be more peaceable, to hesitate before they express an eagerness to commence hostilities, it must be favourable to it in several respects: for, besides that the real interests of the people at large are seldom or ever benefited, or even defended and supported, by means of war, this country, in her present situation, can scarcely furnish the means for another protracted and expensive warfare. It becomes us, therefore, not merely on the score of justice, but also on the score of prudence, to abstain as carefully as possible from engaging again in hostilities: and, as we have already observed, if the present indifference of the public contributes to that end, it must be regarded as favourable to the nation.

But it may be urged that, if the people are thus indifferent to public measures, that safeguard which arises to our constitution from their watchfulness and jealousy of public men will be done away. On one great point, however, the people do feel and will continue to feel increased watchfulness and jealousy:—we allude to the expenditure of the public money: and we believe it will be found, that if ministers can be rendered economical, it will not only render the burthens of the nation lighter, but will deprive them of their most formidable weapon against public liberty. In fact, we are disposed to regard as almost ridiculous, the alarm which many people express, that ministers entertain any designs against the liberties of the people: not that we regard the safety and protection of those liberties as so much depending on the constitution. A constitution will effect little, where the people—by them meaning not merely the bulk of the nation but the rulers of the nation—are not enlightened: and if they are enlightened, the rulers will see sufficiently plainly, that to make any serious and open attempts against the liberties of their fellow-subjects would be the sure means of overthrowing their own power. Their attempts, therefore, if they are disposed to make any, will be indirect; and even these will be less gross and violent than they were at a period when the nation was less enlightened. In support of this position, we need only turn back to the modes which ministry half a century ago adopted when they wished to carry their measures either in or out of parliament: they will be found to have been much more offensive and dangerous to public liberty than any adopted

adopted at the present day. If, therefore, the interest of the people is turned aside from what respects mere splendour and the glory of war, to what regards the economical administration of government, the change of object must be deemed beneficial.

There is some danger, however, that the present state of indifference in the public mind may either become morbid, or that it may be succeeded by dissatisfaction. It must be regarded as morbid, if it leads them to feel a total dislike to the contemplation of what is going on, and to the discussion of all public measures. The burthens which they feel in consequence of the war, ought not to take away all their interest for the measures of ministers; nor ought their disappointment and disgust at the opposition parties lead them totally to withdraw their attention from what they are doing. They should consider that they themselves are to blame; and that if they discover sentiments and pursue measures, with respect to public affairs, which are the result of good sense and freedom from prejudice, both the ministry and the opposition will find it their interest to pay more attention to them. At present, the people at large, and even the more respectable classes among them, are regarded both by ministers and the opposition as capable of being moved and worked upon only through the medium and agency of their feelings, prejudices, and passions. An appeal is seldom made to their sober judgement, or to their good sense:—but let the people act in such a manner as to render such an appeal necessary, and they will effect more towards having the affairs of the nation conducted well and according

to their own wishes, than if they succeeded in effecting what is called a reform of parliament. Parliament seldom can go against the strong and continued expression of public sentiment and opinion: but it would in much fewer cases venture to oppose it, if this sentiment and opinion were more the result of judgement and calmness, and less of mere feeling.

The nation therefore ought most carefully to guard against suffering their indifference with respect to public affairs to become morbid;—if it do, they are ruined;—ruined, whether they enjoy peace or engage in hostilities. In the latter case, the spirit of Britain will no longer animate her soldiers or sailors; and the energy and perseverance which has brought her through the last struggle, will be sought for in vain. In time of peace, there will be danger from the machinations of those who have power, and are unfavourable to public liberty: not being watched by the jealousy, or opposed in their measures by the spirit of the nation, there will be no obstacle in the way of their plans, however prejudicial they may be. On all accounts, therefore, it would be deplorable if the present indifference of the public mind were to become morbid.

The consequences would be at least equally lamentable, if this indifference were to be succeeded by open and general dissatisfaction, which should display itself in tumult and disorder. Many of the same statements and arguments, which have just been advanced, are applicable to this supposed case. Ministers are not solely to blame for the present depressed state of the country: if the people had been alive to their own interests; if

they had not preferred glory to œconomy; if they had not *buzzed* on ministers to what they have done; if they had not totally forgotten the expense while they were enjoying the feast;—they would not now be suffering what they are suffering. They did not act wisely:—convinced as the nation was, that the war from which they have just escaped was just and necessary, they should nevertheless have been on the watch, lest ministers might conduct this war in an imprudent and too expensive manner, and take advantage of the great necessary national expenditure, to introduce items of expense by no means necessary. They ought also to have prepared themselves for the crisis which has now arrived, by habits of œconomy and saving. While the war lasted, the means of acquiring wealth by the greater

part of the population—strange as it may appear—were very great; because we then enjoyed the monopoly of the trade of the world. Then was the time for saving, in order that now we might not suffer: but not having had the prudence then to look forward to peace, peace has found us unprepared and unfit for our change of condition.

On these considerations, therefore, the nation ought not to suffer their present indifference to change into gloomy and irritable dissatisfaction:—besides, would not this change render things worse than what they really are? Certainly it would. Confidence, hope, exertion, and œconomy, on the part both of the governors and of the governed, are necessary to bring us out of our present distress, and to carry us on in future.

CHAPTER XIII.

Treaty of Vienna, as it respects Poland—Saxony—Prussia—Hanover—the German Princes—Bavaria—Frankfort—the Germanic Confederation—the Kingdom of the Netherlands—the Cantons of Switzerland—the King of Sardinia—Genoa—the Emperor of Austria—the North of Italy—Tuscany—the Pope—the King of Naples—Declaration respecting the Slave Trade.

IN our last volume we offered some observations on the principles by which the proceedings of the congress of the allied powers assembled at Vienna were known to be regulated. As the details and result of these proceedings were not then completed, we were obliged to confine our remarks to the principles of them. Since that period, the whole of these details, and the final result of the deliberation of the congress, have been officially laid before parliament. We shall

therefore devote this and the following chapter to an examination of them.

No person will be of opinion that the result of the congress of Vienna possesses only temporary interest, and therefore might be dismissed with a brief and cursory notice, who reflects that by this congress the whole aspect of continental Europe is changed; nearly the whole of the smaller states, and some of the larger, being as it were cast in a new mould. By the wonderful
successes

successes of the French, the old system of continental Europe had been overthrown, and those changes introduced, which the successive rulers of France, and especially Bonaparte, thought would most directly and effectually tend to consolidate their power, and to acquire and preserve for France an ascendancy over the continent. As soon as the reign of Bonaparte was at an end, the allied powers resolved to new-model the continent. Their professed object was two-fold: in the first place, to do away all vestiges of French dominion, of revolutionary principles and their effects; and in the second place, so to arrange the different states of the continent, as to make a proper and just balance of power and political weight.

The official papers, in which the result of the labours of the allied powers is laid before the world, consist of the general treaty of congress signed at Vienna, and of seventeen acts of a particular nature. In the introduction to the general treaty, it is declared that the powers who signed the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May 1814, having assembled at Vienna in pursuance of the 32d article of that act, with the princes and states, their allies, to complete the provisions of the said treaty, and to add to them the arrangements rendered necessary by the state in which Europe was left by the termination of the war in 1814; being desirous to embrace in one common transaction the various results of their negotiations, for the purpose of confirming them by their reciprocal ratifications,—have authorized their plenipotentiaries to unite in a general instrument the regulations of superior and permanent interest,

and to join to that act, as integral parts of the arrangements of congress, the treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts connected with the present treaty. From this preliminary article, the object of the general treaty of Vienna is sufficiently obvious: it is signed by the ministers of Austria, Spain, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden.

The first articles in this treaty relate to Poland. The duchy of Warsaw, with a few exceptions, is granted to the emperor of Russia, who reserves to himself to give to that state, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior improvement which he shall judge proper; and who is to assume with his other titles, that of czar king of Poland. The Poles, who are respectively subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are to obtain a representation and national institutions, regulated according to the degree of political consideration that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them. That part of the duchy of Warsaw which is not united to Russia shall be ceded to the king of Prussia. The town of Cracow with its territory is declared to be for ever a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In this territory the catholic religion is confirmed as the religion of the country; every sect of the Christian religion, however, is declared free, and is to possess the same social rights: the law knows no distinction among citizens; protecting all alike, it also protects all the sects which are tolerated. The government is to be vested in a senate com-

posed of twelve members and a president: nine of the senators are to be elected by the assembly of representatives; the remaining four to be chosen by the chapter and the academy. The members of the secular clergy and of the university, as well as the owners of land, houses, or any other kind of property, who pay fifty florins land-tax; all proprietors of manufactures, merchants, and all who are registered as members of the exchange, distinguished artists, and professors of schools, shall, as soon as they have attained the required age, have the right of voting. They may also be elected. The city of Cracow with its territory shall be divided into city and country communes; the former to have a population of 2000 souls, and the latter 3500; each of these communes to have a mayor freely elected, and charged with carrying the orders of government into effect. The legislative power is vested in the assembly of representatives, who are to examine the public accounts and prepare the budget; they are also to elect the members of the senate, with the exception as already stated: the election of judges is also vested in this assembly, and the right of impeachment. This assembly is to be composed of the deputies of communes, each electing one; of three members chosen by the senate; of three prelates appointed by the Chapter; of three doctors of the faculties, appointed by the university; and of six magistrates. Civil and criminal causes are to be decided in open court. In the mode of proceeding (and in the first instance in causes strictly criminal) the institution of juries shall be introduced, and adapted to the local situation of the

country, and to the information and character of the inhabitants. The judiciary body is independent.

We have gone into some length respecting the constitution of the city and territory of Cracow, because in many points it appears to us to be excellent, and to have been framed on the judicious idea, that liberty should be introduced into small territories in the first instance, and that by thus introducing it, and giving evidence of the good it brings after it, its introduction into larger communities may be facilitated. We cannot help expressing a hope, that Austria, Russia, and Prussia, who agreed to grant such a constitution to Cracow, will not regard as a mere form and dead letter that article in the treaty of Vienna, already alluded to, which promises the Poles a representation and national institutions.

By the 15th article of the general treaty, the king of Saxony renounces that part of his territory, which is to be henceforward united to Prussia: the provinces thus transferred are to be distinguished by the name of the duchy of Saxony; and the king of Prussia is to add to his titles those of duke of Saxony, landgrave of Thuringia, &c. By the 17th article, Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and France, guaranty to the king of Prussia the territories ceded to him by the king of Saxony: the emperor of Austria also renounces in favour of the king of Prussia his right of sovereignty over Upper and Lower Lusatia, as far as these provinces are ceded by the king of Saxony to the king of Prussia. The latter receives the possession of the provinces and territories which had been ceded by the peace of Tilsit; thus

thus regaining, among other territories, his ancient provinces in Poland and the city of Dantzic. Besides these accessions, the king of Prussia, by the 24th article of the general treaty, gains certain territories on the right bank of the Rhine, among which are the grand duchy of Berg, the district of the ancient arch-bishopric of Cologne, and the duchy of Westphalia. By the 25th article he also gains certain territories on the left bank of the Rhine; and the Prussian provinces on both banks of this river are to bear the name of the Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine.

By the 27th article, the king of Prussia cedes to the king of Great Britain and Hanover certain territories adjoining Hanover, among which are the principality of East Friesland, and part of the principality of Prussian Munster: and on the other hand, by the 29th article, the king of Great Britain and Hanover cedes to the king of Prussia part of the duchy of Lunenburg, and some adjacent bailiwicks. His Britannic majesty also, by article 33, promises to cede to the duke of Oldenburgh a district containing a population of 5000 inhabitants. And by the 37th article, the king of Prussia agrees to cede to the grand duke of Saxe Weimar districts containing a population of 77,000 inhabitants.

By the 44th article the king of Bavaria is to possess the grand duchy of Wurtemberg, as it was held by the archduke Ferdinand of Austria. By the 46th article, the city of Frankfort with its territory, such as it was in the year 1803, is declared free, and is to constitute a part of the Germanic League; its institutions are to be founded upon the principle of a perfect equality of rights for the different sects of

the Christian religion: this equality to extend to all civil and political rights, and to be observed in all matters of government and administration. By the next article, the grand duke of Hesse, in exchange for the duchy of Westphalia ceded to the king of Prussia, is to obtain a territory on the left bank of the Rhine comprising a population of 140,000 inhabitants.

The next branch of this treaty to which we shall advert, regards the constitution of the Germanic body. It is well known that Bonaparte, after dissolving the power of Austria as head of this body, formed what he called the Confederation of the Rhine, which gave him great power in Germany. This title, and in some measure this plan, the allied sovereigns have resolved to continue. By the 53d article of the general treaty, the sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, under which denomination are comprehended the emperor of Austria, and the kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and the Netherlands; that is to say, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia for all their possessions which anciently belonged to the German empire; the king of Denmark for the duchy of Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxembourg, — establish among themselves a perpetual confederation, which shall be called the "Germanic Confederation." The object of this confederation is the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the confederated states: the members of this confederation are equal with regard to their rights, and they all equally engage to maintain the act which constitutes their union. The affairs of the

confederation are to be confided to a federative diet, in which all the members shall vote in the following manner:—

1. Austria	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 vote.
2. Prussia	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
3. Bavaria	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
4. Saxony	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
5. Hanover	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
6. Wurtemberg	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
7. Baden	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
8. Electoral Hesse	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
9. Grand duchy of Hesse	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10. Denmark, for Holstein	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
11. The Netherlands, for Luxembourg	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
12. Grand-ducal and ducal houses of Saxony	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
13. Brunswick and Nassau	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
14. Mecklenburgh Schwerin and Strelitz	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
15. Holstein, Oldenburgh, Anhalt, and Schwartzburgh	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
16. Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Reuss, Schaumburgh, Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
17. The free towns of Lubec, Francfort, Bremen, and Ham- burgh	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

Total— 17 votes

At the federative diet Austria is to preside. Each state has the right of making propositions; and the presiding state shall bring them under deliberation within a definite time. Whenever, however, fundamental laws are to be enacted, or other essential changes to be made, the diet shall form itself into a general assembly; and in that case the distribution of votes shall be as follows, calculated according to the respective extent of the individual states:—

Austria shall have	..	..	4 votes.
Prussia	..	..	4
Saxony	..	..	4
Bavaria	..	..	4
Hanover	..	..	4
Wurtemberg	..	..	4
Baden	..	..	3
Electoral Hesse	..	..	3
Grand-duchy of Hesse	..	..	3
Holstein	..	..	3
Luxembourg	..	..	3
Brunswick	..	..	2
Mecklenburgh Schwerin	..	..	2
Nassau	..	..	2
Saxe-Weimar	..	..	1
Saxe-Gotha	..	..	1
Saxe-Cobourg	..	..	1
Saxe-Meiningen	..	..	1
Saxe-Hildburghausen	..	..	1

Mecklenburg-

Mecklenburgh-Strelitz shall have	..	1 vote
Holstein-Oldenburgh	.. ..	1
Anhalt-Dessau	.. ..	1
Anhalt-Bernburg	.. ..	1
Anhalt-Köthen	.. ..	1
Schwartzburgh-Souderhausen	.. ..	1
Schwartzburgh-Rudolstadt	.. ..	1
Hohenzollern-Heckingen	.. ..	1
Lichtenstein	.. ..	1
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	.. ..	1
Waldeck	.. ..	1
Reuss (elder branch)	.. ..	1
Reuss (younger branch)	.. ..	1
Schaumbergh-Lippe	.. ..	1
Lippe..	.. ..	1
The free town of Lübeck	.. ..	1
—————Francfort	.. ..	1
—————Bremen	.. ..	1
—————Hamburg	.. ..	1

Total—69 votes

The diet is to assemble at Francfort-on-the-Maine: it is to be considered as permanent; it may adjourn, however, for a fixed period, not exceeding four months.

The states of the confederation engage to defend not only the whole of Germany, but each individual state of the union in case it should be attacked; and they mutually guaranty to one another such of their possessions as are comprised in the union. When war is declared by the confederation, no member can separately negotiate or make peace. The confederated states are not to make war with one another, on any pretext; but in case of difference, to submit to the diet.

By the 13th article of the particular treaty annexed to the general treaty of Vienna, relative to the federative constitution of Germany, it is declared that there shall be assemblies of the states in all the countries belonging to the confederation. And by the 16th article of this particular treaty, the different Christian

sects in the countries and territories of the Germanic confederation are secured in the enjoyment of equal civil and political rights. The diet also are to consider of the means of effecting in the most uniform manner an amelioration in the civil state of the Jews in Germany, and to pay particular attention to the measures by which the enjoyment of civil rights shall be secured to them in the confederated states, upon condition of their submitting to all the obligations imposed on other citizens. By article 18 of the separate treaty, it is declared that the diet, on its first meeting, is to frame laws for the liberty of the press in general.

The 65th article of the treaty of Vienna relates to the kingdom of the Netherlands; declaring that the ancient united provinces of the Netherlands and the late Belgic provinces shall form (together with some other territories afterwards specified) the kingdom of the Netherlands, under the sovereignty of the prince of Orange. Part of the duchy

duchy of Luxembourg is also added to the kingdom of the Netherlands, and the sovereign is to add to his title that of Grand duke of Luxembourg. In the particular treaty relative to the annexation of the Netherlands to the United Provinces, it is declared that the union shall be intimate and complete, so that the two countries shall form but one and the same state, governed by the constitution already established in Holland, modified, however, by common consent according to circumstances;—that no innovation shall be made in the articles of this constitution, which assure equal protection and favour to every sect, and guaranty the admission of all citizens, whatever their religion, to public employments and offices;—that the Belgic provinces shall be represented at the assembly of the States-general, which shall meet alternately in Holland and in Belgium;—that the different provinces shall be put on the same footing with respect to commercial advantages; that the debts of the Dutch as well as of the Belgic provinces shall be at the charge of the treasurer-general of the Netherlands; and that the treasurer-general shall also defray the common expenditure.

Switzerland is the next part of Europe to which the general treaty of Vienna refers. By the 74th article of that treaty, the integrity of the nineteen cantons, as they existed in a political body from the signature of the convention of the 29th of December 1813, is recognised as the basis of the Helvetic System. The next article declares that the Vallais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchâtel, are united to Switzerland, and are to form three new cantons. The bishopric of Basle and the territory of Berne are also

united to it, and form part of the canton of Berne. By the 77th article it is declared that the sale of the national domains is confirmed, and that the feudal rights and tythes cannot be re-established. By the 80th article the king of Sardinia cedes a small part of Savoy to Switzerland.

The next sovereign whose territories are adjusted by the general treaty of Vienna is the king of Sardinia. By the 86th article of that treaty it is declared, that the states which constituted the former republic of Genoa are united to those of the king of Sardinia; and that he shall add to his present titles that of Duke of Genoa. By the separate act, No. 14, containing conditions which are to serve as the basis of the union of the Genoese states to those of the king of Sardinia, it is declared that the Genoese shall in every respect be placed upon the same footing with the other subjects of the king; they shall be equally eligible with them to civil, military, judicial, and diplomatic employments in the monarchy; the free part of Genoa shall be re-established, with the regulations which existed under its ancient government; a provincial council shall be established in the district of each intendant, composed of thirty members, chosen from among the most respectable individuals of each class, out of a list of 300 persons of the greatest note in each district: this council is to attend only to the wants and claims of the community of the intendency, as to what concerns their particular administration, and shall be allowed to make representations on the subject: the members are to be renewed by fifths every two years; but they cannot be re-elected till four years after their retirement. Whenever the exigencies of the

the state shall require the impost of new taxes, the king shall assemble the different provincial councils, in such city of the ancient Genoese territory as he shall think fit; but he shall not send to the senate any edict for registration having for its object the imposing of extraordinary taxes, till the assent of the provincial councils has been obtained.

By the 93d article of the general treaty of Vienna, the emperor of Austria is recognised by the other powers as legitimate sovereign of the provinces and territories which had been ceded, either wholly or in part, by the treaties of Campo Formio in 1797, of Luneville in 1804, of Presburgh in 1805, of Fontainebleau in 1807, and by the treaty of Vienna in 1809; viz. Istria, Austrian and Venetian Dalmatia, the ancient Venetian isles of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattero, the city of Venice, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principalities of Brigen and Trente, the country of Tyrol, Trieste, Carniola, Upper Carinthia, &c. The emperor of Austria also obtains by the 94th article of the general treaty the rest of the Venetian states, the valleys of the Valteline, &c. and the territories which formerly composed the republic of Ragusa.

By the 98th article the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola are given in full sovereignty to the archduke Francis D'Este. By the next article, "Her majesty the empress Maria Louisa" is granted the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. By the 100th article, the archduke Ferdinand of Austria is re-established in the grand duchy of Tuscany. By the next article Lucca is granted to the infant Maria Louisa; and the

reversion to the grand duke of Tuscany.

By the 103d article of the general treaty the Marches, with Camerino and their dependencies, the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte Corvo, are restored to the Pope; the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara are also restored, with a few exceptions.

By the 104th article of the same treaty, Ferdinand IV. is restored to the throne of Naples.

By the 107th article the prince-regent of Portugal restores to France, French Guiana, as far as the limit appointed by the treaty of Utrecht.—The remaining articles of the general treaty relate to the navigation of such rivers as flow through several states; and being of local importance and interest only, need not here be particularized.

From this sketch it will be seen that most of the particular acts are merely amplifications of the principal treaty. This remark, however, does not apply to the act No. 15, which contains the declaration of the powers on the abolition of the slave-trade, and is dated the 8th of February 1815.

After some preliminary observations, the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers "declare in the face of Europe, that, considering the universal abolition of the slave-trade as a measure particularly worthy of their attention, conformable to the spirit of the times, and to the generous principles of their august sovereigns—they are animated with a sincere desire of concurring in the most prompt and effectual execution of this measure, by all the means at their disposal; and of acting, in the employment of those means,

means, with all the zeal and perseverance which is due to so great and noble a cause.

"Too well acquainted, however, with the sentiments of their august sovereigns, not to perceive that, however honourable may be their views, they cannot be attained without due regard to the interests, the habits, and even the prejudices of their subjects; the said plenipotentiaries at the same time acknowledge, that this general declaration cannot prejudice the period that each particular power may consider as most advisable for the definitive abolition of the slave-trade. Consequently, the determining the period when this trade is to cease universally, must be a subject of negotiation between the powers: it being understood, however, that no proper means of securing its attainment and of accelerating its progress are to be neglected, and that the engagement reciprocally contracted in the present declaration between the sovereigns who are parties to it, cannot be considered as completely fulfilled until the period when complete success shall have crowned their united efforts.

"In communicating this declaration to the knowledge of Europe and of all civilized countries, the said plenipotentiaries hope to prevail on every other government, and particularly on those which in abolishing the slave trade have already manifested the same sentiments, to give them their support in a cause, the final triumph of

which will be one of the noblest monuments of the age which embraced it, and which shall have brought it to a glorious termination."

The 17th particular act annexed to the general treaty of Vienna, containing regulations concerning the precedence of diplomatic agents, may at first sight seem of little comparative moment: but it will not be thus regarded by those who recollect how often disputes concerning precedence among ambassadors have assumed a very serious and alarming aspect, and somewhat a strong tendency to produce hostilities. The 4th article of this act is well calculated to do away all future disputes on this head. It declares that diplomatic characters shall rank in their respective classes—that is, in the first rank, ambassadors, legates or nuncios; in the second rank, envoys, ministers, or other persons accredited to sovereigns; and in the third rank or class, *chargé d'affaires* accredited only to the ministers for foreign affairs:—that all these diplomatic characters shall rank in their respective classes, according to the date of the official notification of their arrival—ties of consanguinity and family, or political alliances between courts, conferring no rank on their diplomatic agents. In acts or treaties between several powers, the order that is to be observed in the signature of ministers shall be decided by ballot.

CHAPTER XIV.

Remarks on the Treaty of Vienna—The Principles on which it proceeds examined—Application of those Principles—of doubtful Justice as well as Policy—Saxony—The Belgian Provinces—The Tyrol—Italy—Genoa—The Pope—Situation of Europe before the Revolution, and at present.

HAVING thus, in the preceding chapter, given an abstract of the treaty of Vienna—of that treaty which was avowedly entered into by the leading powers of Europe for the purpose of securing the independence and tranquillity of the continent,—we shall now offer some remarks on its policy and justice.

It is proper, however, to premise, that in several of the articles which it contains there appears a very laudable desire to extend the privileges and secure the liberty of the people. We allude to the articles which have been already quoted respecting a representative form of government, the institution of trial by jury, and the liberty of the press. Why provisions and guarantees on these points were not more generally introduced; or rather, why they did not form a distinct and prominent feature of this treaty, we cannot surmise. There does not appear to us any peculiarity in the habits, or any superiority of information in the minds, of those people, to whom those privileges are guaranteed. The treaty therefore would naturally have been more acceptable to all the lovers of the independence and improvement of mankind, if it had manifested a greater degree of attention to the principles of a free and popular government.

In one respect, however, all must be willing to applaud not only the general principles, but also the par-

ticular provisions of the treaty. We allude to liberty of conscience and equality of right to all classes of Christians, which in every instance it guaranties. This is a convincing and most gratifying proof that sovereigns as well as their subjects are advancing in the knowledge and love of just and liberal ideas on religion. Despotism, that is the sacrifice of the rights of mankind to the caprice of an individual, has been in all ages and in all countries greatly supported by religious intolerance and persecution. As these, however, are beginning to loose their hold on the minds of sovereigns, we may hope that political intolerance will also by degrees subside.

Having premised these general remarks, we shall now proceed to investigate the merit, on the score of justice and policy, of the treaty of Vienna.

The avowed object of the sovereigns who were parties to this treaty, was the security of the independence of Europe: they proceeded on the assumption that this independence would be best preserved by making the greater powers as nearly as possible equal in respect to the numbers of their effective population, and by consolidating and uniting the smaller powers. Now we cannot help suspecting that the very principle on which they proceeded is an erroneous one; for certainly, if we may judge from experience; if we are

to take history as our guide and instructor, Europe has suffered not from the want of equality among the powers, but from other causes. And if the overthrow of the continental powers during the French revolutionary wars be appealed to as evidence in this case, it will equally lead us to doubt the soundness of the principle on which the allies proceeded in framing the treaty of Vienna. It would be foreign to our purpose to point out the causes which produced the successes of the French, and the consequent overthrow of the old establishments of Europe; but we think that we are correct in stating that the larger and more powerful states contained within them not only more of these causes, but causes of a more operative nature, than those which existed in the smaller states. The allied sovereigns indeed proceeded on the idea that a real and effective balance of power could be formed, which, if once properly adjusted, could be made to play so truly as always to preserve the peace of Europe, or at least, if not the peace, to preserve its independence. But this idea seems to us chimerical; for it proceeds on the supposition, not only that the states of Europe may be rendered nearly equally powerful, but that their interests as well as their strength may be balanced—a supposition which the slightest knowledge of human nature, especially as it exists in cabinets and courts, and the most superficial acquaintance with history, must prove to be unfounded.

But allowing that the general plan followed by the allied powers was practicable, and that it would produce the object they had in view—the peace and independence of Europe—it may still be doubted whether the mode they pursued in

carrying that plan into execution was politic or just.

At first sight nothing can appear more ridiculous, as well as unjust, than to portion out the states of Europe according to the number of souls which each department of it contains; to declare that such a state must have an accession of 20,000 inhabitants, and such another state of 50,000. But we do not mean to direct ridicule to this plan; the question is too serious for that: it must be examined with calmness, judgement, and impartiality.

In the first place it may be objected to this plan, that it too much resembles the plans of Bonaparte,—of that man against whom the allied powers warred, and whose principles and conduct, therefore, it may be presumed they were anxious to avoid. He did not scruple to divide states, to transfer the inhabitants from one sovereign to another without consulting their wishes, and to defend this conduct on the ground of policy or advantage. But it may be said, His object was solely to augment and consolidate the power of France, while the allied powers look exclusively to the good of all Europe. To this we should reply, that it is no less the dictate of sound policy and of national justice than of religion, not to do evil that good may come. The process by which sovereigns advance from what is really right to what they contend will only produce what is right, affords a salutary lesson against swerving from the plain and direct path of duty. Some measures are defended on the plea of necessity—that plea which, as has been often observed, the tyrant can always advance. Other measures are justified, not because they are obviously just

just and conducive to good—nor yet because they are necessary; but because, though evil, they produce good. These measures should always be regarded with a suspicious eye by those who are friendly to the interests of mankind:—where necessity is pleaded, alarm is naturally and instantaneously excited; but alarm is laid asleep in most cases where a good end is sought to be obtained by unjust or questionable means.

We cannot help thinking, therefore, that the allied sovereigns should cautiously have guarded against all attempts to preserve the peace and independence of Europe by those means which absolutely required the transfer of subjects from one sovereign to another; and they ought to have avoided those attempts, not only as unjust but as impolitic; for a little reflection would have taught them, that allegiance must be weakened if it is thus lightly transferred, and by the command too of those very persons who ought to preserve it steady and sacred. To think of transferring the allegiance and all the natural and almost instinctive feelings of obedience and affection which arise in the breasts of those who have been born and brought up themselves, and whose fathers' tombs are in any particular country, is like transplanting a full-grown tree; it will not take root in the new soil, but withers and dies.

But having already, in the volume of our Register for 1814, sufficiently examined the objections which, both on the score of justice and policy, may be urged to this plan of transferring the people from one government to another—we shall confine ourselves in this chapter to the probable effects of this plan, in the particular instances afforded by the treaty of Vienna, so far as those

effects will be visible either in the future tranquillity of Europe, or in the liberty and happiness of the people who have been transferred.

In the first place, with respect to Saxony. From the testimony of all travellers and writers, no part of Germany presented so many proofs of an industrious, intelligent, and happy people as Saxony: under their monarch they enjoyed a considerable portion of liberty. The people of Prussia, on the contrary, present scarcely any of these pleasing features: the government approaches to a despotism; the inhabitants are not distinguished either for intelligence or industry: so that while Saxony (at least as it existed prior to the year 1814) was a desirable place of residence for all who wished to enjoy the privileges and rights which an industrious man ought to possess,—Prussia would be avoided by such a person.

In one point of view, however, the union of part of Saxony with Prussia may be advantageous to the latter country, in so far as it may introduce into it that industry, intelligence, and sound way of thinking, for which Saxony has been long remarkable.

The question how far this union will be advantageous in securing the repose of Europe, depends for its answer on various circumstances. There can be little doubt that the Saxons, attached as they were warmly to their sovereign and their country, and regarding Prussia with dislike almost amounting to abhorrence, would, in case of Prussia being soon engaged in war, be very backward in fighting her battles; but if she continues at peace for a length of time, and especially if her sovereign acts kindly and wisely towards his new subjects, the feelings of dislike will gradually soften, and give

give place to something like patriotism.

Secondly, with respect to the union of the Belgian provinces with the United States. In defence of this much may be said. In the first place, they formerly composed one state. Secondly, they seem by nature intended to form one, being similar in surface, soil, &c. not divided by any perceptible boundary, and necessary to each other in many respects. And lastly, by this union it is to be hoped that the Belgic provinces may be advanced in religious knowledge and in industry, points in which they are far behind the inhabitants of the Dutch provinces. But that there is a strong aversion to this union on the part of the former cannot be doubted: the causes have been already referred to—religious ignorance and bigotry, which seem to exist unimpaired by all the convulsions of the French revolution, and by the intermixture of great indifference to religion; and the dislike to their being made liable to their share of the payment of the Dutch debt. It is probable, however, that both these causes of aversion may be done away under a paternal and judicious government. With respect to religious ignorance and bigotry, it certainly must yield, though slowly and by degrees, to a union with the Dutch: and if the Belgians are rendered more industrious, they ought not to grieve if that advantage is purchased at the cost of being liable to a payment of part of the Dutch debt.

This union, however, may be regarded in another point of view—as affecting the interests of England, by whose influence with the allied powers it is supposed principally to have been brought about. It is argued, that as the friendship of the Dutch provinces and England has

been advantageous to the latter, that advantage will be much enhanced by the annexation of Belgium to Holland: but in our opinion it would puzzle the politician to prove, by an appeal to history, that any real advantage has accrued to England by the friendship of the Dutch. Certainly the Dutch people have in several instances shown an aversion to the alliance with England, and both before and during the revolution a strong disposition to unite themselves with France. The family of Orange, indeed, has always been faithful and friendly to England; and if the interest of this country in the union of Holland and Belgium must be sought after, it must exist in the regard of the Orange family, not of the Dutch people, towards England.

Thirdly, with respect to those territories which Austria has acquired by the treaty of Vienna, it is undoubted that by the recovery of the Tyrol she has benefited the inhabitants of that interesting country. They may be cited as a strong example of almost instinctive attachment to the country to which they have been long united, independently of any particular cause for this attachment founded in the experience and enjoyment of particular blessings or privileges. It is by no means unlikely that under the dominion of Bavaria the Tyrolese would have possessed more advantages than they had done under Austria: yet under the former they were restless, impatient, and dissatisfied; whereas under the latter they are contented and happy. It is in vain, therefore, to urge, with respect to such a people, that they are the subjects of a despotic monarch, and that they would be happier if their government were freer: such a people do
not

not reason; they only feel: all their feelings, habits, and prejudices, are on the side of Austria: why they are so, they probably cannot tell, nor do they ever inquire. Under such circumstances, the greatest blessing which can be bestowed upon them, is to permit them to remain under the government to whom they are thus powerfully attached.

The Italian states which the treaty of Vienna has united to Austria, on the contrary, regard that power with strong dislike. This dislike seems to proceed from two causes: in the first place, from dislike to the Austrian character and manners; and secondly, from the annexation having disappointed their hopes that the north of Italy would have formed a separate and independent state. It may be questioned, therefore, if Austria will in reality be benefited and strengthened by this enlargement of her territory; and equally well founded doubts may be entertained, whether the Italian states thus annexed will be in the least benefited by their union with Austria. So far as this union is against the wishes of the Italians, it is unjust: but perhaps such injustice may be compensated, or at least its enormity may be palliated, in cases where the union is likely to benefit the state which is at first adverse to it; though this is undoubtedly acting on the maxim of doing evil that good may come. But with respect to the union of the Italian states with Austria, it is difficult to point out in what respect it can be advantageous to the former. The advantages, if any, must result either from the character of the government or from that of the people of Austria. —The government, certainly, is not a desirable one; far inferior indeed to that which the small republics of 1815.

Italy enjoyed. Will any one, for example, believe that the citizens of Ragusa will enjoy more freedom or a greater number of privileges under Austria than they had under their own government? And as far as regards the comparative character of the people of Austria and Italy, there can be no doubt that the latter cannot be benefited by their union with the former.

Strong objections were raised in the British parliament to the annexation of Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia. So far as these objections were founded on any direct or implied promise to the Genoese on the part of the British minister,—that they should not be so annexed, or that they should obtain a government of their own,—they are well founded: but if the question were merely, whether Genoa should be restored to her own government, or annexed to Sardinia, there can be little doubt that the latter is desirable on many accounts, on the supposition, however, that the Genoese were not averse to it. The government of Genoa, though a republic, was well known to be of that species of meddling tyranny, which in a small state is infinitely more dangerous than a despotism in a large state: it was not therefore a government the re-establishment of which was desirable. Besides, the union of Genoa with Sardinia will undoubtedly serve the political purpose of strengthening both.

From our abstract of the treaty of Vienna it will be seen that the Pope is little attended to in it: a small part of the territories he lost is restored to him, but other parts are expressly separated from his power: we allude now to territories out of what is properly called the Estate of the Church. The little consideration which is thus paid him, we cannot

but regard as a favourable symptom of the time, especially when it is viewed in connexion with the religious toleration which the treaty of Vienna displays in several parts of it.

We shall conclude our remarks on that part of the treaty of Vienna which regards Italy, by one remark: Whatever may have been the crimes of the French in other countries, there is no doubt that they did much good in Italy. In the kingdom of Naples particularly, Murat directed his attention to the removal of many civil evils, and to the establishment of several excellent institutions and regulations. The same observation applies to other parts of this most beautiful and interesting district of Europe. Indeed it was no small benefit that the French, unintentionally indeed, did, that, by breaking up the old governments there, and bringing larger portions of Italy under the same government, they formed or revived a national spirit: and we cannot help lamenting that the allied sovereigns did not constitute the whole of the north of Italy into one kingdom under an Italian prince, and thus gratify the wishes of the Italians by granting them a kingdom of their own.

Having thus examined the principal parts of the treaty of Vienna, we shall conclude this chapter by briefly sketching the difference between the state of Europe as it existed before the French revolution, and as it is established by that treaty.

Before the revolution the Netherlands belonged partly to France, partly to Austria, and partly to the Dutch: at present the Dutch, by their union with Belgium, have obtained the Austrian division; the French part remains attached to France.

Before the revolution, Sweden

was in possession of part of Finland and of part of Pomerania: she has lost Finland, which is now united to Russia, and Pomerania was given up when she acquired Norway. Norway before the revolution was annexed to Denmark; but it is now, as we have just remarked, annexed to Sweden.

Before the revolution, the kingdom of Prussia was much divided. Besides Prussia Proper, part of Poland, and the electorate of Brandenburg, the king of Prussia had territories in many other parts of Germany, at a great distance from his capital and principal dominions, and Neufchatel in Switzerland belonged to him. By the treaty of Vienna, his provinces have been considerably enlarged, and rendered rather more compact: he has acquired part of Saxony, and several of the small German states near the Rhine; and he has given up East Friesland and Neufchatel.

Austria has lost her possessions in the Netherlands, and gained a considerable portion of territory in the north of Italy. The king of Sardinia has given up a small part of Saxony to Switzerland, and obtained Genoa. The cantons of Switzerland are increased by the annexation of Geneva, Neufchatel, &c. The emperor of Russia has gained Finland, a larger part of Poland, and an acknowledged right to it.—France remains nearly as she was previous to the revolution.

In respect of territory, Great Britain has gained, during the two revolutionary wars, Malta and the Ionian isles in the Mediterranean; the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, the isles of Mauritius and Bourbon, and some smaller isles in the Eastern Seas; and Trinidad, &c. in the West Indies. Such is a general comparative view of what Europe was

was before the revolution, and of what she is at present: and certainly, as far as mere territory is concerned, there is little difference: so that the tremendous wars which have desolated Europe for the last twenty-five years, with scarcely any intermission,

have terminated—as most wars usually do—by leaving the belligerent states nearly in the same condition in which they were at the commencement. And yet no war was ever less likely so to terminate.

CHAPTER XV.

Affairs of France—Introductory Remarks—Objections to Louis on account of his Infringement of the Constitutional Charter—Instances of this Infringement in the Date of his Reign—in the Title by which he claimed the Throne—the Liberty of the Press—the Removal of Judges—the Pensions of the Army, &c.—Indirect Violations of the Charter of which he is accused—Apprehensions entertained by the People respecting National Property—Ground of these Apprehensions—Seigniorial and Feudal Rights—Influence of the Clergy on Louis—Apprehensions respecting Tithes—Character of the different Parties in the two Chambers not calculated to uphold the King—Speech on the Prorogation of the Chamber of Deputies.

THE critical situation in which the king of France was placed, the difficulties and dangers with which he was beset, and the line of policy by which alone he could hope to free himself from these difficulties and dangers, have been already dwelt upon in our former volume.

Though the legitimate heir to the throne of France, he had been called to that throne by the expressed will of the representatives of the French people, allowed by the allies to fix on their own sovereign; and they had chosen him on the solemn and understood condition that he should accept the constitution which they had drawn up, as most suited to the state of the country and favourable to the liberties of the people. Louis accepted the throne on this condition: and though it perhaps was not unnatural for him to look on that throne as his lawful inheritance,

and as what he ought to have ascended without condition or choice; yet as he did not put forward his claim on the score of right, when the deputation from France waited on him in England, he virtually then and expressly afterwards acknowledged, that he was king of France because he was chosen by the people and had accepted the terms on which they had chosen him.

In our preceding volume we have endeavoured to show that his only support ought to have been in the good wishes and confidence of the nation; from the army he could not expect a sincere welcome; if he trusted to the emigrants, he might rest assured that they, untaught by the sufferings and experience of twenty-five years, would urge him to measures of imprudence and violence, and would use their most strenuous endeavours to bring France and themselves exactly into

that state in which they were at the commencement of the revolution.

During his exile from France Louis had lived several years in Great Britain;—in a country where he might have learnt that the real interests of the people and the sovereign are intimately and constantly connected; and where the lesson taught him by the French revolution might have been improved to the best advantage, by his witnessing the beneficial consequences of a wise and liberal government, which, either by ruling judiciously, or by giving way to the popular wish when decidedly expressed, secures at once the safety of the sovereign and the submission of the people.

It was however very soon apparent, after Louis's return to France, that he had not profited much by what he had suffered, or by what he had witnessed in Britain; and that he forgot that the French people, over whom he was about to reign, were changed from what they were when he left the kingdom; that a new generation was sprung up, born and nurtured in times of revolution and of military success and glory: he forgot that the path to the throne of France had been opened to him by the success of the allies, and consequently by the defeat of his new subjects; and that he never would have been placed on that throne, had not that glory which Frenchmen prized above all things been tarnished. These things he remembered not; nor did he well consider how necessary it was for him to be peculiarly cautious and politic, in not recalling any circumstances which might awaken feelings unpleasant towards himself in the breasts of Frenchmen.

The French nation, independently of the army, desired repose when Louis ascended the throne. As he

came among them by the aid of the allies, with whom they had been fighting, they naturally looked for peace; and perhaps the conviction that he brought peace might in some measure, with the majority of the people, do away those unpleasant feelings towards him which unavoidably arose, when they reflected that by the conquest of their country he was placed on the throne.—Next to repose from war, the French nation wished for a free constitution; that is, a constitution which would secure them from gross acts of tyranny and injustice; and which, not being too theoretical or too little adapted to their feelings, habits, and character,—like the almost innumerable constitutions which they had witnessed among them,—might stand the chance of being permanent. Such a constitution had been offered to Louis, and accepted by him. The French nation also wished that the dreadful scenes of the revolution should be forgotten as quickly and completely as possible; that what was good resulting from that revolution should be preserved; and that their monarch should carefully abstain from all attempts either at punishment or at bringing back things to their old system. And as Louis ascended the throne, not as matter of right, but chosen by the people on certain conditions, they thought themselves justified in expecting that he would act, not as a monarch who had injuries to avenge or favourites to serve; but as a monarch who would be anxious to show his gratitude for being the object of the people's choice, by a conformity in all points to the constitution which he had accepted, and which they had made the positive condition of his being placed on the throne.

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Both, therefore, on account of the doubtful and difficult situation in which he was placed, and on account of his positive engagements, even setting aside all other considerations of policy and interest, it became Louis to act in the most prudent manner, and carefully to avoid even the least appearance of considering himself as a sovereign from any other cause than the choice of the people. But the suspicions of those who were apprehensive that Louis had not reaped the wisdom of experience were soon roused. His first official paper was dated in the twentieth year of his reign; thus declaring the great majority of the people of France rebels; making a mockery of their choice of him, and of his acceptance of the throne as the object of their choice. Soon afterwards he added to his unpopularity in a still more offensive manner, by publicly ascribing his ascension to the throne of his ancestors, principally to the prince-regent of England. The count d'Artois also thanked the senate because they had acted for the honour of France in recalling their legitimate sovereign.

On the 14th of June, 1814, when the new constitution was presented to both houses in the presence of the king, his majesty's chancellor told the parliament, that many years had passed since Providence had called their monarch to the throne of his fathers; and that, in full possession of his hereditary rights over this great kingdom, he would not exercise the authority which he held from God and his fathers, except in himself prescribing bounds to his power. In the preamble to the constitutional charter, as it was amended by the king, it was premised that though the absolute authority in France resided in the person of the king, his majesty would follow the

example of Louis le Gros, Philip le Bel, &c. and modify the exercise of that authority: he proceeded to express a wish to efface from the history of France all that had happened during his absence; and promised to swear fidelity to that constitutional charter, which by the free exercise of his royal authority he had granted and did grant to his subjects.

These expressions at first perhaps excited little notice, and created little apprehension or alarm. The senate, indeed, did pronounce some half-uttered phrases, as to the presentation of this charter for the acceptance of the people: but the king did not by the preamble concede any thing but the charter; he did not concede the power to examine, to accept, or refuse it.

On the 7th of June, 1814, only three days after the publication of this charter, the director-general of the police issued two ordinances in open and direct contradiction to the fifth and sixth articles; the first of which secured to every religion an equal liberty, and to every worship the same protection; and the latter, established the civil code, and the laws actually existing, not contrary to the charter, until legally repealed. The director-general of police commanded that all individuals should appear before the doors of their houses whenever the host was passing, thus virtually infringing on the liberty which the charter granted to persons of all religions, by compelling them to sanction, by their presence, what many must have regarded as idolatry.

On the 10th of June, six days after the promulgation of the charter, which, by its sixth article, proclaimed the liberty of the press, the order of the minister of the interior appeared, re-establishing the censorship. Some opposition was made to

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this measure in the house of peers ; but the deputies demanded a *projet* of a law on this subject, and thus the violation of the charter was in a manner sanctioned. Perhaps, however, in the state in which France was at that period, especially as the liberty of the press had never been known to her, this restriction on it was justifiable ; but the manner in which this restriction was imposed, joined to other acts, by which Louis displayed no great regard for the charter, cannot be justified.

By the twelfth article of the charter, the mode of recruiting, both for the land and sea service, was to be fixed by a law : but on the 15th of June and 15th of July appeared two royal ordinances, which fixed the mode of recruiting for the king's guard.

These infringements of the charter, and others of a similar nature, with which Louis is charged, were disliked and alarming only to a comparatively small portion of the people ; nor could they indeed be viewed by any very pungent jealousy or alarm by those who had so long been without any real constitution, but constantly submitted to the caprices of Bonaparte.

But there were other infringements of the charter that touched a more sensitive part of the French nation, and which therefore, while equally unjust and illegal with the former, were more impolitic. The sixty-ninth article of the charter declared that the soldiers on actual service, the officers and soldiers on half pay, the widows, the officers and soldiers on the pension list, should preserve their honours, rank, and pensions : but by an ordinance of the 16th of December 1814, the officers of all ranks, and military administrators, not employed, as well as those on leave, were reduced

to half pay.—There were also three other edicts, which created alarm and dislike to the royal cause among the military. One of these regarded the re-establishment of the royal military school ; and its avowed purpose was, to give to the nobles of the kingdom the enjoyment of those advantages which had been granted them by an edict of 1751. One hundred years of previous nobility were necessary to procure admission to any pupil into this school : and thus a line at once was drawn between the old and new nobility, in opposition to the third article of the charter, which declared all employments, civil and military, equally open to all Frenchmen.

The fifty-ninth article maintained the existing tribunals and courts, and ordained that nothing should be changed in respect to them, except by a law. A law was proposed to the chamber of deputies for the organization of the court of cassation : some amendments were proposed but not adopted ; and before the bill passed, the chamber was adjourned : nevertheless, the king himself without his parliament re-organized this court, and expelled many of its members without pretext or declared motive.

The forty-eighth article of the charter forbade the establishment of any impost, without the consent of the chambers and the consent of the king ; but the chancellor, by his own authority, established duties on letters of naturalization and upon the journals.

Besides these direct violations of the charter, there were other symptoms of a design, or at least a wish on the part, if not of the king, certainly of the Bourbon princes, and of the leading men, to set aside the charter, and to establish the sovereign on the throne with the same powers and

and privileges as the French monarchs enjoyed previous to the revolution. The returned emigrants did not hesitate to ridicule the charter: the members of the ancient parliament of France protested solemnly against it; Laisné, the president of the chamber of deputies, was frequently repeating a favourite maxim, that if the king wills it, the law wills it.

Still, however, it may be remarked, that to a people who had so long submitted to the tyranny of Bonaparte, these violations of the charter could not in reality have been very offensive. There is some foundation for this remark; but there were circumstances which rendered even the forcible and few attempts at tyranny, on the part of Louis, much more deeply and generally obnoxious, than the violent, open, and systematic tyranny of Bonaparte had ever been. In the first place, the tyranny of Bonaparte was re-deemed, in the opinion of the majority of the French nation, by the splendour of his military successes, and by the glory which he had thus thrown round France. Bonaparte had been a tyrant; his tyrannical measures were not merely partial infringements, of a nature which few felt or cared about; they made their way into all families, they were universally felt and acknowledged; but the tyranny of the means was with Frenchmen too frequently forgotten in the glory of the end. Their eyes were blinded by the success of Bonaparte: but when Louis infringed on the charter, the infringement was committed by one who had done nothing for the glory of France, but who, on the contrary, had been seated on the throne because her glory was destroyed, and destroyed by those who were the friends of Louis, but

detested by all Frenchmen. In the second place, it was scarcely possible not to connect in idea the infringements of the charter already mentioned as committed by Louis, with a dereliction of his promises on points much more deeply interesting to the great mass of the French nation. Those who cared little about those infringements, beheld in them cause of alarm, because they dreaded that he who had not kept inviolate his promise in these points, might break through that part of the charter which declared inviolate the sale of the national property, and which prohibited the re-establishment of tythes and feudal rights.

With respect to those most interesting and important points,—the security of national property, and the non-re-establishment of tythes and feudal rights,—there was indeed no direct cause for alarm, so far as respected the measures of the government, except in an ordonnance of the king on the 4th of June, 1814: this ordonnance merely expressed a wish to restore the unsold property to the ancient possessors. This of course could not be regarded either as unjust, or as in the smallest degree inimical even to the spirit of the charter. But when M. Ferrand, the minister, proposed the law, he made use of an expression which excited considerable alarm; for he talked of the sacred inviolable rights which those who have followed the right line must have on the properties of which they had been robbed by the storms of the revolution. The *projet* was referred to a committee. When the report was made, M. Badoch the reporter proposed an amendment, That at no time under any pretext should there be granted any indemnity to the ancient proprietors. This amendment was op-

posed by the president, Laisne, who said he would not consent to it, because he would not shut the door against hope.

But though this was the only cause directly given by the government for alarm, respecting the restoration of national property; yet those who were known to be high in the confidence of the court, and especially of the Bourbon princes, did not hesitate to hint at such restoration. When it is recollected how much of the landed property in France passed from its old proprietors during the revolution, and that most of this property, having been sold in very small lots, was now in the hands of a large portion of the peasantry, it may well be imagined how general and serious the alarm would be at the most distant apprehension that it would be restored. No person could have injured the cause of Louis more deeply by any other measure, than by hinting at even the possibility of such a restoration; it touched a chord which vibrated through all France, in every cottage, as well as in most of the chateaus.

But the apprehension of such an intention was still more widely felt; for those who did not possess the smallest portion of the sold property, but who still lived in the country entirely dependent on their labour, knew that, if the land were restored to its original owners, the restoration of seigniorial rights, feudalism, tithes, benefices, &c., would follow. These, therefore, took the alarm: and thus the popularity of Louis declined from various causes besides his original sin of having been placed on the throne by those armies who had conquered France.

There is, however, still another cause which operated to weaken the

foundation of Louis's throne, to which it will be proper to advert. He gave himself up too much to the influence of two classes, both of whom were highly unpopular in France—the emigrant noblesse and the clergy. How the former influenced him to act, and how they conducted themselves, we have just noticed; but we must now turn our attention to the conduct of the clergy.

There can be no doubt that though the revolution did infinite mischief to the cause of real religion, yet at the same time it rooted up that power of the clergy which in all ages and countries has been inimical to the spread of liberal ideas. If there was less of real religion in France than could have been wished, there was also less superstition, or at least the superstition existing was more harmless than previous to the revolution. But Louis was known to be most scrupulously attached to all the forms of the Catholic religion: and we believe no person can be scrupulously attached to the forms of any sect, and especially to those of the church of Rome, without being at the same time the slave of superstition to a lamentable and mischievous degree;—by mischievous degree, we mean to a degree which must render him a willing instrument in the hands of ambitious or bigoted priests. Louis therefore, being thus scrupulously attached to forms, and regarding them, as it would appear, as really of equal sanctity and importance as the realities of religion, naturally was desirous of re-establishing the catholic religion on its ancient footing in France; and the priests as naturally looked forward to this object through his means.

But unless the priests regained their temporal possessions, it is not

to be supposed that they would be content, or consider themselves as placed in a condition to regain their former influence over the people. They therefore united with the returned noblesse in indulging the hope that the church property would be restored; and with more zeal than prudence did not scruple to hint at the possibility of such an event.

We have thus endeavoured to trace the causes which rendered Louis unpopular in France: they are easily understood, and their nature and operation are extremely natural; they perhaps possessed more power among the French than they would have done among any other people. Any other people, who had been so long and so dreadfully inflicted with the evils of internal commotion, of frequent changes, of harassing wars, and of still more harassing tyranny, as the French had been, would probably have hailed the return of peace, tranquillity, and a regular and settled government, with such powerful and sincere joy as would have rendered them not very acute in the perception or anticipation of threatening calamity. Besides, it is by no means unlikely that Louis, knowing that the French had been so long submissive to Bonaparte, might imagine that they would not feel alarm at any of his measures, which seemed to point at a less degree of oppression than they had suffered under him.

It happened unfortunately for Louis, that the majority in the peers as well as in the chamber of deputies were by no means equal, either in respect to talents or principles, to their situation or to the state in which France was placed: too many of them gave themselves up implicitly to the measures of

the court; while others, though they opposed these measures, yet did so in such a theoretical, unbusiness-like manner, as not to carry the nation with them. We say that this was unfortunate for Louis; for undoubtedly the greatest good fortune that could have befallen him, would have been to have been aided or guided by men of sound practical views, of good principles, and of a thorough knowledge of human nature, and especially of the nature and habits of their own countrymen. And yet it is surprising that, notwithstanding all the experience of human nature and of the nature and habits of Frenchmen which the events of the last twenty-five years have afforded, the statesmen of France are not practical; they talk and act as if they were on the stage, or among ideal personages, not as if they were among mankind.

The chamber of deputies, when Louis mounted the throne, contained some well-meaning men, who still clung to all the mystical and impracticable ideas of government to which the revolution gave birth; others, who had learnt some wisdom, but not sufficient; who had abandoned these mystical and impracticable ideas from a conviction that they were applicable to no age or country; but who did not know what was applicable to the state of France, and the feelings and habits of Frenchmen. There was a third class in the chamber, who had always been the obsequious slaves of Bonaparte, and who were prepared to be equally obsequious to Louis; either because they thus thought they should serve their own interests, or because they thus hoped to pave the way for the return of their own master. A fourth class consisted

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of those who had opposed Bonaparte, not so much from principle or because he was a tyrant, but because his tyranny touched them: these men never raised their voices against any measures of Louis's government which infringed on the constitutional charter, though some of them, just before the fall of Bonaparte, had spoken plainly and with great boldness against his measures.

In our last volume we took a cursory view of the proceedings of the chamber of deputies, and of the house of peers, during the year 1814; and from that view, the justice of our remarks on the members who composed them will be sufficiently obvious. They did little: much of their time was spent in the discussion of questions, which either ought not to have been introduced at all, as too theoretical for the practical purposes of legislation, or which ought to have been deferred till things had assumed a settled and regular appearance. Even when proper questions came before them, they were discussed in a manner by no means calculated to get at the truth, or to sift them to the bottom; to read most of the speeches made either in the house of peers or the chamber of representatives, during the year 1814, one would unavoidably suppose that we were reading the declamations of school-boys anxious to show the learning they possessed, and to astonish and dazzle rather than to convince and instruct.

Such a mode of conducting the debates and business of the legislature is the more surprising, when we reflect that, on most of the topics under discussion, the members might have derived sound and valuable information from the constitution of England. But with

respect to it they were in many instances most grossly and ridiculously ignorant; and to this ignorance were united, with some, a jealousy, and a wish to misrepresent, equally to their discredit.

From this character of the members and the proceedings of the two chambers in France, it will be easily apparent that the unpopularity which the measures of Louis's government might produce, would not be counteracted by the proceedings of the chambers, or by the influence of the members. In England, the constitution and repose of the country are frequently mainly upheld by the houses of parliament; we mean, that their proceedings, even when ministers possess the most influence over them, discover such a knowledge of business—such an acquaintance with the habits of the people—such a sympathy with their feelings and wishes, as to carry the people along with them, and thus give stability to government. But we cannot suppose that such proceedings as took place in the French chambers during 1814 could have, even over Frenchmen, such a salutary influence. Hence, with a sovereign raised to the throne by foreign armies, after the defeat of those of his own country, who, though nominally chosen by the people, boasted that he owed his throne to the prince-regent of England; and who displayed a restless desire to trench on the constitution which he had accepted;—with such chambers as we have represented, it was impossible that the throne of France could be stable.

There is still one feature in the character of Louis to which we must advert; that is, his love of theatrical effect in all he says and does, and his glossing over what is disagreeable. This, indeed, he pos-
sesses

resses, in common with all Frenchmen; but it might have been hoped that, after the experience of the bad effects of this mode of proceeding in conducting the affairs of a nation, which were so conspicuous during the revolution, Louis would have had the good sense and firmness to have adopted a more manly, open, and direct line of conduct, which he would also have found more politic and beneficial. We shall conclude this chapter with the speech of the president at the prorogation of the chamber of deputies, on the 30th of December 1814, many passages of which will strongly illustrate the remarks we have made on the national failings of the French character, as well as on the inaptitude of her statesmen for the conduct of national business.

“Gentlemen,—Before his majesty’s minister arrive to announce our separation, permit me, who have been happily in a situation to collect your deliberations, to present to you an abstract of their leading results.

“If, confiding in the royal impartiality, you have laid some restraints on the liberty of the press, your object was to enjoy in a short time more surely its invaluable benefits, when those laws shall have been prepared which are destined to give security to the government, to morals, and the peace of families.

“Like his majesty, you would have wished that the public burthens had been less heavy: but it was necessary, on the one hand, to provide for the wants of the army, for an immense public debt; and, on the other, to revive that public credit which gives the means of discharging it, and facility for new resources. If a just confidence has

this year led you to vote various general appropriations, all Frenchmen expect with you that, in the next session, detailed accounts, supported by documents for every receipt and disbursement, will enable you to examine whether it is not possible to hasten the fulfilment of the wishes of our king for the relief of his people.

“You were deeply concerned at the necessity of re-establishing certain taxes against which a portion of France protested; but when those who pay them reflect that indirect imposts are the surest resource of modern states, that it is under their shelter that agriculture, our first of manufactures, can best prosper; when they reflect that the law is only temporary, and that you are about to deliberate with your fellow-citizens for the purpose of discovering a system of imposts appropriate to our territory, our productions, our habits, and the beneficent wishes of his majesty, some will resign themselves to necessity, and others to hope.

“If you have not yet been able to repair great calamities, your justice has at least reserved the power of seconding the noble voice which was heard in the chamber of peers. You probably also regret, gentlemen, that you have not been occupied about the fate of those men by whom the religious foundations of society are strengthened; you regret it now that true philosophy and religion appear inclined to unite in order to fortify morals, and give the public mind a surer light.

“National spirit, in which we have been charged with being deficient, animated all your deliberations. It was conspicuous in the laws relative to industry; and we will reply to those who may be inclined to accuse us of too much partiality,

partiality, that error itself is honourable when it is patriotic.

"The national spirit has displayed itself on the subject of the laws relative to commerce. Though you enlarged, so to speak, the circle of representation, by summoning around you the intelligence of the chambers of commerce, you have still only been able to make some preparations for a better system. In a country to which the tides of the ocean had been rendered almost useless, it was impossible to do more for the present; but public opinion, appreciating the prudence of your attempts, foresees that, when the state of Europe and that of your colonies shall have been regulated, you will then be called upon to assist in the enactment of laws truly national.

"A national spirit, eminently French, manifested itself among you in those laws which regard the person of the monarch: you were the true organs of all whom you represent, when you voted that same civil list with which grief reminds us that Louis XVI. endowed the crown; and above all, when you unanimously resolved that France was responsible for the debts of her king.

"It is thus, gentlemen, that you have reconciled to a representative government its greatest adversaries. On again finding warriors equal to their ancestors, they perceive that that fine feeling, the soul of monarchies, while diffused through the whole nation, thereby acquires still more energy, and places in the hands of a king of France a more powerful engine. '*The honour of the country*,' to borrow the expressions of a man of whom France feels proud, (M. Chateaubriand)—'*the honour of the country*,' by uniting all Frenchmen, will continue the miracles which Heaven caused to break forth on the appearance of a son of St. Louis.

"Let us depart, then, in peace to our homes, to meditate on that law of re-election, about which several of us are already occupied, and which should satisfy the noble emulation of all Frenchmen—to contribute with the sovereign to the common prosperity. Let us return to our provinces with security. We leave in his capital, surrounded with the love of his people, and the devotedness of the army, a king whom we consider as the first guardian of the public liberty."

CHAPTER XVI.

Affairs of France from the Departure of Bonaparte from Elba till his Arrival in Paris—Particulars respecting his Embarkation—his Landing at Cannes—his Proclamations—his Interview with the Soldiers from Grenoble—his Entry into that Town—Effect produced at the Thuilleries by the Intelligence of his Enterprise—False Intelligence circulated—Weakness and Inefficiency of the Measures adopted against him—Monsieur attempts in vain to secure Lyons—Bonaparte enters that City—Ney's Treachery—Bonaparte's Advance to Paris—Louis quits the Capital—Bonaparte enters it—Causes of the Success of his Enterprise.

IN the mean time, Bonaparte in the isle of Elba was almost forgotten; respecting him, indeed, the accounts of travellers abounded; but, from their accounts, he seemed to be so completely occupied and interested with his new sovereignty, that there did not appear any reason to apprehend he would again disturb the peace of Europe. It is now known, however, that the court of the Thuilleries received information, about the beginning of the year 1815, of several circumstances which ought to have excited their suspicion and alarm; but in this, as in other cases, their conduct was unwise and impolitic: they seemed to have forgotten that Bonaparte lived near the coast of France; that in France, and even in the employ of the king, there were several persons who had been long and zealously attached to him; that the army was enthusiastically devoted to him; and that they, by their own measures, had rendered themselves unpopular with many classes of the nation.

Bonaparte undoubtedly was acquainted with all those things, and resolved to profit by them. Whether the wonderful enterprise which he undertook was planned in concert with his friends in France, or whether they had only a general

knowledge of his intentions; or whether, as some suppose, they were entirely ignorant of his designs, we shall afterwards inquire: at present we shall confine ourselves to a narrative of the events that took place from his embarking at Elba, till his arrival at Paris.

On the 20th of February Bonaparte seems to have given directions to assemble the few small vessels which he possessed in Elba, and to embark on board of them the soldiers of the old guard and the Polish lancers, and a few of the inhabitants of the island: but his attendants in general were totally ignorant of his designs. On the evening of the 26th all the troops were on board, as well as Bonaparte, Bertrand, Drouet, and his staff: the wind being favourable, by six the next morning they were distant from Elba six leagues, and in sight of the English and French cruisers. In order that the vessels in which he and his troops were, might not be recognised, the soldiers had been employed during the night in re-painting their sides; and Bonaparte, trusting to this, resolved to go on, notwithstanding the vicinity of those cruisers. One of these passed very near the Inconstant, on board of which Bonaparte was, and recognised the vessel;

vessel; but the captain merely inquired how the emperor was. At day-light on the 28th the coasts of Provence were in sight. The first step Bonaparte took was to cause the commissaries with him, and the sailors, to write out a number of proclamations and addresses, to be circulated as soon as he landed: the tri-coloured cockades were then prepared. On the 1st of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the flotilla anchored in the bay of Antibes; and by five in the evening the troops were disembarked on the beach of Cannes. At eleven o'clock the invading army moved forward; they marched all night; the peasants of the villages through which they passed said nothing, but shrugged up their shoulders. Grasse, a town containing about 6000 people, was the first place of any magnitude or consequence at which they arrived. Here they apprehended some resistance; but the inhabitants at first seemed indifferent: at length, however, a body of them were seen coming towards the soldiers, carrying provisions, and shouting "Long live the Emperor!" At Digne, Bonaparte circulated his proclamations to the army and the French people, which, as characteristic of the man, and as pointing out the topics and motives by which he hoped to rouse the people and the army respectively in his favour, we shall here insert entire.

"Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815.

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

"TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Frenchmen!—The defection of the duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army of which I con-

fided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

"The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comté, and of Bourgoins, and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource: it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of those two generals who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

"Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great
number

number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

"Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law: he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

"Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes: you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

"I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind: I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are yours. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of: it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of

such a nature as to be above human organization.

"Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a prince regent of England.

"It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it my glory to owe every thing.

"By the emperor,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"The grand-marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army,

(Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND."

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"*Gulph of Juan, March 1, 1815,*

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

"TO THE ARMY.

"Soldiers!—We were not conquered: two men raised from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

"Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glo-

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rious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

“Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils; your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you: come and join him.

“Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tri-color: you bore it in the days of our greatness.

“We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

“Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children,

have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

“The veterans of the armies of the Sambra and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes: those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

“Honours, rewards, affection are given to those who have served against the country and us.

“Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours: his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride:—“And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which

which treason and the presence of the enemy imprinted on it.'

"Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for 25 years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country.

"By the emperor,

(Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"The grand marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army,

"BERTRAND."

Still, however, notwithstanding these proclamations, only a single soldier as yet had joined him. On the 6th he slept at Gap. The commander at Grenoble, faithful to Louis, had dispatched 6000 men from that garrison to attack him. Bonaparte, finding that the officer at their head would not listen to the parley of the officer whom he sent to meet him, resolved to try himself what influence he possessed with the soldiers. He therefore dismounted; and ordering about fifty of his grenadiers to advance with arms reversed, walked quietly towards the troops, the officer commanding whom, crying out, 'It is not the emperor, and ordering his men to fire, the troops were silent and motionless. For an instant they appeared about to raise their muskets, when Bonaparte ordering his grenadiers to halt, walked calmly up to them, and throwing open his great coat, exclaimed, "It is I, recognise me; if there be amongst you one soldier who would kill his emperor, now is his time." This manœuvre, so truly in the French style, and practised by a man who knew the troops he was addressing, was completely successful: they raised repeated shouts of "Long

live the emperor!" and rushed forward to embrace the guard. Bonaparte now resolved to advance against Grenoble, the garrison of which had been augmented by part of the 7th and 11th regiments of the line, selected on purpose, as not being acquainted with his person. General Marchand, who commanded the place, was still faithful to the king: the gates were shut: but when one of Bonaparte's officers demanded the keys, the garrison, instead of firing, raised the shout of "Long live the emperor!" and began to beat down the gates. The people of this town seem to have united with the garrison in expressions of attachment to Bonaparte. But how far his reception from the people, during his march to Paris, was positively favourable, and when favourable what causes contributed towards it, will be afterwards inquired into,

The day after Bonaparte entered Grenoble, he received all the civil and military departments, and reviewed the troops. But he did not delay here: on the contrary, he immediately resolved with the assistance of the garrison to push on towards Lyons, as the occupation of that town was of the utmost consequence to him.

In the meantime the utmost alarm prevailed at Paris. It was not till the 5th March that the landing of Bonaparte was known at the Thuilleries; and it was not announced in the *Moniteur* till the 7th of that month. On the 9th the minister of war (Soult) published an address to the army, which from its very violence against Bonaparte was excessively suspicious: at the same time both the chambers met, and addressed the king. Hitherto the progress of Bonaparte had been represented in the *Moniteur* as extremely

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tremely slow and difficult: it was positively stated that no troops had joined him; and soon afterwards his situation was represented as desperate. The *Moniteur* of the 11th, however, to the great surprise of all, announced that Bonaparte would sleep at Lyons on the 10th. Marshal Soult now resigned, and was succeeded by Clarke, duke of Feltre. As soon as the intelligence of Bonaparte's landing was known at Paris, Monsieur, the duke of Orleans, and the count of Damas set off and proceeded rapidly to Lyons: but the efforts of Monsieur to join either the soldiers or the people there, seem to have been totally useless; and he judged it prudent to leave the city. Nor was marshal Macdonald, who arrived soon afterwards, more successful. There was therefore no impediment to the entrance of Bonaparte into Lyons. Here he stopped a few days, and then set forward towards Paris.

It now became necessary for the court of the *Thuilleries* to adopt the most vigorous measures to rouse the people in their favour, as well as to oppose his further progress by the soldiers, if they could be trusted. But the ministers of Louis were either faithless to him, or they were totally inadequate to the situation in which they were placed. Louis acknowledged that he would in future adhere more strictly to the charter: and the count d'Artois now for the first time swore to maintain it. But there was no consistency, no decision in the measures of the court; some of them plainly told the advance of Bonaparte, and their consequent fears; whilst others, and especially the official declarations and speeches, indicated that the attempt of Bonaparte was desperate. A proclama-

tion from the king to the people, and another to the army, was published:—addresses poured in from all quarters. The duke of Felure, the new minister of war, ended a long speech on the 13th, by assuring the peers that the accounts were perfectly satisfactory. The president (*Laisne*) told the deputies that every one was at his post, and that all France was armed against the traitor. On the 15th the *Moniteur* declared that Bonaparte was at Lyons with a few harassed troops; and that the deputies who arrived in Paris brought the most satisfactory accounts of the spirit of the departments.—Hence we may clearly see that the same system of falsehood and deceit which had been so long practised by Bonaparte, was systematically pursued by the ministers of Louis: but, unfortunately, they did not possess the talents or means to render it effective and useful.

As it now became absolutely necessary to send a regular army against the invader, marshal Ney was selected to command them. He professed the most warm, zealous, and sincere attachment to Louis, and the utmost detestation of his old master, Bonaparte. Both these feelings were expressed in such violent language, that his future traitorous conduct could not surprise any body: it was indeed astonishing that any confidence should have been placed in him; but, on the other hand, it may be said, What could Louis do? the army it was well known was favourable to Bonaparte. Ney, however, set off to take the command; and the published reports of his movements and proceedings at first were satisfactory: it was even stated that there had been a partial engagement between him and his old master. But

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in a short time the accounts were suspicious: Ney had advanced so far as to have crossed Bonaparte's line of advance; but instead of opposing him, he contented himself with following him. Still, however, the deceit was kept up at Paris. It was officially announced that Bonaparte's situation was extremely critical; for in his rear was Ney, and on his flanks were the forces under Macdonald, &c. while, if he advanced, Paris was so defended that he could not possibly succeed.

It is now time to return to Bonaparte. On the 17th of March he arrived at Auxerre: on the 13th the troops of Ney had declared for him; and at Auxerre he was joined by Ney himself. The order of the day, by which Ney proclaimed his most infamous traitorism, is dated Louis-le-Saulnier, March 15. It begins with stating that the cause of the Bourbons is lost forever; that the *legitimate* dynasty which the French nation adopted, re-ascends the throne. He then proceeds to talk of the sacred cause of liberty and independence; but seems chiefly to rest his hopes of rousing the soldiers by an appeal to glory, which he asserts the Bourbons had wished to debase.

Bonaparte arrived at Fontainebleau at four in the morning of the 20th of March, having been joined by nearly all the regiments in his route, and even by those which were stationed at some distance from it. On the 19th the *Moniteur* contained another address from the king to the army; and an order of the day stated that marshal Macdonald had taken the command-in-chief under the duke of Berri, and would establish his head quarters the next day at Ville-Juif. The king's address threatened rebellious France with 300,000 foreign troops, if they were

so base and disloyal as not to oppose Bonaparte. - Hitherto Louis had talked of dying in the defence of his capital; but on the night of the 19th he was awakened, and told that Bonaparte must by that time be near Fontainebleau, and that the carriages which would convey him from Paris were in waiting. In the *Moniteur* of the next day he issued the following proclamation.

"Paris, March 19.—Proclamation:—Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved the peers of France, and the deputies of the departments:—

"Divine Providence, who recalled us to the throne of our fathers, now permits that this throne should be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force who had sworn to defend it. We might avail ourselves of the faithful and patriotic dispositions of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris, to dispute the entrance into it of the rebels: but we shudder at the calamities of every description which a combat within its walls would bring upon the inhabitants.

"We retire with a few brave men, whom intrigue and perfidy will not succeed in detaching from their duties; and since we cannot defend our capital, we will proceed to some distance to collect forces, and to seek at another point of the kingdom, not for subjects more loving and faithful than our good Parisians, but for Frenchmen more advantageously situated to declare themselves for the good cause.

"The existing crisis will subside into a calm. We have the soothing presentiment, that those misled soldiers, whose defection exposes our subjects to so many dangers, will soon discover their error, and

will find in our indulgence, and in our affection, the recompense of their return to their duty.

"We will soon return into the midst of this good people, to whom we shall once more bring peace and happiness.

"For these causes we declare and ordain as follows:—

"Art. 1. In terms of the 30th article of the constitutional charter, and the 4th article of the 2d title of the law of the 14th August, 1814, the session of the chamber of peers, and that of the chamber of deputies, for 1814, are declared at an end. The peers and the deputies shall forthwith separate.

"2. We convoke a new session of the chamber of peers, and the session for 1815 of the deputies. The peers and the deputies of the departments shall meet at the soonest possible period, in the place which we shall point out as the provisional seat of our government. Any assembly of either chamber held elsewhere, without our authority, is from this moment declared null and illegal.

"3. Our chancellor and ministers are each, in what concerns him, charged with the execution of the present proclamation, which shall be communicated to both chambers, published and posted up in Paris and in the departments, and forwarded to all the prefects, sub-prefects, courts, and tribunals of the kingdoms.

"Given at Paris the 19th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1815, and the 20th of our reign.

"By the king. (Signed) "LOUIS.
The chanc. of France, DAMBRAY."

Louis retreated at first to Abbeville. His retreat was not molested; it excited in many places the sympathy of the people, but it did not rouse them in his defence. From Abbeville he went to Lisle; but not

deeming his abode there safe, he finally fixed himself at Ghent. Only about 200 of his household troops seem to have followed him into his exile; but at Ghent he was almost daily joined by officers from France, though it is believed by scarcely a single soldier. Previous to the departure of Louis from Paris, the duke of Bourbon was sent into La Vendée, and full powers of enlisting men were transmitted to the duke of Angoulême in the south.

At seven in the morning of the 20th of March, Bonaparte learnt at Fontainebleau that Louis had left Paris; and at twelve he departed for the capital: the royal army that had marched to oppose him, joined him near the gates of Paris. At eleven in the evening he arrived at the Thuilleries. By the troops and by the populace his arrival was most warmly greeted; but by the more respectable classes, who were anxious for peace and repose, but who foresaw in his return the cause of a new war, he was received in gloomy silence.

Having thus detailed the events which passed from the departure of Bonaparte from Elba till his arrival at Paris, we shall conclude this chapter by an endeavour to ascertain the causes which led to this attempt, and which insured its wonderful success.

With respect to the first question, whether or not the return of Bonaparte was the result of premeditation and deep-laid conspiracy, it is impossible to guess at a satisfactory answer: there are, however, several circumstances, which perhaps may enable us to approximate the truth.

In the first place, long before he did return, there was in different parts of France, a mysterious and vague rumour that he would again appear

appear in France at the season of the violet. It seems not at all likely that this rumour would originate and spread so widely as it actually did, unless there were some ground for it.

In the second place, the disbanded soldiers were observed to bend their footsteps in great numbers towards the south of France ;—in reality, nearly in that route which Bonaparte pursued in his march to Paris.

Besides these two notorious facts, there are other circumstances which render it probable that Bonaparte's return was expected, if not regularly planned. The military naturally looked forward to him as their chief : under the Bourbons they were made of little account ; nor could they expect that, even in the event of war, they would be placed on the same favourable footing, or have such prospects opened to them, as they possessed under Bonaparte. Of this disposition, and the wish, if not the expectation of his return founded upon it, Bonaparte could not be ignorant : indeed there is every reason to believe that he had very regular and accurate information with regard to what was passing, and what were the feelings and wishes of all parties in France.

There was also a powerful and active party, who on some accounts were anxious for the return of Bonaparte, as well as the soldiers. This party consisted of two classes : one composed of the violent revolutionists, who could not be content under any settled and regular government ; and the other of constitutionalists, as they styled themselves. The latter were dissatisfied with the Bourbons because they did not adhere to the constitution by which they were placed on the throne ; and they thought, if they

could make use of Bonaparte and his army to drive out the Bourbons, they could afterwards oblige him to agree to a free constitution. Could this last class have attained their object of driving out the Bourbons, without having recourse to Bonaparte, they undoubtedly would have preferred that alternative ; but no other man possessed the influence he did over the soldiers ; and therefore he was a proper instrument for them in this point of view, though highly objectionable and dangerous in many other respects.

By the army, therefore, and those who were adverse to the Bourbons, Bonaparte's return was undoubtedly expected, and in some degree planned : whether the latter intrusted him with their plans, is not so evident ; though there is reason to believe that he was in a great measure ignorant of them ; and that he resolved to attempt the recovery of the throne of France, merely knowing that the army were still attached to him, and anxious for his return, and that a large party, in Paris especially, would gladly hail him as their deliverer from the Bourbons.

The causes which led to his most wonderful march in such a short space of time from Cannes to Paris, are more palpable and easily detected. The principal causes were undoubtedly the indifference and fears of the people, and the attachment of the army. Had the latter not been designedly placed nearly in the line of his route, so as to form in fact a body-guard for him, though they did not actually join him, it is possible that the people might have risen, and either driven him back or captured him ;—we say it is possible, though there is but little reason to believe that

this would have occurred in more than one part of his route : for in reality the people were indifferent, or apprehensive of suffering if they took an active part either on one side or the other. Some were attached to him, or perhaps more strictly speaking, were disinclined towards the Bourbons, because they dreaded that they would restore the property of the emigrants, and re-establish feudal rights ; and others were sunk in apathy, and patiently waited, as if they were uninterested in the issue, to see how it would end ; and such of the people as were positively and warmly attached to the Bourbons, were afraid to oppose a man, who, they would naturally suppose, would not have made the attempt unless he were certain of being well supported, and against whom they saw the soldiers absolutely unwilling to act.

If we reflect coolly and impartially on these circumstances, the march of Bonaparte from Cannes to Paris will not appear so very extraordinary : he marched in fact with his own troops always near him ; and though they were perhaps not disposed actively to support him, yet, in case of the people having risen against him, there is no doubt that they would have protected him : and this apprehension must have weighed with the people, and kept such of them quiet and passive who would otherwise have risen against him.

That Soult, the minister of war, in a great measure arranged things in his favour, there can be no doubt : divisional and regimental order-books and papers were found on the field of Waterloo, from which it appears that, early in the month of February, all leaves of absence and furloughs were recalled ; the rigour against deserters was redoubled ;—the regiments were directed to fill up their vacancies even from the disbanded pensioners, and the officers and men were to hold themselves in constant readiness and full marching order for the first week in March : and all this on the pretence of some reviews or inspections which were announced for that period.

Bonaparte landed in that military division of France of which marshal Massena had the command ; yet the marshal took no measures for securing him, or arresting his progress. Now, when the leading military men thus gave undoubted proofs that they wished well to the enterprise of Bonaparte, is it surprising that the people were afraid to move against him ? It is a curious fact, which perhaps could not have had existence in any country but France, that Bonaparte was exposed to much more danger when he travelled through the south of France on his way to Elba, than when he marched from Cannes to Paris to reconquer his throne.

CHAPTER XVII.

Proceedings of the Allies in consequence of the Landing of Bonaparte in France—Declaration of the 13th of March—Observations on it—Proceedings of the British Parliament—Treaty of the 25th of March—Bonaparte's Circular Letter to the Sovereigns of Europe, offering Peace—Report of the Committee of the Congress of Vienna—Treaties of Accession and Subsidy between Great Britain and the Continental Powers—Positions taken up by the Allied Armies.

IT is said that when Bonaparte landed at Cannes he exclaimed "Behold an end to the labours of the congress of Vienna!" But this congress was not so easily dissolved: for within a very short time after the intelligence of this enterprise reached the members of it, they assembled and drew up the following declaration—

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled in congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended: by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

"They declare at the same time, that firmly resolving to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of 30th of May 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled, and to guaranty against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

"And although entirely persuaded that all France rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give the king of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

"The present declaration inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

"Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris.

"*Vienna, March 13, 1815.*"

Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the courts.

Austria.	<i>Prince Metternich, Baron Wessenberg.</i>
France.	<i>Prince Talleyrand, The Duke of Dalberg. Latour Du Pin, Count Alexis De Noailles.</i>
Great Brit.	<i>Wellington, Clancarty, Cathcart, Stewart.</i>
Portugal.	<i>Count Palmela Sal- danha Lobo.</i>
Prussia.	<i>Prince Hardenberg, Baron Humboldt.</i>
Russia.	<i>Count Rasumowsky, Count Stackelberg, Count Nesselrode.</i>
Spain.	<i>P. Gomez Labrador.</i>
Sweden.	<i>Loewenhelm.</i>

As soon as this declaration was known in Great Britain, it created a strong sensation: it was concluded by the opposition, that there were passages in it which sanctioned the doctrine of assassination; and that the whole tenor of it was indefensible. It must be confessed that there are parts of it worded so loosely, as to be capable of bearing the objectionable construction put upon them; and though from the known honour of the persons whose names are annexed to this state paper, it is absolutely impossible to conceive that they meant to give the slightest countenance to the doctrine of assassination; yet it is to be wished that what they really did mean to express, they had expressed in more precise and accurate language.

In Great Britain, the impression made by Bonaparte's escape and arrival at Paris was very great: of course, the topic was agitated in parliament. Ministers were severely censured for having been negligent in the custody of him; and this censure at first sight appeared well grounded: but they extricated themselves from it with considerable adroitness. They acknowledged that the terms granted to Bonaparte by the treaty of Fontainebleau were much more favourable than he ought to have obtained: but they observed, that the allies had in a manner insisted on granting him such terms; and of course Great Britain was obliged to accede to them. By these terms he was acknowledged as an independent sovereign of the island of Elba; of course no foreign power had any right to prevent him from leaving that island if he were so disposed. Even allowing, then, that the island could have been strictly and successfully watched by British cruisers—which, however, ministers contended was impracticable;—yet they had no more right to blockade this island, than they had to blockade Sicily or Sardinia. The fault then lay in placing Bonaparte in a spot so convenient for carrying into execution any enterprise against France; and in placing him there, not as a captive, but as a sovereign.

The next point of dispute between ministers and the opposition, regarded the policy or necessity of going to war for the purpose of expelling Bonaparte from the throne of France. The opposition objected to going to war on several grounds:—because he could not have achieved what he had done, unless the people as well as the army were decidedly in his favour; and to go to war under such circumstances would not only be madness,

ness, but directly against the principles of the British constitution, since it would be a war for the purpose of forcing a government on France. The ministers on the other hand contended that there was good reason to believe that the people of France were not attached to Bonaparte, but to the Bourbons; and that he had very inadequate means to support himself on the throne which he had seized. They further declared, that they did not mean to go to war in order to force the Bourbons on the throne, but to drive Bonaparte from it: and that though the British constitution forbade the former attempt, yet the known ambition of Bonaparte fully justified the latter. The opposition next objected to the proposed war, on the ground of the exhausted state of our finances. The reply to this objection, however, was sufficiently obvious and simple: if Bonaparte were permitted to establish himself firmly on the throne of France, it would require much more expensive and powerful efforts to oppose him, than if he were attacked immediately. Besides, ministers contended, that in the present state of France he could not muster a large army; that in the west and south the people were decidedly hostile to him; and even in the other parts of the kingdom they would not come forward in his support. If, therefore, Europe came forward without loss of time, his dethronement was certain.

Bonaparte was himself aware of the precarious tenure on which he held his throne, and that the adherents he actually possessed would diminish in numbers, and lose their zeal, if they apprehended that the consequences of his return would be a renewal of the war. He therefore caused the report to be circulated that England had connived

at his escape:—As her frigates were stationed off the island of Elba, how, he asked, was it possible that he should have escaped unless the British government had connived at it? Austria he represented as decidedly favourable to his views; and he amused the credulity of the people of Paris by assurances that the empress Maria Louisa would soon be amongst them.

The declaration of the allies of the 13th of March was for a considerable time after its promulgation kept back from the French papers; and when it was published in them, it was accompanied by a commentary, the object of which was to prove that Talleyrand alone had infused into it that bitter spirit of personal invective against Bonaparte; by which it was distinguished: and it was added, that the allies, having put forth this declaration before they knew how he was received in France, would recall, or at least not repeat it, when they learnt that he had triumphantly entered the metropolis.

Many persons in this country were of the same opinion: but the following treaty of the allied powers, signed at Vienna on the 25th of March, as soon as they learnt the entry of Bonaparte into Paris, plainly proved that they were resolved to drive him out of France.

“His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the , having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom, may produce with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with his majesty the &c. &c. &c. to apply to that important circumstance the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

“They

"They have consequently resolved to renew, by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers with each of the three others, the engagement to preserve, against every attack, the order of things so happily established in Europe, and to determine upon the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as of giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

"Article 1. The high contracting parties above mentioned solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 30th of May 1814; as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the disposition of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Bonaparte. For this purpose they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th of March last, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who should already have joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe, and the general peace under the protection of which the rights, the liberty, and independence of nations had been recently placed and secured.

"Art. 2. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object ought not to be subjected to limitation, and although the high contracting parties are resolved to devote thereto all those means which, in their respective situations, they are ena-

bled to dispose of, they have nevertheless agreed to keep constantly in the field, each, a force of 150,000 men complete, including cavalry in the proportion of at least one-tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons; and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy.

"Art. 3. The high contracting parties reciprocally engage not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war, designated in the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained; nor until Bonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew his attempts for possessing himself of the supreme power in France.

"Art. 4. The present treaty being principally applicable to the present circumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the sixteenth article of the same, shall be again in force, as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

"Art. 5. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c. shall be regulated by a particular convention.

"Art. 6. The high contracting parties shall be allowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments, for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the armies.

"Art. 7. The engagements entered into by the present treaty having for their object the maintenance of the general peace, the high contracting parties agree to invite all the powers of Europe to accede to the same.

"Art.

"Art. 8. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Bonaparte and his adherents, his most Christian majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto; and, in the event of his majesty's requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty."

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

"As circumstances might prevent his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the 2d article, it is agreed that his Britannic majesty shall have the option, either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of thirty pounds sterling per annum for each cavalry soldier, and twenty pounds per annum for each infantry soldier, that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the 2d article."

This treaty, of course, was sent over to Great Britain to be ratified; and at the same time that it was ratified, a declaration was annexed to it on the part of the prince regent, to the effect that, as it was contrary to the principles of the British constitution to interfere with the internal concerns of any nation, Britain acceded to the treaty only so far as related to the expulsion of Bonaparte from the throne of France; but did not mean to commence or continue hostilities for the purpose of forcing a sovereign on the French people.

The treaty thus ratified, and with this declaration annexed, was sent back to Vienna; and it appears

from an official letter from the earl of Clancarty, the British ambassador there, that the views and intentions of the other allied powers were the same as those of Britain; for he expressly states, that "the allies are at war for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the reconquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less proportion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity, but because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever.

"In this war they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people: they have no design to oppose the claim of that nation to choose their own form of government, or intention to trench in any respect upon their independence as a great and free people; but they do think they have a right, and that of the highest nature, to contend against the re-establishment of an individual as the head of the French government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated that, in such a situation, he will not suffer other nations to be at peace; whose restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for the rights and independence of other states, must expose the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation.

"However general the feelings of the sovereigns may be in favour of the restoration of the king, they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French in the choice of this, or any other dynasty or form of government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe:

Europe: such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect, as other states have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence, their object will be satisfied; and they shall joyfully return to that state of peace which will then, and then only, be open to them; and lay down those arms, which they have only taken up for the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them, on the part of their respective empires."

We have been thus particular in noting the principle on which the allies entered on this new war against France, in order that we may be enabled hereafter to compare their conduct with their professions. It will be observed that in the passage which we have quoted from lord Clancarty's official letter, the allies declare that "they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French in the choice of any dynasty, or form of government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe;" thus leaving themselves free to influence the French in favour of the Bourbon dynasty, provided they regarded that dynasty as essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe.

On the 4th of April, Bonaparte sent a circular letter to the allied monarchs: that which was sent to lord Castlereagh for the purpose of being laid before the prince regent was transmitted to Vienna, where the congress deliberated on the overture. In this letter Caulincourt, in whose name it is written, begins by stating that France having been lamentably deceived in the hopes she had entertained from the Bourbons, after some months of painful restraint, had by a universal and

spontaneous impulse declared, as her deliverer, the man from whom alone she can expect the guarantee of her liberties and independence. When this man appeared, the Bourbon family quitted the territory of France, and not one drop of blood was shed for their defence. "Borne upon the arms of his people, his majesty has traversed France from the point of the coast at which he at first touched the ground, as far as the centre of his capital." Caulincourt then proceeds to announce that the first wish of his master is peace, to the duration of which he looks forward for the accomplishment of his noblest intentions: he no longer wishes for the trophies of vain ambition. With a disposition to respect the rights of other nations, he has the pleasing hope that those of the French nation will remain inviolate.—To this letter no answer was returned on the part of any of the allied powers.

The congress at Vienna, however, in consequence of Bonaparte's publishing his circular letter, deemed it proper to appoint a committee to examine whether, after the events that had passed since the return of Napoleon Bonaparte to France, and in consequence of the documents published at Paris on the declaration which the powers issued against him on the 13th of March, it would be necessary to proceed to a new declaration. The positions laid down by Bonaparte, in reference to the declaration of the 13th of March, were the following:

"That that declaration, directed against Bonaparte at the period of his landing on the coast of France, was without application now that he had laid hold of the reins of government without open resistance; and that this fact sufficiently proving the wishes of the nation, he had not

not only re-entered into possession of his old rights in regard to France, but that the question even of the legitimacy of his government had ceased to be within the jurisdiction of the powers;

"2. That by offering to ratify the treaty of Paris, he removed every ground of war against him."

The committee of congress were specially charged to take into consideration—

"1. Whether the position of Bonaparte in regard to the powers of Europe has changed by the fact of his arrival at Paris, and by the circumstances that accompanied the first success of his attempt on the throne of France;

"2. Whether the offer to sanction the treaty of Paris of the 31st of May 1814 can determine the powers to adopt a system different from that which they announced in the declaration of the 13th of March;

"3. Whether it be necessary or proper to publish a new declaration to confirm or modify that of the 13th of March?"

With respect to the first question, the committee came to this general conclusion, that the will of the French people is by no means sufficient to re-establish in a legal sense a government proscribed by solemn engagements which that very people entered into with all the powers of Europe; and that they cannot under any pretext give validity, as against those powers, to the right of recalling to the throne him whose exclusion was a condition preliminary to every pacific arrangement with France; the wish of the French people, even if it were fully ascertained, would not be the less null and of no effect in regard to Europe, towards re-establishing a power against which all Europe

has been in a state of permanent protest from the 31st of March 1814 to the 13th of March 1815; and in this view the position of Bonaparte is precisely at this day what it was at those last-mentioned periods.

With respect to the second question, the committee observe that the treaty of Paris was highly favourable to France, but it was favourable because France agreed to give up Bonaparte: never, in treating with him, would the allies have consented to the conditions which they granted to a government which, while offering to Europe a pledge of security and stability, relieved them from requiring from France the guarantees which they had demanded under its former government. This clause, the expulsion of Bonaparte, and the consent of the French to the Bourbon dynasty, the committee observe, is inseparable from the treaty of Paris, —to abolish it, is to break the treaty: if therefore the return of Bonaparte is with the consent of the French nation, they, by this consent, in fact declare war against Europe; for the state of peace did not exist between Europe and France, except by the treaty of Paris, and the treaty of Paris is incompatible with the power of Bonaparte.

The committee next proceed to observe, that as the French nation, by again receiving Bonaparte, have in fact broken one of the most essential articles of the treaty of Paris, the question is no longer the maintenance of that treaty, but the making it afresh; and with whom is it to be now entered into? The man who, in now offering to sanction the treaty of Paris, pretends to substitute his guarantee for that of a sovereign whose loyalty was without stain, and benevolence with-

out

out measure, is the same who during fifteen years ravaged and laid waste the earth, to find means of satisfying his ambition; who sacrificed millions of victims, and the happiness of an entire generation, to a system of conquests; whose truces, little worthy of the name of peace, have only rendered him more oppressive and more odious; who, after having by mad enterprises tired fortune, armed all Europe against him, and exhausted all the means of France, was forced to abandon his projects and abdicated power, to save some relics of existence; who, at the moment when the nations of Europe were giving themselves up to the hope of a durable tranquillity, meditated new catastrophes; and by a double perfidy towards the powers who had too generously spared him, and towards a government which he could not attack without the blackest treason, usurped a throne which he had renounced, and which he never occupied except for the misery of France and the world. This man has no other guarantee to propose to Europe than his word. After the cruel experience of fifteen years, who would have the courage to accept this guarantee? who could any longer respect the security which it could offer?

The answer to the second question concludes in the following animated terms:

"Peace with a government placed in such hands, and composed of such elements, would only be a perpetual state of uncertainty, anxiety, and danger. No power being able effectually to disarm, the people would enjoy none of the advantages of a true peace; they would be overwhelmed with expenses of all kinds; confidence not being able to establish itself any

where, industry and commerce would every where languish; nothing would be stable in political relations: a sullen discontent would spread over all countries; and from day to day, Europe in alarm would expect a new explosion. The sovereigns have certainly not misunderstood the interest of their people, in judging that an open war, with all its inconveniences and all its sacrifices, is preferable to such a state of things, and the measures which they have adopted have met the general approbation.

"The opinion of Europe on this great occasion is pronounced in a manner very positive and very solemn; never could the real sentiments of nations have been more accurately known and more faithfully interpreted than at a moment when the representatives of all the powers were assembled to consolidate the peace of the world."

With respect to the third question, whether it is necessary to publish a new declaration, the committee remark that the preceding observations furnish the answer to this. It considers,

"1. That the declaration of the 13th of March was dictated to the powers by reasons of such evident justice and such decisive weight, that none of the sophistries by which it is pretended to be attacked can at all affect it:

"2. That these reasons remain in all their force; and that the changes which have in fact occurred since the declaration of the 13th of March, have produced no alteration in the position of Bonaparte and of France with regard to the allies:

"3. That the offer to ratify the treaty of Paris cannot on any account alter the disposition of the allies.

"Therefore,

"Therefore, the committee is of opinion that it would be useless to publish a fresh declaration."

The allies being thus determined on war, it was necessary that no time should be lost in bringing their troops into the field. Most of the Russians had already retired within the frontiers of Poland; the Prussians and Austrians also had returned to their respective countries. But as the allies were deeply impressed with the indispensable necessity of the most prompt and vigorous measures, it was resolved, that all the troops which they were to furnish, and even more than their quotas, should without the least delay begin their march towards the frontiers of France. The plan of the campaign was similar to that which had been pursued with such success during the year 1814; that is, France was to be invaded in every direction.

But the continental allies could not stir in this momentous affair unless Britain subsidized them most liberally. For this purpose, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed and carried with little opposition the renewal of the income-tax, and a loan to an almost unparalleled extent was also raised.

Great Britain also entered into twelve treaties of accession, and 25 treaties of subsidy. By the treaty of accession with Baden, his Britannic majesty engaged in his own name, and in that of his allies, not to lay down his arms without particularly taking into consideration the interests of the duke of Baden, and not to permit the political existence of the duchy to be violated. The other treaties of accession were with Bavaria, Denmark, Hanover, the grand duke of Hesse, the king of the Netherlands, Portugal, Sardinia, Saxony, Switzerland, Wur-

temberg, and the princes and free towns of Germany. The treaties of subsidy were with the same powers, and by these Baden was to furnish 16,000 men, Bavaria 60,000, Denmark 15,000, Hanover 26,400, the grand duke of Hesse 8000, Sardinia 15,000, Saxony 8000, Wurtemberg 20,000, besides the troops to be furnished by the princes and free towns of Germany; so that Great Britain had at her command upwards of 200,000 troops. They were to be paid at the rate of 11*l.* 2*s.* per man, for the service of the year ending the 5th of April 1816. It is to be observed that this force is independent of the 150,000 men which the four great allied powers, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia engaged respectively to furnish: There was afterwards entered into a convention of subsidies between Great Britain and Russia, by which the former engaged to pay the latter, under the head of additional subsidy, the sum of 416,666*l.*

The activity in Britain in the embarkation of troops was very great: and as the British forces were to protect the Netherlands, and to invade France from that quarter, they were speedily at their post. Of these troops, as well as of the forces of the king of the Netherlands, of Hanover, and of some of the German principalities, the duke of Wellington was appointed general: his grace's head quarters were at Brussels. Further to the east, and so near the duke that they could support each other, was prince Blücher: he had under him the Prussian and Saxon troops; but the latter, indignant at the fate of their king and country, having a personal dislike to the Prussians, and probably instigated by the French, soon mutinied, and even made a daring

daring attempt on the life of Blucher, in which, however, they did not succeed. This rendered it absolutely necessary to send away most of the Saxon troops, so that Blucher had only the Prussians under his command. By the beginning of June the duke of Wellington was at the head of about 80,000 troops; of which rather more than half were English, and the rest Dutch and Germans: of the English, perhaps, three-fourths were veteran troops, who had long served under his grace; the rest were comparatively raw troops, not accustomed to warfare or inured to fatigue. He had however with him a considerable portion of the horse guards, troops which hitherto had been kept almost exclu-

sively for show, but which, in the battle of Waterloo, proved that they were real Britons and worthy of fighting under Wellington. The force under Blucher probably amounted to 120,000 men; it consisted of the best troops in the Prussian service.

The Russians were on their march from Poland and their own country, and they were to enter France to the south-east of Blucher; that is, further up the Rhine; the Austrians, &c. were to enter nearer Switzerland. The Austrians, however, were too much occupied with watching Murat in Italy to afford any expectation that they would be able to assist the rest of the allies in the first operations of the campaign.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Affairs of France from the Arrival of Bonaparte at Paris till his Departure for the Armies—Small comparative Force which he was able to bring into the Field—Remarks on this Point—Circumstances unfavourable to Bonaparte with respect to his Troops—his Marshals—the People at large—Opposed by the Constitutionalists—Report on the State of France—Acte Additionnel—Champ de Mai—Proceedings of the Chamber of Representatives—Bonaparte leaves Paris.

HAVING thus detailed the measures which were adopted by the allies for the purpose of dethroning Bonaparte, it will now be proper to consider the means by which he expected to be able to defend and support himself. These means were of two descriptions: In the first place he endeavoured to raise as large a military force as possible; and secondly, he used the most strenuous means to rouse the people in his favour, so that they might be induced to act as they had done at the commencement of the revolution.

His ministers were undoubtedly men of great talents, and some of them men of great influence with the people; they were Carnot, Caulincourt, Fouché, and Maret. Lucien Bonaparte, also, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge his brother as emperor, or even to dwell under his dominion, now arrived at Paris. The collecting and equipment of the armies were committed to the care and talents of Carnot. By the Report which he published, the regular army consisted of upwards of 300,000 men. It certainly is matter of surprise that

that the troops were so few; the number of prisoners restored to France by the treaty of Paris, in the year 1814, was at least equal to that; and Bonaparte, at the time when he abdicated the throne, had remaining about 80,000 men: so that when he returned from Elba there must have been nearly half a million of regular soldiers in France. How then did it happen that even by Carnot's reckoning there were only about 300,000? It cannot be supposed that the soldiers were unwilling to fight under Bonaparte, under that man whose return they had in fact brought about.

This force, it is evident from the statement which we have given of the opposing force of the allies, was by no means adequate to the support of Bonaparte, even if France had been tranquil and well disposed towards him. But this was far from being the case. In the west, particularly in La Vendée, the royalists were very numerous and daring; they were headed and encouraged by La Roche Jaqueline, of a family long noted for hatred to the revolution and attachment to the Bourbons. Against him it was necessary to send a large force: but it was of little avail; since the royalists, as in former years, knew how to procrastinate the war by taking advantage of the natural strength of the country. In the south, too, the party of the Bourbons was strong; the white flag was flying at Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, &c. The royalists at Bourdeaux were encouraged and animated by the presence of the duchess of Angoulême, who for a considerable time kept possession of that city, in spite of all the efforts of the Bonapartists. But as the troops every where were in favour of Bonaparte, the duchess was at length obliged to leave 1815.

France, and retire to England. Her husband also for some time headed a strong royalist party in the south: but being at length abandoned by his troops, he entered into a treaty with Bonaparte's general, and was permitted to leave the country.

These successes, however, displayed rather the attachment of the troops than of the people to Bonaparte; and there was reason to believe that, if he were unsuccessful, the inhabitants in the south would again rise in favour of the Bourbons. At any rate, in the existing state of France it was in vain to look forward to that enthusiasm and fervour of zeal which animated all classes at the commencement of the revolution.

There were other circumstances unfavourable to Bonaparte. In the first place, his want of success during the campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814, had damped the attachment of the people towards him:—they had been attached to him in spite of his tyranny, in spite of the constant wars in which he had involved them, because he had raised France to a higher pitch of glory, and a higher rank among the nations of Europe, than she had ever enjoyed before. But Bonaparte's return was about to involve them in a war from which all they could hope would be, that the allies would be repulsed in their attack on France: they could look forward to no positive glory, they could not expect that even Bonaparte was able to restore the fame and territories which France possessed at the beginning of the Russian campaign.

But the people of France were indisposed towards Bonaparte not merely on this negative account, but also because by his return their

their country would again become the scene of war. In the height of their enthusiasm in the year 1792, any attempt to deprive them of a sovereign, even though that sovereign had not been the object of their general choice, would in all probability have roused them in his defence: but those days were gone by. In the room of enthusiasm, cold calculation of the calamities of war had taken possession of their minds; and they regarded the allies not so much as making war against them, as against Bonaparte.

In the second place, Bonaparte could not avail himself in the approaching war of those services of his marshals to which he had been accustomed. Some of them had left France with the king: of those who remained in France, some kept aloof from Paris; and in the others who did offer their services he could place little or no confidence. What confidence could he place in Soult, who had been minister of war under Louis, even though he knew that at that very period he was intriguing with himself? Of Ney he could not entertain a much higher opinion.

But these were not the only difficulties to which Bonaparte was now exposed. We have already shown that it is highly probable that the constitutionalists, as they called themselves, were privy to the return of Bonaparte; and that they intended to make use of him as an instrument in their hands to drive out the Bourbons, and to defend France against the allies; but did not intend that he should resume the despotic power which he had before possessed. Bonaparte willingly promised that he would adhere to their plans; he even professed that his principles were changed, that he no longer was desirous of

conquest or of despotic power. The former profession was made in order to blind the allies, and to induce them to permit him to remain quietly on the throne of France: the latter profession was made in order that he might keep well with the constitutionalists as long as they could be of service to him; and that, if possible, he might substitute in the minds of the people at large an attachment towards himself, as the champion of liberty, instead of that attachment which, in the days of his prosperity, they had felt towards him as the hero of France. We shall afterwards have occasion to point out the instances of perplexity and difficulty in which he was involved in consequence of the constitutionalists acting in opposition to his measures and views, as well as the attempts which those persons made, during this short second reign of Bonaparte, to instil the principles of freedom into the constitution of France. At present it may be proper to say a few words with respect to the alleged change in the sentiments and feelings of Bonaparte.

It is alleged that on his return from Elba he was quite a new man;—that the love of conquest and of military glory, that all schemes and wishes of ambition were completely banished from his mind; and that he was sincerely desirous of ruling over France on principles of liberty, and of keeping himself clear from all wars of offence. Now it is evident that, before we can be called upon to believe in this change, we must have most clear and indubitable proof: for let us reflect on what we are called upon to believe;—that Bonaparte, a man who from his very youth was bred up in the midst of military life, should all at once lose his love for that kind of life,

life, and the habits which it occasioned; that Bonaparte, who for fifteen years had been at the head of the French nation, during all which period he had been endeavouring to extend his power, and had displayed most certain proofs that his ambitious and tyrannical appetite only grew with what it fed upon—that this man should all at once cease to be ambitious; that Bonaparte, who even during his disasters in 1812, 1813, and 1814, could not bring himself to be either moderate in his desires or sincere in his professions, should now become moderate and sincere. And all this we are called upon to believe, merely because he had spent a few months in the isle of Elba, during which he was constantly receiving accounts from France, calculated to cherish his hopes and keep alive his former feelings and habits; while those hopes, feelings, and habits, must have been stimulated into most active life by his wonderful march from Cannes to Paris. But why are we called upon to believe in this extraordinary change? why are we called upon to set aside all our experience in human nature, and to believe Bonaparte an exception to the general rule—that long-formed habits are not quickly or easily changed? Simply because he professed that he was changed; because he expressed a wish to live at peace, and his determination to govern the French according to a free constitution. But did he never before declare that peace was his darling object, at the very time that he was meditating war? And with respect to his love of freedom, which, according to his professions, was superadded to his love of peace, was he not constrained to profess that,

in consequence of the circumstances in which he was placed.

The struggle between him and the constitutionalists we shall now proceed to state. Where he yielded to them we may conclude he was influenced by the hope that they would assist him in rousing the people to resist the allies; and they also hoped, by giving the nation a free constitution, they would hold out to them an object for which they would fight.

It was the object of all parties in France, except the royalists, at first to misrepresent the intentions of the allies. For this purpose England had been held out as favourable to the escape of Bonaparte, and Austria as about to sanction and approve it, by permitting the return of the empress Maria Louisa. In conformity with the same plan, the declaration of the allies of the 13th of March was concealed as long as possible from the French people. At length, however, as there were no hopes of peace, it became necessary to rouse and prepare the French for war; and this was to be done by persuading them, in the first place that Bonaparte was sincere in his professions of a peaceable and unambitious disposition; and secondly, by giving them reason to believe that, though the allies professed to be about to make war only against him, yet their object and wish was to dismember France, and to impose on her a sovereign against the wishes of her people.

To accomplish these purposes, every measure was adopted that was likely to have any favourable effect on the French nation. About the middle of April a very long and elaborate report was laid before the emperor. This report began by admitting the alarming fact, that a confederacy against France was

forming in Europe; and in order to prove that this confederacy was unjust, because directed against a man whom France had re-chosen for her sovereign in the most unequivocal manner, the report proceeded to detail the particulars of Bonaparte's march from Cannes to Paris. And certainly it was of such a character as might easily have been pointed to, as establishing his claim to the throne, grounded on the people's dislike, or at least indifference, to the Bourbons, and their choice of him.

Caulincourt, by whom the report was drawn up, next adverted to the circular letter which he had sent to the sovereigns of Europe, announcing Bonaparte's return and resumption of the sovereignty, and his anxious desire to preserve the peace of Paris; and also to the letter which Bonaparte himself had written to those sovereigns. The measures which were taken to prevent the messengers who had the care of these letters from reaching their respective destinations are then censured in strong language, as contrary to the laws and usages of all nations. Being thus deprived of official communication, the minister of France had no other means than the public acts of foreign governments of judging of their intentions.—Caulincourt then proceeds to enumerate those acts, which indicated a hostile intention, and the probable approach of war. The message of the prince regent to the British parliament was of this nature and description. In referring to this message, and the ground on which the prince declared that it would be necessary to go to war with France, Caulincourt adverts to the revolution in 1688, and endeavours to point out a similarity

between the events of that period and what was passing in France. Austria is next adverted to; and her hostile intentions are inferred from the circumstance of the militia having been recalled, the opening of a new loan, and the fall in the credit of her paper money. With respect to Murat king of Naples, what is said in this report is sufficient to prove that at this time Bonaparte was uncertain how he would act, though he was rather apprehensive that he would join the allies. The movements of Prussia were undoubtedly indicative of hostility. Sardinia, entirely in the power of England, had already permitted English troops in her territory to commit hostile acts on the frontiers of France. Even Spain had roused from the habitual lethargy of her government, and, upon the demand of the duke and duchess of Angoulême, had begun to march an army towards the Pyrenees.

In the Netherlands immense numbers of troops were assembling, and in such a position as could leave no doubt that an attack on France from this quarter was meditated. With respect to Russia, her hostile intentions were sufficiently apparent, not only from her having joined in the declaration of the 13th of March, but also from her having stopt the return of the French prisoners, which, by the treaty of Paris, she was bound to restore.

Having thus dwelt upon the hostile aspect of the whole of Europe, Caulincourt proceeds to declare, that it is against France that these armaments are directed, though the allies named Bonaparte as alone in the way of peace: it could not be against the emperor, he infers, because he had offered them peace on terms the most favourable;

yourable; it must be against the French people, since they, by receiving Bonaparte with such general good-will and affection, had, in fact, identified themselves with him. "To fight, in order to re-establish the Bourbons once more, would be to declare war on the whole French population." If the people of France are attached to them, why did they not rally round them when Bonaparte landed? why did they not stop his progress? why did the Bourbons now seek troops from Spain, and England, and Germany, and not from France herself, if France wished their return? Caulincourt concludes the report by stating, that in circumstances so important as those in which France was then placed,—anxious for peace, having done nothing to provoke or justify war, and yet threatened with almost immediate war,—it became absolutely necessary to prepare for the worst, and to take those measures which the preservation of her rights, the safety of her territory, and the defence of her national honour, ought to dictate to France.

Besides this report of Caulincourt, there was read, at the council of ministers, the report of the committee of presidents of the council of state. This report related principally to the declaration of the allies of the 13th of March; and its objects are, in the first place, to ascribe this declaration solely to the French plenipotentiaries at Vienna, or, in other words, to Talleyrand; and in the second place, to prove that Bonaparte ought not to be represented in the character in which he was represented in that declaration.

With respect to this second point, it is singular that, though Bonaparte himself, when he first landed in France, justified his proceedings solely on the ground that France

wished him again, because they were tired and disgusted with the Bourbons, yet in this report Bonaparte's invasion of France is justified on other grounds. Before, however, proceeding to this justification, the report adverts to the punishment which the allies threatened to inflict on Bonaparte; and this, it is concluded, was contrary to the usages of nations. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, Bonaparte was acknowledged to be a sovereign and independent prince: even granting then that he broke that treaty first, by invading France, the mere violation of a treaty ought not to have placed him beyond the protection of the laws. In all other cases, when a treaty was violated, the worst consequence that followed, was a declaration of regular hostilities against the sovereign who broke it. But the report proceeds to contend, that the violation of the treaty of Fontainebleau was first made by the allied powers, by preventing the empress and her son from visiting Bonaparte in Elba; by the Bourbons authorizing or permitting bands of assassins to be organized in France for the purpose of attacking his life; by depriving the empress of those duchies in Italy which had been guarantied to her, by all the allies; and, lastly, by not paying to Bonaparte or his family the sums which, by treaty, they were to receive.

The report, having thus endeavoured to prove that Bonaparte was justified in his invasion of France, proceeds to prove that the French people had a right to discard the Bourbons. France had been treated by them like a revolted country re-conquered by the arms of its ancient masters, and subjected anew to a feudal dominion. The violations of the charter by Louis,

to which we have already adverted, are then dwelt upon. The conclusion of this report was in a strain well calculated to animate and rouse the people of France, if they had not been worn out by such a long continuance of revolutionary changes and movements, and more anxious for peace and tranquillity, than for glory, or even political liberty.

"It was under such circumstances that the emperor Napoleon quitted the isle of Elba: such were the motives of the determination which he took, and not the consideration of his personal interests, so weak with him, compared with the interests of the nation to which he has consecrated his existence.

"He did not bring war into the bosom of France: on the contrary, he extinguished the war which the proprietors of national property, forming four-fifths of French landholders, would have been compelled to make on their spoilers; the war which the citizens, oppressed, degraded, humiliated by nobles, would have been compelled to declare against their oppressors; the war which Protestants, Jews, men of various religions, would have been compelled to sustain against their persecutors.

"He came to deliver France, and was received as a deliverer.

"He arrived almost alone; he traversed 220 leagues without opposition, without combats, and resumed without resistance, amidst the capital and the acclamations of an immense majority of the citizens, the throne deserted by the Bourbons, who, in the army, in their household, among the national guards, were unable to arm an individual to attempt to maintain them there.

"And yet, replaced at the head of the nation which had already

chosen him thrice, which has just designated him a fourth time by the reception it gave him in his rapid and triumphant march and arrival, —of that nation by which and for the interest of which he means to reign, —what is the wish of Napoleon?

"That which the French people wish—the independence of France, internal peace, peace with all nations, the execution of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May 1814.

"What is there then changed in the state of Europe, and in the hope of repose it had promised itself? what voice is raised to demand that succour which, according to the declaration, should be only given when claimed?

"There has been nothing changed, —should the allied powers return, as we are bound to expect they will, to just and moderate sentiments,—if they admit that the existence of France in a respectable and independent situation, as far removed from conquering as from being conquered, from dominating as from being enslaved, is necessary to the balance of great kingdoms, and to the security of small states.

"There has been nothing changed, —if, respecting the rights of a great nation which wishes to respect the rights of all others, which, proud and generous, has been lowered, but never debased, it be left to resume a monarch, and to give itself a constitution and laws suited to its manners, its interests, its habits, and its new wants.

"There is nothing changed,—if, not attempting to compel France to resume a dynasty which it no longer wishes, feudal chains which it has broken, and to submit to seigniorial and ecclesiastical claims from which it has been liberated, it is not wished to impose upon it laws; to intermeddle with its internal

nal affairs, to assign it a form of government, to give it masters in conformity to the interests or the passions of its neighbours.

"There is nothing changed,—if, while France is occupied in preparing the new social compact which shall guaranty the liberty of its citizens, the triumph of the liberal ideas which prevail in Europe, and can no longer be stifled, it be not forced to withdraw itself, in order to combat, from those pacific meditations and means of internal prosperity to which the people and their head wish to devote themselves in happy accordance.

"There has been nothing changed,—if, when the French nation asks only to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition do not compel it, as it did in 1792, to defend its will and its rights, its independence, and the sovereign of its choice."

As Bonaparte was now completely in the hands of those who called themselves constitutionalists, and as it was their decided and declared object to regard him solely as a limited sovereign, and to oblige him to grant such changes in the constitution as should render it more free and popular, he very soon after his arrival at Paris promised an *acte additionnel* to the constitution of the empire. The constitutionalists wished that this act should originate, not with the emperor, but with the people: but to this Bonaparte would not agree. In fact, they found him not nearly so disposed to limit his own power as he had declared he would be, and as they hoped and demanded: but as hostilities were inevitable, they were obliged to yield a little to him, for it was obvious that they could not do without him; and they trusted afterwards, when he had

served their purposes by conquering and repelling the allies, that they should be able to keep his authority within safe and legitimate bounds.

On the 23d of April the *acte additionnel* was published. In the preamble to this act Bonaparte commences by a most deliberate and palpable falsehood, declaring that ever since he held the chief power in France, his favourite object had been to improve the constitutional forms according to the wants and desires of the nation. He next proceeds to gloss over his ambitious projects, by declaring that it had been his object to "organize a grand federative European system, conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization:" this latter object, he acknowledges, had prevented him from attending so particularly as he ought to have done to the protection of the liberty of the citizens. As, however, he had now given up his foreign projects, his only object was to increase the prosperity of France by the confirmation of public liberty. For this purpose the *acte additionnel* was formed, containing a series of arrangements, "combining the highest degree of political liberty and individual security with the force and centralization necessary for causing the independence of the French people to be respected by foreigners, and to the dignity of the crown."

This *acte additionnel* consists of five titles, and of 67 articles. The most important we shall enumerate, as pointing out what were the principles and objects of the constitutionalists.

The legislative power was to be exercised by the emperor and the two chambers. The first chamber, called the Chamber of Peers,

was to be hereditary; the number unlimited, and chosen by the emperor. The second chamber, called that of Representatives, to be chosen by the people; its members 629, to receive for travelling expenses, and, during the session, the pay decreed by the constituent assembly; indefinitely re-eligible; a new election to take place every five years. The emperor's ministers to sit and debate, but to have no vote as such. The sittings to be public. The emperor may prorogue, adjourn, and dissolve the chambers. Government to propose laws; the chambers may amend them.

The second title relates to electoral colleges, and the mode of election. Under this title very few alterations are made in the original constitution: the most important is, that manufacturing and commercial industry and property shall have special representatives.

The third title relates to taxation. The general direct tax is to be voted only for one year; indirect taxes may be voted for several years. No tax can be levied, no loan made, and no men raised for the army, but in virtue of a law. No proposition on these subjects can be made but to the chamber of representatives.

The fourth title relates to ministers, and to the doctrine of responsibility. Every act of government is to be countersigned by a minister: the ministers are to be responsible for acts of government signed by them, as well as for the execution of the laws; they may be accused by the chamber of representatives, and tried by their peers.

The fifth title relates to the judicial power. All the judges are to be appointed by the emperor; but from the moment of their appointment they are irremovable, and for life. The institution of juries

is continued; the discussions on criminal trials are to be public; military offences alone are to be tried by military tribunals; the emperor has the right of pardon.

The sixth title relates to the rights of citizens. Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law, whether for contribution to taxes, or for admission to civil and military employments. No one can be withdrawn from the judges appointed to him by law. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided for by law, and according to the prescribed forms. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all. Every citizen has a right to print and publish his thoughts, on signing them, without any previous censorship; liable, at the same time, after publication, to legal responsibility by trial by jury. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens.

The 67th or last article is to this effect:—The French people moreover declares that, in the delegation which it has made and makes of its powers, it has not meant, and does not mean to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons or any prince of that family on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty; nor the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal and seigniorial rights and titles, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains. It formally interdicts to the government, the chambers and the citizens, all propositions on that subject.

This *acte additionnel* calls for some remarks, even though its existence was merely ephemeral. In the first place, if it were really a free constitution

stitution which it meant to guaranty, how came it that it was granted by Bonaparte? It ought rather to have been made the condition on which he was permitted again to rule over France. In the second place, the 67th article is unintelligible: the French people interdicts to the citizens all propositions on the subject of the restoration of the Bourbons, &c.; but assuredly, if the French nation at any future time preferred the Bourbons, this act could not bind them not to recall them.

Setting aside these objections, however, there is, it must be admitted, much to approve in the *acte additionnel*; particularly in the last title, which relates to the rights of citizens. The political doctrines which it embraces, and the political and civil liberty which it aims at establishing, are much more practical and sound than any which the numerous former constitutions of the French exhibit. It has all the appearance of having been the work of men of cool heads and rational and sober views; and there is no doubt that, if the principles of this act had been carried into practice, it would have secured to the French nation a large portion of liberty.

But it may well be doubted whether this constitution would ever have been any thing more than a dead letter. That Bonaparte could not have been regenerated; that he must still have retained his arbitrary and ambitious principles, feelings, and views, we have already attempted to prove. If then he had been victorious in the struggle, would he not have broken this constitution? and would not the French people, again roused to the fatal love of glory and conquest, have endured his tyranny, or over-

looked it in the splendour of his achievements?

As Bonaparte was anxious by every possible mode to form a favourable contrast between his conduct and that of Louis, one of the first acts of his restored government was to abolish the slave-trade.—In our former volume we adverted to the culpable neglect of Lord Castlereagh in not making a point, in his negotiations with Louis, that it should be instantly abolished. The excuse for the delay was, that the French people would have been ill pleased if the immediate abolition had taken place: yet Bonaparte, though not firmly seated on the throne, abolished it;—and would he have acted so, unless he were certain that thus he would increase his popularity?

The French nation have long been almost proverbially famous for their fondness for show and spectacle. The greatest favour conferred upon them would lose half its value, and would be but ill received, if it were conferred in a plain and simple manner. This national failing Bonaparte and his ministers were determined to indulge and to take advantage of. In the time of Charlemagne, whom he was fond of imitating, and in the reigns of other early French monarchs, assemblies of deputies from the people had taken place, sometimes once and sometimes twice a year. The place near Paris where these deputies assembled still retained the name of the Champ de Mars, from the month in which they most generally took place. In order that the approbation of the nation might be given to the *acte additionnel*, it was determined to have an assembly of this description; but the month of May was fixed upon instead of March.

Great

Great preparations were made for this assembly, and great expectations were entertained, not only regarding its splendour, but also from the indication it would afford of the public spirit, and attachment to Bonaparte. Unforeseen circumstances, however, delayed it longer than was expected or intended, so that it did not take place till the last day of May.

On that day every thing was done that could render the spectacle solemn and imposing: and though from the most authentic accounts the number of real deputies from the departments was extremely small, yet the *tout ensemble* was grand, and such as must have answered in some degree the real object which Bonaparte had in view. "Every thing that could interest and elevate the soul:—the prayers of religion;—the compact of a great people with their sovereign;—France represented by the flower of her citizens, agriculturists, merchants, magistrates, and warriors, collected round the throne,—an immense population covering the Champ de Mars, and joining in vows for the great object of that magnificent ceremony;—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection." Such is the language in which this spectacle is described in the official papers of the French government. But even granting that this were a fair and unexaggerated description, what could be inferred from it respecting the views or feelings of the French people? How often had they before, during the revolution, displayed devotion and enthusiasm at least equal to that which they were now represented to feel!

The emperor's throne was erected in the front of the military school,

and in the centre of a vast semi-circular inclosure, two thirds of which formed on the right and left grand amphitheatres, in which 15000 persons were seated. The other third in front of the throne was open. An altar was erected in the middle: further on, and about one hundred toises distant, was another throne, which overlooked the Champ de Mars.

After mass had been celebrated, the members of the central deputation of the electoral colleges advanced to the foot of the throne; and one of them pronounced an address to Bonaparte in the name of the French people. This address was in the usual style of French harangues; florid in language; boastful in promises and threats; professing the utmost devotion to the emperor; and exaggerating the resources and means of France to oppose the allies.

Immediately after this address, the result of the votes was proclaimed, by which the additional act to the constitutions of the empire was declared to be accepted almost unanimously,—the number of negative votes being only 4206. Bonaparte then signed the act, and afterwards addressed the deputies in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen, electors of colleges, of department, and arrondissement;

"Gentlemen, deputies from the army and navy to the Champ de Mai;—

"Emperor, consul, soldier, I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions.

"Like that king of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization

tion of the promise given to guaranty to France her natural integrity, her honours, and her rights.

"Indignation on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever; the cry of insulted French honour, the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, of the honour, and the rights of the people.

"Frenchmen, in my progress amidst the public joy through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had every reason to reckon upon a long peace; nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be.

"My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty by a constitution agreeable to the wishes and the interests of the people. I convoked the *Champ de Mai*.

"I was soon apprised that the princes who have violated all principles, who have wounded the public opinion and the dearest interests of so many nations, designed to make war upon us. They have it in contemplation to increase the kingdom of the Netherlands, to give it for barriers all our northern frontier fortresses, and to make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among themselves Lorraine and Alsace.

"It was necessary to prepare for war.

"However, before personally exposing myself to the risk of battles, my first care was to give without delay a constitution to the nation. The people has accepted the act which I presented to it.

"Frenchmen, when we have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what

is due to the rights and the independence of 28 millions of French, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the Constitutional Act, shall combine the different dispositions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

"Frenchmen, you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens, that circumstances are arduous!!!—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious, from that struggle of a great people with its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; that a nation has lost every thing when it has lost its independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings whom I raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns; who all, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance and the protection of the French people, are now aiming all their blows at my person. If I did not see that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their disposal this life against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

"Frenchmen, my will is that of the people; my rights are its rights; my honour, my glory, my happiness can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

After this address, Bonaparte took the oath in these terms: "I swear to observe the constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed."

This spectacle was finished by the emperor's giving the eagles to the soldiers of the national guards, and to the soldiers of the imperial guard.

Soon

Soon after the opening of the chamber of representatives, it was abundantly evident that they were actuated by a very different spirit from what had ever before appeared among them during the former reign of Bonaparte; and that, in fact, they regarded him only in the light of the chief magistrate of the state, whom they were not bound to obey, or even respect, except in so far as he conscientiously discharged the duties of his office. In the sitting of the 4th of June this spirit was first made manifest: the chamber of representatives had intimated to Bonaparte their wish to have the official list of the chamber of peers: to this expressed wish an official answer was sent from the minister of the interior, signifying that the list of the peers would not be published till after the regular opening of the session: upon this a member rose with warmth, and proposed that the chamber, in reply to this letter, should declare that it would not constitute itself till the list was communicated. This, however, was over-ruled; and the chamber proceeded to the election of a president. The count Lanjuinais was chosen: several votes were given for La Fayette.—The election of Lanjuinais proved that there was a bold and popular spirit in the chamber; since he on more than one occasion had opposed the former despotism of Bonaparte, and was well known as a real friend to practicable liberty.

In the sitting of the following day, the chamber of representatives again displayed a spirit and tone by no means in unison with the feelings and habits of Bonaparte. The provisional president having announced that he had acquainted the emperor with the nomination of count Lanjuinais, and asked his majesty if he had any thing to commu-

nicate,—to which the answer was, that when he wrote to the chamberlain on duty he would make known his decision,—strong disapprobation was expressed at the idea of Bonaparte communicating with the representatives through the medium of his chamberlain.

Nor were the representatives more disposed to flatter the army. On the motion of Carnot, that to add to the glory and enthusiasm of the armies the chamber should decree that they had deserved well of their country, strong opposition to it was manifest; and a motion for adjournment was carried, on the ground that hitherto they had not done any thing to deserve thanks. But the feelings of the chamber of representatives towards Bonaparte were marked in a still more decided manner in the sitting of the 8th of June. Felix Lepelletier rose and stated, that he was about to propose an act of national equity and justice.

M. Felix Lepelletier.—“I am about to propose an act of national equity and justice. There is not one of us but considers the 1st of March as the day of the salvation of the country. In vain the monarchs of Europe pretend to change our sentiments, as if a nation were not its own master. But, gentlemen, before the departure of the emperor, you will assure him, that you will unite all your efforts, all those of the French people, to his generous exertions for the salvation of the country; and since adulation and flattery have decreed to a prince, who was neither invited nor expected by the French nation, the fair title of *The Desired*, do not you think—[murmurs]—do not you think it but just to decree also a title to the man, who almost without means, confiding in the sentiments of the nation, landed alone on the

1st of March to rescue us from slavery and the feudal system? I demand, therefore, that you declare him *The Saviour of the Country*.—[Cries from all quarters for the order of the day.]—I demand that at the same time you publish an address to the French people." [Here the uproar became so violent, that the president was obliged to ring his bell several times.]

M. Dupin.—"Yes, you are here to preserve, to assist our legitimate emperor, by all the means in your power; but would you suffer the poisoned breath of flattery to find its way already within these walls?" [Continued uproar.]

The President.—"Though the assembly manifests a desire to avoid the discussion of the proposal that has been just made, I am obliged to put it to the vote."

On this the whole assembly rose to pass to the order of the day.

From what we have related regarding the proceedings of the chamber of representatives, it is evident that they were strongly opposed to Bonaparte's resumption of his former power. Some of the members went much further, and indicated in pretty plain language, that in their opinion all titles ought to be abolished, and the government brought as near as possible to the simplicity of a republic: these, however, were by no means prevalent sentiments.

In the sitting of the 13th of June the exposition of the minister of the interior was laid before the chamber of representatives: at all times these annual *exposés* were to be regarded with scruple and distrust; and it is not to be supposed that at this period they would be strictly conformable to the truth. This, however, is a curious and interesting document, as pointing out the hopes of Bonaparte, and the measures which he had adopted, as proofs of

his altered principles and conduct, and as conducive to render him popular. In this view of it we shall notice the most prominent and important parts.

After dwelling on the anxiety of the emperor for peace, and the injustice of the allies in their meditated attack against France, the report proceeds to notice the royalist and republican parties. The former are represented as by no means numerous or formidable. As to the republicans, converted from old errors of which cruel experience made them feel too severely the cruel effects, "they see in the emperor only the protector of the liberal ideas which they have at all times themselves professed, and which excesses alone have prevented them from hitherto seeing realized."

The first head of the exposition related to the communes. It represented, that under the Bourbons the communal administrations had been almost totally abandoned, and the communal funds dilapidated by the journeys of the princes; by the restoration of the woods to the emigrants, &c. &c.

The second head related to the hospitals, which had also suffered much in consequence of losing one of their principal resources by the restoration of property to emigrants, with which they had been endowed by solemn laws.

Under the head of *WORKS*, the *exposé* stated that they should be resumed, but in future they should be exclusively reserved for France.

With respect to *MANUFACTURES*, they were flourishing. The manufacture of sugar from the beet-root, in spite of all the efforts made to destroy it, promised shortly to render Europe independent of the New World for that article; and the indigo procured from woad already rivalled that of India.

Under

Under the title of **INSTRUCTIONS**, it was stated that, though the number both of scholars and colleges had been diminished, yet the university of Paris had still under its direction 825,554 pupils; and the Lyceum displayed the best spirit.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.—In speaking of the clergy, the minister did not attempt to disguise the errors they committed under the last government, in giving way, from the lure of a restitution of church property, to the influence, of emigrants, in stigmatising as plunderers the owners of national property, whose titles had been recognised as legitimate by the Pope himself; and in attempting, in the name of the Almighty, whose servants they are, to light up civil war among men. The emperor, however, was always disposed to protect and even favour the ministers of the church, so long as they confined themselves within the bounds of their duty, and had already conferred on the curates an augmentation of 150 francs, which had been vainly promised to them by the last government. The emperor was, besides, the only sovereign who, having no further interests to arrange with the Pope, had it in his power to put an end to those interminable negotiations commenced by the last government with the court of Rome, and to re-establish, upon the basis of the *concordat*, the liberties of the Gallican church.

JURISPRUDENCE.—This article of the report was extremely short. The minister merely stated, that those civil judges who felt themselves unworthy of their functions, had done justice by abdicating their offices; and that, as far as respected the administration of the criminal law, the establishment of the trial by jury every day merited new approbation; but that in the mean

time some organical institutions were necessary to regulate the duties and diminish the labours of those judicial citizens.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—It was absolutely impossible to follow M. le Comte Regnault through all the details which he furnished on this important topic. The result is, that on the 1st of April 1814 the army consisted of 450,000 men, exclusive of 150,000 prisoners, all veteran soldiers, and of 115,000 conscripts of the levy of 1815, of which 45,000 only out of 160,000 had been raised. The last government, at once prodigal and avaricious, alarmed at its own strength, and essentially hostile to the army, had taken every possible means of diminishing it.

The orator then described the various oppressions to which the army had been exposed, particularly by the introduction of the emigrants, and which had reduced its number to 175,000 men. Since the 20th of March last its number had been raised to 375,000 combatants of every description; and before the 1st of August it would amount to 500,000, independent of the national guards.

THE IMPERIAL GUARD.—This surest bulwark of the throne in times of war, and its finest ornament in time of peace, had a separate article allotted to it in the official report. The minister condemned the injustice with which it was treated by the last government, and announced that it already amounted to 40,000 men.

ARTILLERY.—The losses in this arm had been in a great measure repaired; they were occasioned chiefly by treachery, and especially the delivering up of all the strong places, by order of the count d'Artois, in his capacity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. By

By this single act France had lost 12,000 pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, the value of which is estimated at 200,000,000 of francs. This loss, however, had been entirely supplied; the arsenals, magazines of powder, and armories, were in full activity; and after having armed the national guard and associations, there would remain in the magazines 600,000 muskets in reserve.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE. — The administrative details on this subject were little susceptible of abridgement. The minister, however, asserted that the necessary funds would be easily provided, and no new taxes be required.

NATIONAL GUARD. — This article furnished no information of which the public is not already in possession.

THE MARINE presented considerable resources, notwithstanding the evils produced by treachery, which had not, however, cast any stain upon its honour.

Notwithstanding it was well known in Paris that the allies had resolved on war with France, and that Bonaparte was preparing for that event, yet he carefully avoided in his addresses and official papers, for a considerable time, speaking of hostilities as certain or near at hand. In his first address to the two houses, after they were regularly constituted, though at that period hostilities were in reality begun, and though he noticed the fact that blood had been shed during peace; yet he merely represented it as possible that his first duty might soon call him at the head of the children of the nation to combat for the country.

It is not easy to conjecture the reason that induced him to be so unwilling and backward to announce

the certainty of hostilities, and the absolute necessity that existed of his putting himself at the head of his armies. His delay in setting out from Paris for this purpose, has been supposed to originate from his apprehension that the republican party would take advantage of his absence, and either depose him altogether, or greatly curtail his authority. And it must be confessed that his situation was one of extreme difficulty and hazard. Against France there were collected more numerous armies than had ever marched against a single opponent: and these armies consisted for the most part of the men, and were headed by the generals, who had already once conquered France, and driven him from his throne. Had France, therefore, been even unanimous and zealous in his support, there would still have been ample grounds for apprehension: but she was not so. In the west and south, the adherents of the Bourbons were numerous and active; in many other districts the people were lukewarm: scarcely in any district was there a positive and active disposition in favour of himself. What then would be his fate, if his first efforts were unsuccessful? Would not he be driven from his throne? And if he were successful, had he not reason to apprehend that his authority would still be cramped by the constitutionalists? Was it not evident that they regarded him with a jealous eye; and only endured him because he was a skilful general, not because he was the monarch of their choice?

It was, however, necessary that he should quit Paris, and put himself at the head of his armies. He had indeed declared that he would not strike the first blow: that if war were to be, the blame and injustice

justice of beginning it should rest entirely with the allies: that France must be invaded before he would unsheath the sword. These declarations were made in the hope of rousing the French people; but this hope proving vain, he did not judge it prudent to lose any advantage he might have, merely that he might be able to appeal to Europe as the attacked person.

Of the allies, only the Prussians and the English were as yet on the frontiers of France. If therefore he could gain a signal and decisive victory over them, it would in all probability dispirit the rest, and dissolve the confederacy: especially might these consequences be looked for, if he could defeat the English army. England was the soul of the confederacy: her spirit animated, her money supported it: if therefore her army were defeated, she would not be willing, perhaps not able, to keep together the allies. Besides, under the duke of Wellington she had assembled a very large force, consisting of her best troops: if therefore this general, on whom she prided herself, and this army, yielded to his genius and the superiority of French soldiers, would not the people of England insist on peace, even though the English ministry still continued warlike?

There were still other motives for beginning the attack before the rest of the allies were come up. France evidently had less of that fondness for military glory and attachment to him than she displayed during his last reign. Now by what means would she so probably be re-animated by those feelings as by a signal victory gained by him? The contest no doubt would be obstinate. Between the Prussians and the French there existed a most deadly hatred; a ha-

tred of a personal as well as of a national character. Blucher, who commanded the Prussians, it was well known, was pre-eminent in this hatred: ever since the battle of Jena, he had sworn to free his country. During the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 he had accomplished this object, and had retaliated on France some of the evils which she had inflicted on Prussia: during the latter of these campaigns, by his perseverance principally, the overthrow of Bonaparte had been accomplished. And behold now, this man, the scourge of Prussia, was returned, rendering, at least for the time, all Blucher's great exertions and success of little avail. It may well be supposed, therefore, that Blucher entered the new contest, resolved that the fate of Bonaparte should now be sealed for ever, and that France should be amply punished for her faithlessness. In these feelings he was followed by almost every man under his command; scarcely a single Prussian soldier but what had private wrongs inflicted by the French to revenge. Whose cottage had not been destroyed;—whose land had not been laid waste;—whose mother, or wife, or sister had not been insulted! On the other hand, the French hated those whom they had thus injured: and to this source of hatred were added others. In the first place, they remembered the invasion of France by the duke of Brunswick in the beginning of the revolution; they remembered his manifesto; the evils with which it threatened France! In the second place, they called to mind that France had been overrun by the Prussians in 1814; and this national affront they now perhaps had an opportunity to wipe out.

The feelings of the French and English

English towards each other were different; they were not so savage: but they prompted them in nearly an equally strong manner to wish for combat. The French had been defeated repeatedly by the English in Spain: the English had first proved to Europe that they could be beaten repeatedly, and effectually resisted;—their disasters in Spain might be regarded as the grand source of all their other calamities. French vanity indeed easily found a cause for their defeats in the Peninsula: there they fought under great disadvantages; the people harassed their operations; they were obliged to fight not only against the English, Spanish, and Portuguese armies, but also against the whole population. Besides, the operations of Bonaparte in other quarters prevented him from supplying the war in Spain as he ought, and as it required: and above all, the emperor was not there:—while he was there at the head of his armies, what became of the English? They fled in the utmost confusion; and the battle of Corunna witnessed their disgraceful flight and narrow escape.

The English also were eager for the battle in Flanders. Under the duke of Wellington they had beaten the French armies led on by their most celebrated marshals: but now they would be afforded an opportunity of beating Bonaparte in person. After what they had done, and with their confidence in the duke, they could not doubt what would be the issue; but still they were anxious for the combat.

Such were the motives and objects which induced Bonaparte to resolve on immediately quitting Paris; and such were the feelings of the hostile armies towards each
1815.

other. Bonaparte also considered the scene of approaching action as in a high degree favourable to him. The Belgians still retained their attachment to the French, which certainly had not been weakened by their union with Holland: if, therefore, he should be decidedly victorious in the first battle, he had reason to hope that the people of the Netherlands would rise in his favour;—and would not their example, preceded by a great victory, rouse in France itself a more enthusiastic feeling than had as yet displayed itself?

At half-past three o'clock on Monday morning, the 12th of June, Bonaparte quitted Paris. According to his usual custom, he travelled with great rapidity, reaching Soissons by ten o'clock that morning, and Laon by three in the afternoon. The day before, his army had been reviewed at Maubeuge.

On Sunday the 11th, the day before he left Paris, deputations from the chamber of peers and the chamber of representatives waited upon him. The address of the former and the reply of the emperor to it present nothing remarkable: but the address of the chamber of representatives and his reply to that, deserve insertion, as affording additional proofs of the boldness of the representatives; of the ideas of liberty which they entertained; of the hopes respecting the issue of the contest which they indulged; and of the feelings and principles which Bonaparte deemed it prudent to express on this occasion.

“Sire,—The chamber of representatives received with profound emotion the words which proceeded from the throne at the solemn sitting, when your majesty, laying down the extraordinary power
X which

which you exercised, proclaimed the commencement of the constitutional monarchy.

"The chief bases of that monarchy, the protectress of liberty, equality, and the happiness of the people, have been recognised by your majesty, who, rising above all scruples, as anticipating all wishes, has declared that the care of collecting our scattered constitutions, and of arranging them, was one of the most important occupations reserved for the legislature. Faithful to its mission, the chamber of deputies will perform the task thus devolved upon it: it requests that, to satisfy the public wish, as well as the wishes of your majesty, national deliberation should rectify, as speedily as possible, any thing defective or imperfect that the urgency of our situation may have produced, or let to exist, in our constitutions considered as a whole.

"But at the same time, sire, the chamber of representatives will not show itself less anxious to proclaim its sentiments and its principles as to the terrible contest which threatens to cover Europe with blood. In the train of disastrous events, France invaded, appealed for a moment listened to, as to the establishment of a constitution, only to see herself almost immediately subjected to a royal charter emanating from absolute power, to an ordinance of reform always revocable in its nature, and which, not having the expressed assent of the people, could never be considered as obligatory on the nation.

"Resuming now the exercise of her rights, rallying around the hero whom her confidence anew invests with the government of the state, France is astonished and afflicted at seeing some sovereigns in arms

call her to account for an internal change which is the result of the national will, and which attacks neither the relations existing with other governments, nor their security. France cannot admit the distinctions with the aid of which the coalesced powers endeavoured to cloak their aggression. To attack the monarch of its choice, is to attack the independence of the nation. It is armed as one man to defend that independence, and to repel, without exception, every family and every prince whom men shall dare to wish to impose upon it. No ambitious project enters the thoughts of the French people; the will even of a victorious prince will be insufficient to draw on the nation beyond the limits of its own defence: but to guard its territory, to maintain its liberty, its honour, its dignity, it is ready for any sacrifice.

"Why are we not still permitted to hope, sire, that these warlike preparations, formed perhaps by the irritation of pride, and by illusions which every day must weaken, may still disperse before the want of a peace necessary to all the nations of Europe, and which shall restore to your majesty a spouse, to the French the heir of a throne? But blood has already flowed; the signal of combats, prepared against the independence and liberty of France, has been given in the name of a people who carry to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of liberty and independence. Doubtless, among the communications which your majesty promises us, the chambers will find proofs of the efforts you have made to maintain the peace of the world. If all these efforts must remain useless, may the calamities of war fall upon those who shall have provoked them.

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"The chamber of representatives only waits for the documents announced to it in order to contribute with all its power to the measures which the success of so legitimate a war will require. It delays pronouncing its resolves only till it knows the wants and resources of the state; and while your majesty, opposing to the most unjust aggression the valour of the national armies and the force of your genius, will seek in victory only one means of attaining a durable peace, the chamber of representatives will deem that it marches towards the same object, by incessantly labouring on the compact, of which the improvement must cement the union of the people and the throne, and strengthen, in the eyes of Europe, by the amelioration of our institutions, the guarantee of our engagements."

His majesty replied :—

"Mr. president, and gentlemen deputies of the chamber of representatives,

"I recognise with satisfaction my own sentiments in those which you express to me. In these weighty circumstances my thoughts are absorbed by the imminent war, to the success of which are attached the independence and the honour of France.

"I will depart this night to place myself at the head of my armies; the movements of the different hostile corps render my presence there indispensable. During my absence I shall see with pleasure a commission appointed by each chamber engaged in deliberating on our constitutions.

"The constitution is our rallying point; it must be our pole-star in these stormy moments. All public discussion, tending to diminish directly or indirectly the confidence which should be placed in its enactments, will be a misfortune to the state; we should then find ourselves at sea, without a compass and without a rudder. The crisis in which we are placed is great. Let us not imitate the conduct of the lower empire, which, pressed on all sides by barbarians, made itself the laughing-stock of posterity, by occupying itself with abstract discussions at the moment when the battering-ram was shaking the gates of the city.

"Independently of the legislative measures required by the circumstances of the interior, you will probably deem it useful to employ yourself on organic laws destined to put the constitution in motion. They may be the object of your public labours without any inconvenience.

"The sentiments expressed in your address sufficiently demonstrate to me the attachment of the chamber to my person, and all the patriotism with which it is animated. In all affairs my march shall be straight forward and firm. Assist me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the engagement, which I renew, of employing in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown, and the little experience I have acquired, in seconding you in the amelioration of our constitutions."

CHAPTER XIX.

Proceedings of Louis XVIII. at Ghent—State of Advance and Preparations of Bavaria—The German States—Spain—Russia—Austria—Conduct of Murat—attempts to rouse the Italians—War between him and Austria—defeated—Naples taken—Fate of Murat and his Wife.

WE must now advert to the situation of Louis XVIII. at Ghent. The allies had resolved that he should unite with them in their invasion of France, provided he had any troops to bring; but none did join him, and he was able to second their efforts in his own cause only by his proclamations, and by keeping alive the spirit of loyalty in La Vendée, &c.

On the 24th of April he addressed a manifesto to the French nation. It began with stating that it had been the first care of the king to instruct his ambassadors to represent to foreign courts the real course of events and condition of things in France, that France might not be calumniated, dishonoured, exposed to unjust contempt and unmerited indignation. This had been done; for according to this manifesto, Europe was persuaded that the whole French nation, with the exception of the army and a very few voluntary accomplices, "have followed and recalled the king, with all their wishes have imprinted on all his footsteps a new homage of gratitude, a new oath of fidelity." How could it indeed be otherwise? Who shall dare contradict the king, when he swears before God and before his people, that "since the day when Providence replaced him on the throne of his fathers, the constant object of his wishes, his thoughts,

his labours, was the happiness of all Frenchmen; the restoration of his country more dear to him than that of his throne; the re-establishment of internal and external peace; that of religion, justice, laws, morals, credit, commerce, arts; the inviolability of all existing property without any exception; the employment of all virtues and all talents, without any other distinction; the present diminution of the most burdensome taxes, until their approaching suppression: in fact, the establishment of personal and public liberty; the institution and perpetuity of a charter which guarantees for ever to the French nation these invaluable blessings?"

The manifesto next adverts to the declaration of the allied powers of the 13th of March, declaring Bonaparte the enemy of the civilized world, and pledging themselves, while they engaged religiously to respect the integrity of the French territory and the independence of the French character, never to lay down their arms till the irrevocable destruction of his pernicious power. Louis next proceeds to state that the allies had in fact acknowledged him as the only legitimate sovereign of France, by sending their ambassadors to reside where he was, and by requiring his accession to the new compact which they had signed. He next again

again adverts to his love of the French, and to his devotion to their cause and happiness: "He would at this moment sacrifice himself for you, did not his sacrifice, instead of securing your peace, leave you exposed to a more terrible war: a foreign invasion would be substituted for a foreign support. Europe has resolved upon the destruction of a power incompatible with European society. And how in such a conflict would foreigners, if left to themselves, distinguish among you the victims of tyranny from its accomplices?—But let France will it, and France will have only friends in a league in which her king has been requested to take part, and in which he has taken part."

"Frenchmen, the king who has always been near you, will always be with you. His majesty, the day on which he shall set foot on his territory again, will make known to you in detail his salutary intentions, and all his measures of order, justice, and wisdom.

"Frenchmen, whom Louis XVIII. is about to reconcile a second time with Europe; inhabitants of those good cities, whose affecting wishes daily reach the king, and encourage him to accomplish them; Parisians, who now grow pale at the sight of that very palace whose walls alone so lately spread serenity on your countenances; who, every morning, during a year, came thither to salute Louis XVIII. with the name of Father, not with voices subjugated by terror or sold to falsehood, but with the cry of your hearts and your consciences: national guards, who on the 12th of March swore to him with so much ardour to live and die for him and the constitution; you who have preserved him in your hearts; you who would have seen

him in your ranks, had treason permitted those ranks to be formed,—prepare all of you for the day when the voice of your prince and of your country shall summon you to the duty of aiding the one and saving the other."

The manifesto concludes with adverting to the elections going on in France. It says, "Doubtless, if it were possible for these elections to be national, the scrutinisers faithful, and the voices free, the new Champ de Mai would make the illegality of its principle disappear in the loyalty of its wishes. Its first cry would be a new consecration of that alliance sworn nine centuries ago, between the nation of the Franks and the royal house of France, and perpetuated for nine centuries between the posterity of those Franks and the posterity of their kings: the true French nation would never wish either to perjure its ancestors, nor perjure itself. But what can you expect from an usurper, or from those who have ensanguined or defiled all that they have ever touched; who have made objects of derision or horror every thing that ought to be the object of veneration and love; who would disgrace, were it possible, even the names of country, liberty, the constitution, laws, honour, and virtue?"

On this manifesto we shall offer only two remarks. In the first place, it is very strikingly observable that the language of all addresses to the French nation, whether proceeding from Bonaparte or Louis, are deeply tinged with the same faults: their language is pompous and inflated; their statements exaggerated; little is addressed to cool reason and sober judgement; almost the whole to feeling and passion. In the second place, Louis, by so

frequently and strikingly dwelling on the charter, and on the inviolability of property, evidently is sensible, that he had not been acting during his reign as he ought to have acted, with respect to these points.

This manifesto was probably drawn up by the viscount Chateaubriand: it has all the faults and all the excellencies of his style and manner. He also drew up about the same time a report on the state of France. This report is important and interesting, as exhibiting a strong contrast with the report laid before Bonaparte. The first head of this report relates to the acts and decrees for the interior. Under this head the reporter contrasts the benedictions that followed the king on his departure, with the gloom that was caused by the return of Bonaparte:—he remarks on the system of official lying: the proclamations of Bonaparte, promising the return of the golden age, &c. If Bonaparte abolishes the excise, he only undoes his own work:—By what right, among a free people, does he alter the mode of levying the taxes prescribed by the law?

On the decree for calling out the national guards are the following remarks:—

“You, sire, abolished the conscription, and thought you had for ever delivered your people and the world from that scourge. Bonaparte has just restored it only under another shape, and avoiding its odious name. His decree as to the national guards is one of the most frightful and monstrous things which the revolution up to this moment has produced: 3,130 battalions are designated at the rate of 720 men each; they form a total of 2,253,600. As yet, indeed, only 240 battalions,

chosen from the grenadiers and light infantry, have been rendered moveable, representing 172,800 men. He is not yet strong enough to cause the rest to march, but it will come in time, with the aid of the grand machine of the Champ de Mai.

“This immense haul embraces the whole population of France, and comprehends what the levies in mass and the conscriptions never included. In 1793 the convention dared to take only seven years, the men between eighteen and twenty-five. They now march all from twenty to sixty, discharged or not discharged; married or unmarried; those with substitutes or those without; guards of honour, volunteers,—all, in short, are enveloped in this general proscription. Bonaparte, tired of decimating the French people, means to exterminate them at one blow. It is hoped, by the terror of the police, to compel the citizens to enrol themselves. Happily, sire, material facts and moral influence contribute to diminish the danger of this disastrous conscription. There remain but very few muskets in the arsenals of France: in consequence of the invasion of last year, several manufactories of arms were dismantled or destroyed. Pikes are capable of being fabricated speedily enough to be put into the hands of the multitude; but this arm furnishes little resource. As to that valour which, with Frenchmen, supplies the place of all arms, it is certain that the national guards will not employ it against your majesty. All the moral force of France and the torrent of public opinion are absolutely for the king. In many departments, the national guards will not rise at all, or will only form with extreme difficulty: in fine, the citizen, oppressed by
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the soldier, will less readily submit to be subjugated, if arms are given him; and Bonaparte, instead of pouring a people who hate him into an army which he has seduced, will perhaps lose a devoted soldiery in a hostile population."

The second head relates to the exterior. Under this head are stated the attempts made by Bonaparte to deceive foreign powers by the hopes of peace, while at the very same time he was flattering his army with the recovery of Belgium, the natural boundary of the Rhine and Italy. The question of foreign interference is also stated and argued under this head.

The third head of the report relates to reproaches made to the royal government. Under this head the reporter shows the reproaches concerning the lavish expenditure to be wholly groundless; and endeavours to justify the non-payment of Bonaparte's allowance in Elba, because he had immense debts in France.—The Bourbons are accused of having wished to lessen the glory of the army; and yet foreigners have accused the emigrants of being proud of those very victories which prevented them from returning to their own country.

The last head of the report relates to the spirit of Bonaparte's government.

The reporter shows the embarrassments of Bonaparte, the collision of parties, none of them strong enough to establish a separate authority, and bound together only as long as their common interests require it; while Bonaparte flatters all by turns, and prepares the grand manœuvre of the Champ de Mai. He deduces the inference that both the army and the people will soon become sensible that they have been

equally betrayed; that the strength of Bonaparte diminishes as that of the king increases; and that the latter will shortly return to this country, will carry back happiness with him; and that all his subjects, both innocent and guilty, will find their salvation by throwing themselves into his arms or at his feet.

"But, sire, while I am endeavouring to lay before your majesty a picture of the internal state of France, the picture is no longer the same; to-morrow it will change again, however rapidly I might sketch it, and it would be impossible for me to follow the convulsive emotions of a man agitated by his own passions and by those which he has so foolishly excited. The publication of the additional act has deprived him of his remaining accomplices; attacked on all sides he retreats, he withdraws from his extraordinary commissioners the nomination of the mayors of the communes, and gives it to the people. Frightened by the multiplicity of negative votes, he abandons the dictatorship, and convokes the representatives by virtue of this very additional act, which is not yet accepted. Thus driven from shoal to shoal, he turns himself a hundred different ways to elude his engagements, and to seize again the power which is escaping from him; scarcely delivered from one danger, he meets a new one. These sudden changes, this strange confusion of all things, announce what we may call the dying agonies of despotism: tyranny worn out, and on its decline, still retains the inclination to do evil; but it seems to have lost its power."

Such were the employments of Louis and his ministers during his exile at Ghent. But though in his

manifesto and in the official report he represented the majority of the French nation (or rather the whole French nation with the exception of the army and a very few individuals,) as hostile to Bonaparte and warmly attached to himself, yet it was evident that he looked for his re-establishment on the throne to his allies alone, not to his subjects.

These allies indeed were collecting a force that might well appeal Bonaparte, and infuse into the mind of Louis the most sanguine hopes of speedy and decisive success.

When we reflect that the landing of Bonaparte took place in the beginning of March, and that at this time nearly all the allied troops had returned to their respective countries, we shall be willing to admit that their assembling near the frontiers of France by the beginning of June could not have been effected, unless the allied sovereigns had been very zealous and quite sincere in the cause in which they were about to embark, and to that zeal had united uncommon activity and promptitude. Yet, after all, it is undoubted that some of them were much more warm and zealous in the cause than others. Britain was the life-spring of the whole confederacy, not merely because without her money their armies could not have been set in motion; but because she gave a strong tendency to their movements by the zeal which she displayed. Saxony, as we have already remarked, was more than lukewarm; her sovereign had adhered to Bonaparte during the campaign of 1813 to his own loss; and the Saxon troops, indignant at the division of their country, naturally looked with a favourable eye towards Bonaparte. The king of Bavaria owed much

to the French empire; and both from old antipathies and from clashing interest, as well as from having gained the Tyrol, was coolly disposed towards Austria: but none of these feelings were suffered to show themselves, or to influence his conduct on this occasion: he had indeed, after the battle of Leipsic, done essential service to the cause of the allies against Bonaparte; and on the present occasion his troops were brought forward extremely well equipped, and under excellent generals. The other German states, also, now felt it not only to be their bounden duty, but their plain and undoubted interest to assist the allies by all the means in their power: they knew that they had sinned against Bonaparte to such an extent, that they could hope for no forgiveness if ever he again possessed the power to injure them: of course they deeply felt the necessity of aiding the other allies in their endeavours to crush him before he was firmly established in France.

Of all the countries on the continent of Europe, the Peninsula had suffered from Bonaparte the most flagrant imposture, and the most dreadful injury: hence it was supposed that from Spain and Portugal there would come against France, though not the best-disciplined or the most numerous armies, yet undoubtedly the most inveterate. But neither of these kingdoms stepped forth in the common cause of Europe: the king of Spain indeed put forth a proclamation, more remarkable for its dullness and length than for any other quality; and after this proclamation, the invasion of the south of France by a Spanish army was repeatedly threatened; but no such army crossed the frontier till the fate

fate of Bonaparte was decided; and then it crossed it solely for the purpose of obtaining a subsidy from Britain. Indeed Spain, as we shall afterwards show, was in no condition to act against France: the little energy she had displayed in freeing herself from the French armies was entirely done away; and Ferdinand was too much occupied in punishing his real friends, and in the offices of the most degrading superstition, to attend to the career of Bonaparte.

More was naturally expected from Portugal. That country had been, if possible, more indebted to Great Britain, than even Spain, for her liberation from French tyranny: it was supposed, therefore, that at the request of Britain the Portuguese regency would most cheerfully agree to send the troops of that nation against France. They were not needed at home: they had attained to a high degree of discipline and bravery through the exertions of British officers:—a feeling of gratitude towards Britain, of revenge against France, ought to have united with a sense of their own interest, to have induced the Portuguese regency to have acted in union with the allies on this important occasion. But when application was made to them, on the part of the British government, to send part of the Portuguese army into France, they absolutely refused their assent; alleging as an excuse, that without the authority of the prince regent of Portugal they could not permit any troops to leave the kingdom.

The emperor Alexander was actuated by a very different spirit: all the resources of his mighty empire were put in requisition with a promptitude and celerity truly astonishing, when we consider its

immense extent, and the great deficiency which exists in it with respect to mutual communication. From the confines of the Wall of China troops were drawn: the Cossacks, who had been so useful in the Russian campaign, and who during the invasion of France in 1814 had inspired such terror, were again called forth. The emperor Alexander himself again took the field; and as he is extremely popular with all the tribes of his empire, his presence gave undoubted assurance that the Russians would worthily act their part in the great drama which was about to be performed.

By some persons the emperor of Austria was not regarded as so zealous and warm in the cause as the other allies: it was supposed that he would not be unwilling again to see his son-in-law on the throne of France; or, at least, that he was desirous of seeing his grandson seated there. Such suspicions were strengthened when the Austrian troops, instead of marching to the frontiers of France, bent their steps towards Italy. At first there seemed no reason for this movement, unless the emperor of Austria were lukewarm in the cause of the allies: for it was supposed that Murat saw too clearly that it was his interest to keep well with them, and that on this account he would not join Bonaparte. Besides, it was well known that Bonaparte and Murat, since the Russian campaign, were not on the same friendly terms as prior to that event. Murat, too, had displayed great anxiety to stand well with the allies, and to be acknowledged as king of Naples by them, especially by the emperor of Austria and by Great Britain; and the former had actually acknowledged him, while the latter had gone so far as to enter into an amicable

cable adjustment with him. These alliances, however, were on the express condition that he should give up his connexion with Bonaparte.

But Murat was a man of very unstable mind: destitute of good principles, he did not even possess in lieu of them clear views of policy and of his own interest: he was a man of wonderful courage in the field, but in the cabinet totally destitute of firmness or consistency: not having any fundamental notions of his own to direct his conduct, he was exposed to the influence of all around him. In Naples there were two parties, both attached to Murat, but entertaining very different ideas respecting the line of conduct which he ought to pursue: one of these parties was decidedly of opinion that, though the allies for the moment might acknowledge Murat, and suffer him to enjoy the throne of Naples, yet that ultimately they would drive him from it as soon as they had no further occasion for his services, and could find a decent pretext for making war against him. This party, of course, strongly advised him to unite with Bonaparte. The other party, entertaining different views respecting the intentions of the allies towards Murat, wished him to confine himself entirely to the administration of his own government: they considered the interests of Bonaparte and Murat, of Italy and France, as totally distinct; and they moreover argued, that it ought to be the careful and open policy of Murat, not only not to connect himself with Bonaparte, so as to give offence or cause a jealousy to the allies, but also to strengthen his power by gaining the affections of his own subjects, and by increasing the strength and resources of Naples, so that, if the allies did at any

time break with him, he might be able to cope with them on more advantageous terms.

Murat, unfortunately for himself, after much fluctuation of opinion and vacillation of conduct, resolved to assist Bonaparte. This he could only do by making a diversion in his favour in the north of Italy, so as to call off the Austrian troops to that quarter. As it was evident, however, that Naples alone could not supply him with a sufficient number of troops to cope with Austria, it became necessary to endeavour to rouse the rest of Italy in his favour.

Accordingly, on the 31st of March he addressed a proclamation to the Italians, which seemed calculated to rouse them. This proclamation began by calling on the Italians to unite in their endeavours to drive from among them all foreign power. Having a country so admirably defended by nature, which had also marked out their limits, would they quietly permit strangers to rule over them? He reminded them of their ancient glory; he did not wish them again to endeavour to conquer the world, as their ancestors the Romans had done; but he trusted they would expel the foreigner who had passed their boundaries, and force him to confine himself within his own. He assured them that he was marching to their assistance with 80,000 Italians of Naples, who had sworn never to rest till Italy was free. "The question to be decided is, whether Italy shall be free, or shall remain for ages under the yoke of slavery? Let the struggle be decisive; and we shall have established to a distant period the happiness of our fine country." He then adverts to the part which England was likely to take. "England, can she

she refuse you her suffrage?—that nation, which held out to all others the model of a national and constitutional government;—that free people, whose fairest title to glory, is to have shed its blood and its treasures for the independence and liberty of nations! In the concluding paragraph of this proclamation, he adverts more distinctly to the kind of national independence which he wished the Italians to form. "Italians, you must put a period to so many calamities; arise and march in the closest union. At the same time that your courage shall assert your external independence, let a government of your choice, a true national representation, a constitution worthy of you and of the age, guaranty your internal liberty and protect your property. I invite all brave men to come out and combat with me: I invite all enlightened men, who have reflected on the wants of the country, that in the silence of the passions they prepare the constitution and laws which must in future govern happy and independent Italy!"

At first Murat seemed rapidly advancing to the completion of his object. The Roman territory was entered by him, and fell under his power without resistance; thence he advanced northward, and occupied the country nearly as far as the Po. But notwithstanding this success, the Italians did not join him in any considerable numbers, or display much zeal in his favour. Several causes probably co-operated towards this. There can be no doubt that the majority of the inhabitants of the north of Italy were very averse to the Austrian government, and were moreover extremely desirous that their country should form one state, under the government of an Italian prince. But

they could not look on Murat without suspicion and alarm: he was *not* an Italian: What right therefore had he to inveigh against foreigners ruling in Italy?—did not he, a foreigner, rule in Naples? And how did he acquire this throne? Was it not by the very same means that Austria had acquired possession of the north of Italy?—by conquest! Had he not been the intimate friend and the favourite general of that man who, under the pretext of freeing nations from tyranny, had imposed on them a still more hateful and oppressive tyranny? If they acted as Murat wished them, and by a junction with him drove the Austrians beyond the Alps, was it not likely that he would annex the north of Italy to his kingdom of Naples? Was it not suspicious that Murat should be preaching up liberal notions on the subject of government?—All these considerations must have weighed with them.

But there were other causes. Murat did not bring forward nearly the number of troops which he mentioned in his proclamation: he had indeed been successful; but why?—because he had not hitherto been opposed by the Austrians. But if the inhabitants of the north of Italy joined him, and he was defeated by the Austrians, what would be their fate? Would it not be much worse than it was at present?

The rapid advance of Murat, therefore, unsupported as it was by any rising of the people; was disadvantageous to him; for he was thus drawn away from Naples, from his resources and supplies; and in case of defeat it was scarcely possible that he should be able to regain his own territory. -

In the mean time the Austrian forces

forces were collecting under marshal Bellegarde, who on the 5th of April addressed a proclamation to the Italians. In this he reminds them that Murat was a foreigner; and yet he affects a language towards the Italians, which an Alexander Farnese, an Andrew Doria, or the great Trinilgio could scarcely have held towards them. Had it not been for this enterprise of Murat, Italy might have remained at peace: but he, without declaration of war, for which he was unable to assign any just motive, against the faith of his treaties with Austria, to which alone he owes his political existence, threatens again with his armies the tranquillity of this fine Italy. His promise of Italian independence is represented as quite in unison with all the measures of the revolution.—The proclamation then adverts to the benefits which the north of Italy had received from the house of Austria: hence it is, that in Lombardy and Tuscany “the immortal names of Maria Theresa, of Joseph, and of Leopold, are still recollected with sentiments of admiration and gratitude.” In the conclusion, marshal Bellegarde contrasts the promises of the French revolutionists when they first entered Italy, with what they actually did. “Your too ready credulity to the promises of French democracy has already caused your ruin: be now more prudent, because with the experience of the past your folly will be more serious: and cooperate under all circumstances with the docility of your character,—with that reflection the fruit of intelligence, and that attachment to your sovereign, so worthy of your heart, for the maintenance of order, and the defence of your country and of the throne.”

As soon as the Austrian army came into contact with the Neapolitan troops, the latter gave way in all directions; and though Murat displayed the greatest bravery, and used every exertion to rally his panic-struck army, yet it was quite evident that no reliance could be placed upon them, and that his fate was decided. Of course he was obliged to retreat as soon as this took place. Baron Frimont, to, whom marshal Bellegarde had assigned the active operations of the campaign, divided his forces, sending part of them to follow the Neapolitans on the route to Ancona, while another part were dispatched to intercept the line of their retreat. In the mean time the party of king Ferdinand showed themselves in great strength in Naples: some English men-of-war were threatening the capital with a blockade, and fresh bodies of Austrians were on the march to complete the overthrow of Murat. On the 11th of May a British squadron reached the bay of Naples, and compelled the surrender of the Neapolitan fleet and arsenals: on the 16th captain Bruce, of the Berwick, proceeded to blockade Gaeta; and on the 18th lord Exmouth proceeded from Civita Vecchia to take his station in the bay of Naples. On the 20th the war was closed by a military convention, by which the kingdom, its fortresses, arsenals, military force, and resources, were surrendered to the allies, to be returned to the lawful sovereign of the country, Ferdinand the Fourth.

As soon as Ferdinand re-ascended his throne, he issued a proclamation to the Neapolitans, which deserves to be recorded here, as breathing sentiments highly to his credit, and which, if he acts upon them, must render his subjects
more

more happy than they were under his former dominion, and consequently his throne more stable and permanent.

"At length I reascend the throne of Naples. Every thing concurs to make my return happy. Your unanimous wishes recall me. The general wish of the great powers renders justice to my rights. The firm and vigorous assistance of my august allies animates and supports me.

"I put myself in march at the head of an army, not like usurpers, to deceive and disturb nations, or like adventurers, to carry off, in the disorder of the tempest and the shipwreck, that which the calm could not procure for them. I return to the bosom of my dear family: I bring to it consolation and peace: I come to restore its ancient serenity, and to efface the recollection of all past evils.

"No: you are not made to carry the flame of revolt among those who are not your enemies. You are not made to debase yourselves by that sort of greatness which is born of destruction and of terror. The history of your ancestors is far more glorious. You, descendants of the Bruttians, the Campanians, and the Samnites, you should cause to tremble those foreign disturbers of your prosperity and your internal tranquillity: but never could you be the instruments of their artifices. Your children should not perish in frozen climates. It is for you alone to enjoy your substances, the fruits of your labours, and the produce of your happy climate.

"Neapolitans, come and throw yourselves into my arms. I was born among you; I know, I appreciate your habits, your character, and your manners. I desire only to

give to you the most striking proofs of my paternal love, and to make the new period of my government the most fortunate epoch of the well-being and happiness of our common country. One single day should dissipate all the misfortunes of many years. The most sacred, the most invariable pledges of moderation, of gentleness, of reciprocal confidence, and of entire union will be the guarantees of your tranquillity.

"Neapolitans, second with all your efforts an enterprise whose object is so great, so just, so benevolent, and which enters into the common cause of Europe, of which all enlightened nations have undertaken the defence with immense forces.

"I promise you that I will not preserve the least recollection of all the faults committed by whatever person, without any exception, against the duties of fidelity towards me, during my absence from this kingdom, at whatever time committed, whether after my first or second departure. An impenetrable and eternal veil shall cover all past actions and opinions.

"With this view I promise, in the most solemn manner, and on my sacred word, the most complete, most extensive, and general amnesty, and an eternal oblivion.

"I promise to preserve to all individuals, Neapolitan and Sicilian, who serve in the armies by land or sea, all the pay, the rank, and military honours which they now enjoy.

"May God, the witness of the rectitude and sincerity of my intention, deign to bless them with success!

"FERDINAND."

Palermo, May 1, 1815.

Murat's fate after he was hurled from the throne of Naples was soon

soon brought to a crisis: it is not accurately known by what means, or at what period, he effected his escape from Italy, nor whither he first bent his course. In a short time, however, he made his appearance in the island of Corsica, where he attempted to excite an insurrection; but his attempts either were in vain, or intelligence from Italy again roused his hopes, and induced him to embark on a most rash enterprise. For with a very few followers he landed on the Neapolitan territory, and by the inhabitants of the very first village which he entered he was seized, and delivered to the Neapolitan government. By their orders he was treated as a rebel; and without even the form of a trial he was shot. He met his fate with great fortitude. His wife was sent after the surrender of Naples into the Austrian territory, where she still resides.

That Murat's character had been deeply marked by cruelty, especially by the massacre of Madrid at the beginning of Bonaparte's attempt against the independence of Spain, all must acknowledge. At the same time it is but justice to him to remark, that during the short period of his reign over Naples he did much to benefit that fine portion of Italy. The great faults and vices of the Neapolitan character were extreme indolence, the want of enterprise and ambition, excessive ignorance and superstition, and a large portion of Italian cowardice and cruelty. To eradi-

cate these he used all his endeavours; and, by the testimony of travellers who had seen Naples under Ferdinand and under him, he had been tolerably successful. If therefore he could have rested content, and had not suffered himself to have been made the tool of Bonaparte, it is highly probable not only that he would have been suffered to retain the throne of Naples, but that he would have effected a great reform in the character of the Neapolitans. Britain had no reason to exert herself in favour of the old dynasty, since the conduct of the queen of Naples in Sicily had for many years been hostile to the views of Britain, and most strongly favourable to Bonaparte; and there was reason to believe that even Ferdinand and his subjects did not feel all the gratitude towards Britain which her exertions and sacrifices on their behalf justly entitled them to expect.

The indifference with which the fate of Murat was viewed affords a striking proof how soon the public mind becomes callous, because habituated to great and sudden reverses. Half a century ago the fate of Theodore, who called himself king of Corsica, though he merely had the semblance of kingly power over a small and barren island, excited more interest than the fall of Murat did. It may be added, however, that the approaching war between Bonaparte and the allies called off public attention and interest from the dethronement of Murat.

CHAPTER XX.

Commencement of Hostilities in the Netherlands—Prussian Outposts driven in—Battle of Ligny—Battle of Waterloo—Rejoicings in England on account of it—Allies march to Paris—Attempts to stop them, and to defend the Capital—Proceedings of the Chamber of Representatives—Bonaparte abdicates—Provisional Government attempts to treat—Convention of Paris—Restoration of Louis—Fate of Bonaparte.

THE movements and operations of the French army, as soon as Bonaparte joined it, were extremely prompt, and marked by that military talent for which he was distinguished. At the same time three large armies, one from Laon, at the head of which was the emperor himself; that of the Ardennes, commanded by general Vandamme; and that of the Moselle, under the command of general Girard, breaking up from their respective cantonments by a simultaneous and admirably planned, as well as executed, movement, united on the frontiers of Belgium. On the 14th of June Bonaparte addressed his assembled army in his usual strain of impressive and almost eloquent rhodomontade. The day on which he issued this proclamation was the anniversary of his victories at Marengo and Friedland. It was thought that he would have fixed on this day to have commenced hostile operations, if not to have fought a pitched battle; but though he was extremely attached to *fortunate* days, yet in this instance, certainly, he showed that prudence weighed more with him than this attachment; for on the 14th of June he could not have begun hostilities with any chance of success. He therefore contented himself with issuing a proclamation. In this he recalled to the minds of his troops the battles of Marengo,

Friedland, Austerlitz, and Wagram, on all of which occasions he told them he had been too generous to his defeated foes; and what was the consequence?—they were again under arms against him; but then they had a new opportunity of signalizing themselves, and he trusted they would not neglect it. He reminded his soldiers of their victory over the Prussians at Jena, and he told those who had been prisoners in Britain, that they must now fight well, otherwise they would again be exposed to the evils which they had endured in that country. He concluded by assuring them that they had the good wishes of the Hanoverians and Belgians, each of whom would take the first opportunity of manifesting it.

The duke of Wellington, notwithstanding he had used his best endeavours to learn the arrival of Bonaparte at his army as soon as it took place, was certainly not early informed of that event, and yet it was of the utmost consequence that he should be so; for in consequence of the want of provisions, and especially of forage, he had found it absolutely necessary to disperse his army very much. The British cavalry were as far off as the banks of the Dender; the Prussians occupied the line of the Sambre, and consequently were nearest the enemy. As it was impossible

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to know at what point Bonaparte would commence the attack, it was necessary also on this account to spread the British and Prussian forces over a wide space: they were however so posted, as to afford the means of quick combination and mutual support.

The duke of Wellington's headquarters were at Brussels, and certainly the appearance of the French upon the Sambre was an unexpected piece of intelligence there. The advance of Bonaparte was as bold as it was sudden. The second corps attacked the outposts of the Prussians, drove them in, pursued them, crossed the Sambre, and advanced for the purpose of intercepting the Prussian garrison at Charleroi. At the same time, the light cavalry of the French following the second corps as far as Marchienne, turned to the right, after crossing the Sambre, and pushed along the left bank as far as Charleroi. In consequence of this rapid and unexpected movement, Charleroi was taken before the Prussians had time to destroy the bridge. The third division occupied the road to Namur, and the rest of the army were stationed between Charleroi and Gosselies. The Prussian garrison of Charleroi retired on Fleures, where Blücher was concentrating his army. On the morning of the 16th the French troops, which had hitherto remained on the right of the Sambre, crossed that river.

As soon as this was effected, Bonaparte resolved to attack the Prussians and British at the same time. The left wing of his army, consisting of the first and second corps and of four divisions of cavalry, was now under the command of marshal Ney. Bonaparte directed him to march upon Brussels by the way of Gosselies and Frumes, while the

centre and the right wing, with the imperial guards, under the immediate command of Bonaparte, marched to the right towards Fleures against Blücher.

The intelligence of Bonaparte's movements reached Brussels on the evening of the 15th, at which time the duke of Wellington and most of his officers were at a ball given by the duchess of Richmond. Instant orders were issued that the garrison of Brussels should move out to meet the enemy; and at the same time the cavalry, artillery, and guards, who were stationed at Enghien, were directed to move in the same direction. Among the first to muster in Brussels, were the 42d and 92d Highland regiments; they had become great favourites in that city. They were so domesticated in the houses where they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see the Highland soldiers taking care of the children, or keeping the shop of his host. They thus gained on the affections of the honest Flemings, who had been so little accustomed to witness and experience such mildness and good behaviour in soldiers, that they doubted the valour of these troops. They were so *domes* (they said)—a word equally intelligible and expressive in the French and Scotch languages,—that they could not believe they would be a match for the ferocious soldiers of Bonaparte; and they grieved to think that men to whom they had become so attached, should be exposed to the almost certain destruction to which they were marching. But the Highlanders soon proved that, if they were gentle as lambs in quarters, they were fierce and unconquerable as lions in the field. They assembled with the utmost alacrity to the well-known martial air

air "Come to me and I will give you flesh,"—an invitation to the wolf and to the raven, for which they were going to prepare an ample feast.

At Frasnes the corps under Ney drove in some Belgian troops. This position it was of the utmost importance to regain, as it was on the line between the villages between Sarta-Mouline and Quatre Bras;—the latter was the point where the highway from Charleroi to Brussels is intersected by another road nearly at right angles. Both these roads were absolutely necessary for the safety of the allies: by the first they communicated with Brussels, and by the latter with the right of the Prussian army at Amand. The road to Brussels on the right hand of the English position was skirted by a wood, along the edge of which was a hollow way. The French were aware that if they could gain possession of this wood they might debouche upon the Brussels road. The prince of Orange made every effort to defend it; but the Belgians under his command again gave way, and the French were successful in occupying the post. At this critical moment, the division of Picton, of which the 42d and 92d formed a part, the corps of the duke of Brunswick, and the division of the guards from Enghien, came up, and entered into action. The guards under general Maitland were ordered by the duke of Wellington to drive the French out of the wood. After sustaining a most destructive fire from the enemy, who were in fact concealed by the wood, the guards rushed upon them with the most determined resolution. The French still fought behind every tree, every bush, every ditch: at last they were entirely driven
1815.

out of the wood. But they attempted again to obtain possession of it; and thus, for the space of three hours, was the conflict kept up, till at the end of that time the guards retained undisputed possession of this important post, which commanded the road to Brussels.

In the mean time general Picton with his brigade was fighting at his station near the farm-house of Quatre Bras. The French here had the advantage of rising ground, while the British, sunk to the shoulders among the tall rye, could not return their fire with equal advantage. The French cavalry next charged in a most desperate manner; and in order to resist them, it was necessary for each British regiment separately to throw itself into a solid square. But the approach of the French being concealed from the 42d by the nature of the ground and the rye, among which the latter were placed, it was unable to form a square in the necessary time; in consequence of which two companies were cut to pieces by the cavalry.

But this was only partial success; for the result of these various attacks was, that the French were compelled to retreat in considerable confusion and with great loss. Ney therefore was obliged to re-establish himself in his original position at Frasnes. In this battle the British loss was very severe: several regiments were reduced to mere skeletons; many valuable officers fell, among them the duke of Brunswick and colonel Cameron.

In the mean time the contest between Bonaparte and Blucher was going on. Blucher occupied a strong position on a line where three villages built upon broken ground served each as a separate
Y redoubt,

redoubt, defended by artillery and infantry; his right wing occupied the village of St. Amand, his centre Ligny, and his left Sombref. The ground behind these villages was considerably elevated; a deep ravine in front of this elevation. The villages were in front of the ravine, and masses of infantry were stationed behind each. Here were three corps of Blücher's army amounting to 80,000 men; the fourth corps, under the command of Bulow, was cantoned near Liege. The force with which Bonaparte advanced to the attack of Blücher amounted to about 100,000 men.

The battle began at three in the afternoon by a furious cannonade from the French, under the cover of which the third corps, commanded by Vandamme, attacked the village of St. Amand. The Prussians defended it most gallantly; but the French, charging with the bayonet, succeeded in gaining possession of it, and established themselves on the church and church-yard. As this village was the key of their right wing, the Prussians made several desperate attempts to regain it. Blücher put himself at the head of a battalion, and was so far successful as again to occupy one end of the village, and the Prussians regained possession of part of the heights behind it. The combat raged with equal violence at the village of Ligny, which was repeatedly lost and regained. "Each party was alternately reinforced from masses of infantry disposed behind that part of the village which they respectively occupied. Several houses inclosed with court-yards, according to the Flemish fashion, formed each a separate redoubt, which was furiously assailed by the one party, and obstinately made good by the

other. It is impossible to conceive the fury with which the troops on both sides were animated. Each soldier appeared to be avenging his own personal quarrel, and the slaughter was in proportion to the length and obstinacy of a five hours combat, fought hand to hand, within the crowded and narrow streets of a village." A cannonade was carried on at the same time; but in consequence of the exposed situation of the Prussians, their masses being drawn up on the ridges behind the village, they suffered much more from the artillery than the French, who were sheltered by the lower grounds.

Before the battle began, Bonaparte had stationed the first corps of infantry, and a division of the second corps, so as to be a reserve either for his own army or that of marshal Ney. As he entertained no doubt that the marshal by this time had completely succeeded against the British; and as he was doubtful whether he himself could retain possession of St. Amand, he ordered this reserve to move to the right, to assist in the attack on this village. But before it came up, Vandamme had gained complete possession of St. Amand, and Gérard had obtained possession of Ligny. Marshal Grouchy, however, was still endeavouring to carry Sombref, the left of the Prussian line, which was defended by the Saxon general Thielman. The Prussians, though they were driven from the villages in front of the hills, maintained themselves upon the hills, where they were anxious for assistance either from the British, or from their own fourth division under general Bulow. But the British were completely occupied at Quatre Bras; and Bulow's arrival was delayed

layed in consequence of the length of his march and the badness of the roads.

Bonaparte, thus master of two of the positions of the Prussians, resolved to complete his success by one of those skilful and daring manœuvres which characterized his tactics. In the village of Ligny, which fronted the centre of the Prussian line, he drew up the imperial guards, which he had hitherto kept in reserve. Eight battalions of these troops formed into one solid column,—supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, and the horse grenadiers of the guard,—traversed the village at the *pas de charge*, threw themselves into the ravine which separates the village from the heights, and began to ascend them, notwithstanding a dreadful fire of grape and musketry from the Prussians. Their advance however was not stopped, nor even in the smallest degree shaken by this fire; but boldly coming up the heights, they made such an impression on the masses of the Prussian line as threatened to break through the centre of their army; the French cavalry, at the same time, charging and driving back that of the Prussians. Blucher perceiving that the exposure of his own person was now absolutely necessary, headed a charge against the French cavalry; but it was unsuccessful, and his horse being shot under him in his retreat, both the French and Prussians passed over him as he lay on the ground. “An adjutant threw himself down beside his general to share his fate; and the first use which Blucher made of his recovered recollection was to conjure his faithful attendant rather to

shoot him than to permit him to fall alive into the hands of the French. Meantime the Prussian cavalry had rallied, charged, and in their turn repulsed the French, who again galloped past the Prussian general as he lay on the ground, covered with the cloak of the adjutant. Blucher was then disengaged and remounted, and proceeded to organize the retreat, which was now become a measure of indispensable necessity.”

As the Prussian artillery could not be easily withdrawn, a considerable number of pieces fell into the possession of the French. In their retreat they took the direction of Tilly; and the next morning were followed by general Thielman with the left wing, which now formed the rear guard of the army. The fourth corps under Bulow having at last joined, the head quarters were established at the village of Wavre, ten miles behind the place from whence they had retreated. During their retreat, they had not suffered much, as it had been conducted in a most admirable manner; but in the battle their loss was very great, probably not less than 20,000 men, or one fourth of the whole that were engaged.

After his success at Quatre Bras, the duke of Wellington was proposing to follow up his advantage by attacking Ney at Frasnes; when on the morning of the 17th he received the news that Blucher had been defeated on the preceding day, and was in full retreat. The duke was accordingly obliged to fall back also, and to take up such a position as might enable him to maintain his communications with the right wing of the Prussians. He accordingly resolved upon retreating towards Brussels; and this

was done in the most perfect order, the rear being protected by the cavalry under the earl of Uxbridge.

Bonaparte, after the defeat of Blücher, which he seems to have considered as much more fatal and decisive than it actually was, determined to turn nearly his whole force against the duke of Wellington; leaving only Grouchy and Vandamme, with about 25,000 men, to hang upon the rear of Blücher, so as to prevent his assisting the British. On the 17th Bonaparte put his troops in motion to pursue the British, whom at first he expected to have found in their position of Quatre Bras. The day was very stormy and rainy, a circumstance highly favourable to the retreating army; as the roads broken up by their artillery were nearly impassable. The French cavalry were obliged to march through fields of standing corn, whence their rapid movement was rendered extremely difficult. They once or twice attacked the rear guard, but received so severe a check from the life guards and the Oxford blues, that they afterwards left their march undisturbed. The duke of Wellington was apprehensive that he would have been attacked in passing the narrow streets of the village of Genappe; but the French were in no condition to molest him. He therefore continued his retreat till he arrived at the village of Waterloo, where he took up a position on the road to Brussels. When he had made his arrangements for the night, he established his head quarters at a petty inn in this village, about a mile in the rear of the position of the army. The men slept upon their arms, on the ridge of a gentle declivity, chiefly covered with corn. The French occupied

a ridge nearly opposite to the position of the English: the villages in the rear being filled with their soldiers. Bonaparte established his head quarters at Planchefort, a small village in the rear of the position.

Bonaparte did not expect that the British would await the issue of a battle in the position they had taken up; and when the dawning of the morning of the 18th of June showed him his enemies still on the heights, and apparently determined to maintain them, he could not suppress his satisfaction, and while he stretched his arms towards their position, as if to grasp his prey, he exclaimed, "*Je les tiens donc ces Anglois.*"

The road from Brussels to the village of Waterloo passes through a dark wood, called the forest of Soignées: beyond Waterloo, the wood is not so thick; and at an extended rise, about a mile from Waterloo, called Mount St. John, the trees almost entirely disappear. Along this ridge the British forces were drawn up in two lines: the second, which lay behind the hill, was in some measure sheltered from the enemy. The first line, which was composed of the choicest troops in the duke of Wellington's army, occupied the top of the hill, and were defended on the left partly by a large ditch and hedge, which ran in a straight line from Mount St. John. From this hedge, two farm-houses take their name: the first, which is situated in advance of the hedge, and at the bottom of the declivity, is called La Haye Sainte; the other, placed at the extremity of the farm, is called Ter la Haye. The ground at the latter is woody and broken, so that it afforded a strong point at which

to terminate the British line upon the left. The duke of Wellington kept up a communication by his left with the Prussian army, by a road running from Ter la Haye towards the passes of St. Lambert. The centre of the British was stationed at the village of Mount St. John, on the middle of the ridge, where the great causeway from Brussels divides into two roads, one branching off to Nivelles, and the other going straight forward to Charleroi. The house and farm-yard of La Haye Sainte was occupied by a body of Hanoverian sharp-shooters. The right of the British extended along the hill, and occupied the road to Nivelles, as far as Hougomont, where, turning rather backward, its extreme right rested upon a deep ravine. The ground in front of the British position sloped down to lower ground, forming a sort of valley, varied by many gentle sweeps and hollows. The ground then rises again to a ridge opposite to that of Mount St. John, and running parallel to it at the distance of about 1400 yards. On this ridge the French were posted. The valley between the two armies is entirely open, and at this time was chiefly covered by a tall and strong crop of corn. In the centre of the valley, however, considerably to the right of the British centre, was the Chateau de Goumont or Hougomont. On one side of this was a large farm-yard; and on the other a garden fenced by a brick wall. The whole was surrounded by tall trees. This position afforded a strong *point d'appui* to the right wing of the British: since, while it was retained, the French could not possibly succeed in any attack upon the extremity of this wing.

Early in the morning of the 18th

numerous bodies of French cavalry occupied the ridge of La Belle Alliance, opposite to that of Mount St. John: it was hence expected that the engagement would begin in this quarter; but this appearance was merely to conceal Bonaparte's design, who meditated a general attack with infantry and artillery. Of this the duke of Wellington was apprised by a French officer who deserted from the French army. As soon as the duke perceived that a battle would take place, he sent an officer to Bulow's corps, which was then endeavouring to pass the defiles of St. Lambert. This officer brought back intelligence that the best spirit animated the Prussians, and that they would join the British as soon as they possibly could.

Bonaparte, at the commencement of the engagement, posted himself on a high wooden observatory, which had been erected a few months before by direction of the king of the Netherlands: he afterwards removed to the high ground in front of La Belle Alliance, and at last to the foot of the slope on the road to Brussels. He was attended by his staff, and squadrons of *service*, destined to protect his person: he issued all orders and received all reports in person. The first attack of the French was against the British right wing, at the post of Hougomont, and the high road to Nivelles. Against Hougomont they were partially successful: a body of sharpshooters of Nassau Ussingen, to whom the grove had been confided, abandoned their post; and the chateau itself must have fallen, had it not been for the determined resistance of a detachment of the guards, to whom its defence was intrusted. By the retreat of the sharpshooters,

Hougoumont was, during great part of the action, an invested position: and had it not been for the walls, and deep and strong ditches, with which the garden and orchard were surrounded, it could hardly have been maintained. The place was most furiously assailed from without, and most resolutely defended from within: the troops in the garden firing through the holes which they had made in the garden wall, and through the hedge of the orchard.

But though the French could not carry this post; yet, as the British troops in it were no longer in communication with the rest of the army, the cavalry of the enemy were enabled to get round it, and attack the right British wing. Such was the impetuosity of their charges, that the light troops, who were in advance of the British line, were driven in, and the foreign cavalry, whose duty it was to have supported them, gave way on all sides. The first troops who stood their ground against this attack were the black Brunswick infantry: they were drawn up in squares,—each regiment forming a square by itself—not quite solid, but nearly so. The distance between these squares was sufficient to draw up the battalions in line, when it was judged necessary: and the “regiments were posted in reference to each other, much like the alternate squares upon a chess-board.” This was the case with most of the British regiments, as well as the Brunswickers. It was therefore impossible for a squadron of cavalry to push between two of these squares, without being assailed at the same time by a fire in front, and on both flanks. The Brunswickers stood the charge of the French cavalry with great coolness and intrepidity, opening

their fire against them with great readiness and rapidity. The artillery, at the same time, which was excellently served, made dreadful havoc in the squadrons of cavalry. The enemy, notwithstanding, still pressed on; or, if their attacks were suspended, it was only to allow their artillery, which was placed within the distance of 150 yards, to play upon the solid squares. After the most desperate efforts on the part of the French to drive back the British right wing, and to establish themselves on the road to Nivelles, the battle slackened in this quarter.

In the mean time it raged with nearly equal fury towards the left and centre of the British line. On the village of Mount St. John, and along the high road between it and La Belle Alliance, Bonaparte poured his columns of infantry and cavalry, under a dreadful fire of artillery. The position of the British was partly defended from this attack by its natural character; for the second line was posted behind the ridge of the hill, while the first line derived some shelter from a straggling hedge—the same which gives the name to the farm of La Haye Sainte. The French, probably conceiving that the position of the British was actually stronger than it was, hesitated to advance to the attack—when they were themselves charged and overwhelmed by the British cavalry, who, dashing through the gaps in the hedge, formed, charged, and dispersed the battalions that were advancing upon their line. At this time our troops suffered severely; but certainly no other troops could have stood as they did: even the German legion were unequal, on this occasion, to sustain the shock of the French cavalry.

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The crisis was important; the British light horse were not equal to combat with the ponderous and sword-proof cuirassiers, or even with the lancers. At this period sir John Elley obtained permission to bring up the heavy brigade, consisting of the life guards, the Oxford blues, and the Scotch greys: with them he made a most tremendous charge. The cuirassiers and their horses were actually rode down, and trodden literally to pieces. The issue of this part of the conflict was, that the French cavalry was completely beaten off, and a great proportion of their attacking columns of infantry, amounting to about 3000 men, threw down their arms, and were made prisoners.

The contest, however, was by no means decided: it raged indeed with unabated fury in all the other parts of the field: it had paused in some degree upon the centre and left, but only to be renewed with double ferocity on the right wing. The attack here was re-commenced by successive columns of cavalry. The Belgian horse again gave way, and galloped from the field in great disorder. The British advanced line of guns was now stormed by the French; and the artillerymen were ordered to retire within the squares of the infantry:—thus three pieces of cannon fell for the time into the hands of the enemy. After gaining them, the French cavalry rode furiously up and down the small squares of British infantry, seeking some point where they might break in upon them, but in vain. In the mean time a brigade of British horse artillery opened its fire upon the French cavalry: the latter retreated repeatedly, but it was only to advance with new fury. As often as they retired, the British

artillerymen rushed out of the squares where they sheltered themselves, and began again to work their pieces. On the part of the French, a most wonderful degree of bravery was displayed in this part of the battle—and on the part of the British, at least an equal degree of bravery, united with much more coolness. “Amid the infernal noise, hurry, and clamour of the bloodiest action ever fought, the British officers were obeyed as if on the parade: and such was the precision with which these men gave their fire, that the aide-de-camp could ride round each square with perfect safety, being sure that the discharge would be reserved till the precise moment when it ought regularly to be made. The fire was rolling or alternate, keeping up that constant and uninterrupted blaze, upon which it is impossible to force a concentrated and effective charge of cavalry. Thus, each little phalanx stood by itself, like an impregnable fortress, while their crossing fires supported each other, and dealt destruction among the enemy, who frequently attempted to penetrate the intervals, and to gain the flanks, and even the rear of these detached masses. The Dutch, Hanoverian, and Brunswick troops maintained the same solid order, and the same ready, restrained and destructive fire, as the British regiments with whom they were intermingled.”

But though the French had hitherto not been able to break the British line, yet the situation of the latter was critical. It has been already mentioned that the duke of Wellington had posted all his best troops in front: these had suffered dreadfully, so that it became necessary to bring forward troops from the second line. These were not

of equal quality, and some of them were found unequal to the task. The duke himself "saw a Belgian regiment give way at the instant it crossed the ridge of the hill, in the act of advancing from the second into the first line: he rode up to them in person, halted the regiment, and again formed it, intending to bring them unto the fire himself. They accordingly shouted *En avant!* *En avant!*—but as soon as they crossed the ridge of the hill, and again encountered the storm of balls and shells, they went to the right-about once more, and fairly left the duke!! Upon this he brought up a Brunswick regiment, who kept their ground with more steadiness, and behaved very well. Again the French assaulted the centre and the left, and with increased fury. The farm-house of La Haye Sainte, which lay under the centre of the British line, was at last stormed by the French. It had been most gallantly defended by the Hanoverian sharpshooters while they had a cartridge remaining, or could keep up the unequal contest with their bayonets through the windows. The entrance of this farm-house fronted the high road; and as this was in possession of the enemy, it was impossible to send in a supply of ammunition by this way; and, unfortunately, the commanding officer did not think of making a breach through the back part of the wall. All the Hanoverians who were in it were put to the sword. The enemy, however, gained little real advantage by forcing the farm-house, as the British artillery on the ridge completely commanded it.

The carnage at Hougoumont was more dreadful than in any other part. The French, unable to gain possession of it, at last had re-

course to shells, and set fire to the chateau, in which many of the wounded were burnt to death. The garden and the court-yard were still defended by the guards, and the enemy in vain repeatedly attempted to dislodge them. At this period of the battle, the duke of Wellington exposed his person "with a freedom which, while the position of the armies and the nature of the ground rendered it inevitably necessary, made all around him tremble for that life on which it was obvious that the fate of the battle depended. There was scarcely a square but he visited in person, encouraging the men by his presence and the officers by his directions. Many of his short phrases are repeated by them as if they were possessed of a talismanic effect. While he stood in the centre of the high road in front of Mount St. John, several pieces were leveled against him, distinguished as he was by his suite, and the movements of the officers who came and went with orders. The balls repeatedly grazed a tree on the right hand of the road, which tree now bears his name. 'That is good practice,' observed the duke to one of his suite, 'I think they fire better than in Spain.' Riding up to the 95th when in front of the line, and even then expecting a formidable charge of cavalry, he said 'Stand fast, 95—we must not be beat—what will they say in England?' On another occasion, when many of the best and bravest men had fallen, and the event of the action seemed doubtful, to those who remained, he said, with the coolness of a spectator who was beholding some well-contested sport, 'Never mind, we'll win the battle yet.' To another regiment then closely engaged, he used a common sport-

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ing expression, 'Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest.'

Still the French persevered; and though repulsed in every point, continued their attacks with such impetuosity, that the squares began to assume the appearance of a great reduction of numbers. "One general officer was under the necessity of stating that his brigade was reduced to one third of its numbers, that those who remained were exhausted with fatigue, and that a temporary relief of however short a duration was a measure of peremptory necessity." 'Tell him,' said the duke, 'what he proposes is impossible. He, and I, and every Englishman on the field must die on the spot which we now occupy.' "It is enough," returned the general: "I and every man under my command are determined to share his fate."

The duke of Wellington now began most anxiously to look for the promised assistance of the Prussians. The combat had lasted the greater part of the day, but they did not yet appear:—unless they soon came up, it would be physically impossible—for the moral courage of his troops was not in the least diminished—for his army to keep their station. Blücher, in the mean time, was not idle; but his army had great and unforeseen difficulties to encounter, before a junction with the British could be effected. As early as between three and four o'clock in the morning, the 4th division of the Prussian army began to threaten the right wing of the French: Bonaparte, having foreseen and apprehended this movement, had provided against it; for there was a body of reserve opposed to Bülow the moment he began the attack. In the mean time

the main army of the Prussians was pushing forward to join Bülow's corps; but as they had to pass many very bad roads—bad at any season and under any circumstances—but particularly bad after the late heavy rains, and for the passage of such an immense force—their march was extremely slow and difficult. The Prussian rear under the command of general Tauenzien was followed by the French division under Vandamme and Grouchy: the Prussians did not halt till they reached the villages of Wavre and Bielge on the river Dyle: here they resolved if possible to maintain themselves. Grouchy was ordered to dislodge them: the contest was long and obstinate; at last the French drove the Prussians from both their positions. In the mean time the main Prussian army under Blücher was pushing on as fast as possible through the defiles and bad roads which divided him from the British army. The day had nearly closed, however, before his army was seen coming from the wood, upon the flanks of the contending armies. It has been said that Bonaparte at first mistook the Prussian army for the division of the French under Grouchy; but this seems hardly possible: it is much more likely that he only declared this to be his opinion, in order to inspire his own troops: it is certain, however, that he believed that Grouchy was following close upon the Prussians: but that general, after having driven his opponents from Bielge, was still there, anxiously expecting orders from the emperor to improve his success. Bonaparte's mistake, whichever it was, proved very disadvantageous to him; and indeed fatal, so far as respected his chance of covering his retreat; for under the belief, either that

that the Prussians were in fact Grouchy's division, or that they were followed by Grouchy, he would not provide for a retreat, even when it was undoubted that the battle was lost.

The only chance—and that a desperate one—which he had of retrieving his affairs, was by bringing up the reserve of the imperial guard: these amounted to nearly 15,000 men; and having been posted on the ridge of La Belle Alliance, or behind it, had never been engaged, or exposed to any loss. About seven in the evening, Bonaparte having formed his resolution, left his position on the heights in the rear of the line, and, descending from the hill, placed himself in the midst of the highway fronting Mount St. John, and within about a quarter of a mile of the English line: here he was in a great measure protected from the balls by the banks, which are of considerable height on each side. It is said that he caused his guard to pass before them, assuring them that the English cavalry and infantry were annihilated, and that their efforts were only wanted to seize or silence the artillery: he concluded by pointing to the causeway, and exclaiming "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." The guards immediately raised a shout of "*Vive l'Empereur*," caused probably, in part, by the natural and pleasing expectation that Bonaparte himself would lead them on to victory: and this shout, which was distinctly heard by the British, induced them to believe that the emperor himself was coming against them. But he had no such intention. In their advance, to the charge, the imperial guard rallied the broken and dispirited troops. "But the repeated repulses of the

French had not been left unimproved by the English. The extreme right of the line, commanded by general Frederic Adam, under lord Hill, had gradually and almost imperceptibly gained ground after each unsuccessful charge, until, the space between Hougomont and Braine la Larde being completely cleared of the enemy, the British right wing, with its artillery and sharpshooters, was brought round from a convex to a concave position, so that the British guns raked the French columns as soon as they *debouched* upon the causeway for their final attack." The artillery also did great execution on this particular occasion, as well as throughout the whole of the day; for it was uncommonly well served, and they had received express orders not to fire upon the French artillery, but to reserve their fire in all cases for the infantry and cavalry. On this occasion they opened up a most destructive fire. "Those who witnessed its effects describe it, as if the enemy's columns kept perpetually advancing from the hollow way, without ever gaining ground on the plain, so speedily were the lines annihilated as they came into the lines of the fire." Notwithstanding all this, however, the imperial guard still continued to advance; but their courage was evidently decreasing gradually: as soon as they reached the ridge, the British soldiers, who had lain on the ground for the purpose of avoiding the fire of the enemy's artillery, were now ordered to rise, "Up, guards, and at them," cried the duke of Wellington, who was then with the brigade of guards. They needed no second bidding: in an instant they were up, they rushed on the foe with the bayonet,—the affair was decided. The charge was made

made in deep line, not, as in columns, with three cheers. The imperial guards were within twenty yards, when every one of them turned his back and fled: they could not face a British bayonet. The decisive moment was now come: the duke of Wellington and his brave followers were now to reap the grand and well-earned reward of all their fatigue:—the Prussians were advancing on the right wing of the enemy;—the imperial guard in their retreat, increased the dismay and confusion of the rest of the army: the duke immediately gave orders for the British troops to form line, and assume the offensive. The line was formed four deep, and, supported by the cavalry and infantry, rushed down the hill, and up the opposite bank, with a fury, that rendered the confusion of the enemy completely irretrievable.

Bonaparte now perceived that all was over. In the intoxication of anticipated success, he had totally neglected all the usual means of providing against defeat and its consequences: he had no resource to retreat upon; no strong place behind which his broken army could rally: indeed he seems to have given no directions to his generals respecting what was to be done in case he were defeated. He had literally set his all upon the hazard of a die. While the battle lasted, he had discharged the duty of an able general; but now his character was to be damned, even in the opinion of his own troops. They had been disappointed, because he did not head the imperial guard. "When he observed them recoil in disorder, the cavalry intermixed with the foot, and trampling them down, he said to his aide-de-camp, '*Ils sont*

mêlés ensemble;' then looked down, shook his head, and became, according to the expression of his guide, pale as a corpse. Immediately afterwards, two large bodies of British cavalry appeared in rapid advance upon each flank; and as the operations of the Prussians had extended along his right flank, and were rapidly gaining his rear, Bonaparte was in great danger of being made prisoner. He then pronounced the fatal words, 'It is time to save ourselves!' and left to their fate, the army, which that day had shed their blood for him in such profusion."

In the mean time, the opposition made by the French army gradually and sensibly diminished: headed by the duke of Wellington himself, with his hat in his hand, the British line advanced in front with the utmost spirit and intrepidity, while the Prussians made their attack upon the flank. The British were not stopped one moment by the fire of the enemy from 150 pieces of artillery; but rushing on, the guns were deserted, and fell into their possession. The disorder of the French now became dreadful: the first line, in utter confusion and dismay, was flung back on the second: the line of retreat was encumbered by baggage-waggons, artillery-carts, guns, &c.

The British, however, were too fatigued to continue the pursuit very far; when luckily the Prussians, nearly quite fresh, with all their cavalry, fit for instant and rapid operation, pushed against the flying enemy. "The march and advance of the Prussians crossed the van of the British army, after they had attacked the French position about the farm-house of La Belle Alliance; and there, or near

to

to that spot, the duke of Wellington and prince marshal Blücher met, to congratulate each other upon their joint success, and its important consequences." "Here too the victorious allies of both countries exchanged military greeting—the Prussians halting their regimental band to play 'God save the king,' while the British returned the compliment with 'Three cheers to the honour of Prussia.'" As the night was extremely light, the French found no refuge, and experienced as little mercy from the exasperated Prussians. Their retreat every instant became more calamitous; the officers were deserted or disobeyed by the men; all discipline was neglected; every thing was thrown away which could impede their flight; no attempt was made to rally, till the fugitives came to the village of Genappe; but as soon as the Prussian artillery opened, or even the sound of a Prussian trumpet was heard, the flight was recommenced, under the impression of greater terror than before.

But the greatest glory of the British, and that which will raise them above all other troops, even higher than the courage which won the victory of Waterloo—was yet to come. They remained on the field of battle, and the villages adjacent. "Be it not forgotten, that after such attention to their wounded companions as the moment permitted, they carried their succour to the disabled French, without deigning to remember that the defenceless and groaning wretches who encumbered the field of battle in heaps, were the same men who had displayed the most relentless cruelty on every temporary advantage which they obtained during this brief campaign. They erected

hutsover them to protect them from the weather; brought them water, and shared with them their refreshments."

Such a victory could not be achieved without great loss on the side of the conquerors: that of the duke of Wellington's army could not be less in killed and wounded than 20,000; that of the enemy was much greater: in fact, with the exception of the divisions under Vandamme and Grouchy, the French army, either by actual loss, by dispersion, or by total want of discipline, was utterly destroyed. For some time the duke of Wellington seems to have felt the loss at which this victory was gained, much more than the splendour and advantages of the victory itself. "Believe me, he afterwards said, that nothing except a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won. The bravery of my troops has hitherto saved me from that greater evil: but to win even such a battle as this of Waterloo, at the expense of the lives of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune, were it not for its results to the public benefit." His grace not only did justice to his own troops on this occasion, attributing the victory entirely to their steady and persevering courage; but he did justice to Bonaparte, declaring that he had done all he could,—all that an able general could possibly do,—and that he himself had never been so nearly beaten, never had had such occasion to use all his efforts to obtain a victory.

The consternation and alarm which prevailed in Brussels during the battle can hardly be imagined;—it cannot be described. As soon as the intelligence of the victory reached them, the city was almost deserted,

deserted; the inhabitants of all classes, rich and poor, and of both sexes, vying with one another in their endeavours to assist the wounded: and it is remarkable, that they relieved the British, especially the Scotch, even before their own countrymen. The inhabitants who before the battle had had Highlanders quartered on them went to the field of battle and sought them out; if they found them alive and well, they rejoiced at their escape;—if dead, they mourned over their fall;—and if wounded, they had them conveyed to their own houses, and nursed them as if they had been their children.

Vague rumours regarding a battle between the allies and Bonaparte, in the Netherlands, reached England some days before official intelligence of the victory of Waterloo arrived. When that intelligence was received, and especially when it was ascertained that the victory was one of the most splendid, and certainly the most decisive, that ever had been gained in any age or country, the gratitude of their fellow citizens could hardly suggest an adequate reward for the general and soldiers who had achieved it. Parliament immediately voted additional honours to the duke of Wellington, and the erection of a national column to perpetuate the memory of this victory; while the people of all classes and descriptions voluntarily came forward with a subscription for the relief and support of the wounded, and of those who in the cause of their country had been deprived of their husbands, fathers, and sons,—unparalleled even in the annals of this benevolent nation.

At first the full extent and entire consequences of the victory of Waterloo were not known even to the

victors; but they soon found that the way to Paris was open to them; and that the capital of France would be reduced, and the empire of Bonaparte overthrown, even before the rest of the allies had crossed the frontiers. In one or two places, the troops under Vandamme and Grouchy, who had suffered very little, and who still preserved their discipline, attempted to impede the progress of the victorious British and Prussians: but their attempts were utterly in vain; and these generals deemed themselves fortunate, that they were able to reach Paris with the greater part of their forces.

In the mean time Bonaparte, having escaped with difficulty from the field of battle, fled as fast as he could to Paris, whither he brought the first certain intelligence of his own defeat. He immediately convoked a council of ministers, and stated that, in consequence of some disaffected spreading alarm at the very moment that victory was in his power, disasters which could not be stopped had taken place. The two chambers immediately declared themselves permanent, and that all attempts to dissolve them should be considered as high treason. They also resolved to call upon Bonaparte to abdicate. He at first objected to this measure; but understanding that no refusal would be taken, he sent a message to the chambers, announcing that his political life was terminated, and proclaiming his son Napoleon II. emperor of the French. His proclamation is in his usual style:

“Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for
success,

success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II. emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to form without delay the regency by a law.

"Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

His abdication was accepted, and a complimentary message returned by the chambers; but of the succession of the emperor Napoleon II. no notice was taken. A commission of five was then chosen by the chambers, to exercise provisionally the functions of government; and the individuals named were Fouché, Carnot, Grenier, Caulincourt, and Quinette. In the course of the debate, Carnot having stated that the imperial guard had reached Rocroy, and that Soult was rallying the army, and had already collected 60,000 men, Ney started up, and flatly contradicted him, affirming that it was utterly impossible to collect 25,000 men. Ney afterwards published an account of the battle of Waterloo, in which he blamed in very severe terms Bonaparte's measures on that occasion, and ascribed the defeat of the French army entirely to them.

The debates in the two chambers were very noisy and tumultuous; they issued addresses to the French

people, and sent plenipotentiaries to the allied sovereigns, who, as well as the duke of Wellington and marshal Blucher, were now approaching Paris. But these plenipotentiaries soon ascertained that the allies were determined to replace Louis on the throne of France; and it was equally evident that Paris could not defend itself against the Prussian and British armies. A military convention was therefore agreed upon between Davoust, who was governor of the capital, and the duke of Wellington and marshal Blucher, by which Paris was to be evacuated in the course of three days, and the French army was to take up its position behind the Loire. It may be proper to give the 12th and 15th articles of this convention entire, as they were afterwards appealed to in the trial of Ney.

"Art. XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

"Art. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris."

As soon as the convention was signed, the chamber of representatives, sensible that their power was nearly at an end, published the following declaration, which contains some very rational and sober views on the first principles of government, which, had they been acted upon in the first years of the revolution, would have saved France from

from much crime and misery, and Europe from her participation in the latter.

"Declaration of the chamber of representatives.

"The troops of the allied powers are going to occupy the capital.

"The chamber of representatives will nevertheless continue to sit in the midst of the inhabitants of Paris, where the express will of the people called together its delegates.

"But under the present important circumstances, the chamber of representatives owes to itself, to France, to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and of its principles.

"It declares then that it makes a solemn appeal to the fidelity and to the patriotism of the Parisian national guard, charged with the protection of the national representation.

"It declares that it reposes with the highest confidence on the principles of morality and honour, on the magnanimity of the allied powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so positively expressed in their manifestos.

"It declares that the government of France, whoever may be its chief, ought to unite the wishes of the nation legally expressed, and to assimilate itself to other governments to become a common bond, and the guarantee of peace between France and Europe.

"It declares that a monarch cannot offer substantial guarantees, unless he swears to observe a constitution deliberated upon by the national representation, and accepted by the people. Therefore, every government which shall have no other titles except acclamations, and the will of one party, or which shall be imposed by force; every govern-

ment which shall not adopt the national colours, and shall not guaranty

"The liberty of the subject;
"Equality of civil and political rights;

"The liberty of the press;

"The liberty of worship;

"The representative system;

"Free assent to levies of men and taxes;

"The responsibility of ministers;

"The irrevocability of the sales of national property, whatever its origin;

"The inviolability of property, the abolition of tythes, of the old and new hereditary nobility, and of feudality;

"The abolition of all confiscation of goods;

"Entire oblivion of political opinions and votes given up to this time;

"The institution of the legion of honour;

"The compensations due to officers and soldiers;

"The aid due to their widows and their children;

"The institution of juries;

"The irremovability of judges;

"The payment of the national debt:—

"The government which shall not guaranty all these, will have only an ephemeral existence, and will not secure the peace of France and Europe.

"Should the basis laid down in this declaration be disregarded or violated, the representatives of the French people, acquitting themselves this day of a sacred duty, protest beforehand in the face of the whole world against violence and usurpation. They confide the maintenance of the principles which they proclaim to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlight-

enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberty—in fine, to future generations.

(Signed) "LANJUINAIS, Pres.

"DUMOLARD,

"BEDOCH,

"CLEMENT (of Doubs), } Sec."

"HELLO.

As soon as the intelligence of the decisive victory of Waterloo was communicated to Louis at Ghent, he prepared to return to Paris; and in fact followed in the rear of the duke of Wellington's army. On the 6th of July he entered his capital, accompanied by Monsieur, the duke of Berri, marshals Macdonald, Victor, St. Cyr, and Marmont: Clarke duke of Feltre, general Maison, Talleyrand, De Lally Tollendal, Chateaubriand, &c.

We must now return to Bonaparte.—As soon as he learnt that the allies were in the vicinity of Paris, and that there was not the smallest chance that it could be defended, he left it with an intention, if possible, of escaping to America. For this purpose he went to Rochefort, where a frigate was lying to convey him to his destination: but when he arrived there, he found the coast closely watched by a British squadron under the command of captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*. To escape from this squadron was utterly impossible; and it was equally difficult, and much more dangerous, to attempt to proceed to any other port. After a fruitless negotiation, therefore, to obtain a promise from captain Maitland, that he should be permitted either to proceed to America or to take up his residence in England, he surrendered unconditionally, throwing himself on the mercy of the prince regent and the British nation, whom he represented as the most constant and the most generous of

his foes. On his surrendering, the *Bellerophon* sailed for England; and lay with her prisoner and his suite on board, for some time, off Plymouth. Bonaparte still flattered himself that he would be permitted to reside, as a prisoner of war, in England, and wrote a letter with that request to the prince regent. But the allies determined to leave the place of his exile entirely to Britain; and it was resolved to send him to the island of St. Helena—a place better calculated than any other in the whole world to keep a prisoner safe almost from the possibility of escape. He manifested great indignation and chagrin, when he learnt that he was to be banished for life to this island: but the wonderful elasticity of his temper soon enabled him to shake off all unpleasant reflections. Soon after the decision of the British government was communicated to him, he was carried from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, in which ship he sailed for St. Helena. Here he is guarded in the strictest manner, at the same time that every thing that can conduce to his comfort is provided for him.

Having thus related the affairs of France, till the restoration of Louis, we shall now offer a few remarks on the manner in which this restoration was effected. Our readers will recollect, that Britain did not sign the alliance of the 25th of March, without annexing to it a declaration that, as it was directly repugnant to the principles of the British constitution to force a sovereign upon any nation, Britain joined the alliance, not for the purpose of forcing Louis on the people of France. The allies also acceded to this. What was the fact? The French were defeated at the battle of Waterloo: the conquerors march-
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ed to Paris, with Louis in their train. Paris submitted under a convention; the chambers called upon the allied sovereigns to remember their declaration, when they insisted that Louis should be restored. We by no means say that the chambers represented the wishes of the French people: let it be granted that they did not: still it cannot be denied that Louis was replaced on the throne without ascertaining the wishes of the nation, and merely in consequence of the victory of the allies. If the allies conceived that it was necessary for the repose of Europe, not only that Bonaparte should be again driven from France, but also that Louis should be again placed on the throne of that kingdom, they should have clearly said so: at least they should not have disclaimed all intention of interfering with the internal government of France, and with the right of the French to choose their own sovereign.

We by no means are of opinion that a nation has a right, whenever they please, to dethrone a sovereign, or to change the ruling dynasty: because this doctrine leads to the absurd conclusion, that a na-

tion has a right to do wrong; since, if they dethroned a good sovereign, and chose a bad one, they would undoubtedly be doing what was wrong; that is, injurious to their own happiness. A nation, therefore, as well as an individual, has only a right, morally speaking, to do an action, when that action is right: but it by no means follows, because a nation in dethroning their sovereign, or changing the dynasty, may do wrong, that is, may really injure themselves; that, therefore, any foreign nation has a right to interfere in the affairs of that nation. At the same time we would carry the doctrine of foreign interference so far, as to admit that it is justifiable in all cases where the peace of other countries is actually endangered, or undoubtedly threatened, by the principles avowed, the measures adopted, or the conduct regularly pursued, by any particular country. Hence we think that the allies were perfectly justified in forcing France to give up Bonaparte; but we doubt whether they were justified in placing Louis again on the throne, without ascertaining whether the French nation wished him there.

CHAPTER XXI.

Affairs of France from the Restoration of Louis to the End of the Year 1815—Louis's Ministers—Remarks on their Appointment—Conduct of the Prussians—Stripping of the Louvre—Remarks on that Measure—Meeting of the Chambers—their Character and Proceedings—Change of Ministry—Louis's Ordinances against the Rebels—Amnesty—Treaty between France and the Allies—Massacre of the Protestants in the South of France—Trials of Labedoyere—Ney—and Lavalette—Escape of the last—Concluding Remarks.

A STRONG curiosity and interest were naturally excited to
1815.

learn on whom Louis would fix for his ministers. In his former reign
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he was thought to have acted imprudently, by selecting as his ministers some of Bonaparte's oldest and staunchest adherents; but it was believed that, taught by experience, he would on this occasion make a more judicious and prudent selection. This idea, however, was proved to be ill-founded, by an official declaration of the 9th of July, from which it appeared that his majesty decided on having an administration composed of a privy council, and a council of ministers. In the former the princes, the ministers of state, and the persons whom his majesty thought proper to add, were to have seats. This council, to be assembled only by special convocation, was to afford the means for discussing before the king, in a solemn manner, a certain portion of affairs; and was at the same time to give his majesty an opportunity of recompensing services performed—the number of the members of the council not being fixed.

Next to the council was that of the responsible ministers, which can only consist of ministers, secretaries of state, having departments: of these ministers the following is a list:

"The prince of Talleyrand, peer of France, appointed president of the council of ministers, and secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs.

"Baron Louis, secretary of state for the finances.

"The duke of Otranto, secretary of state for the department of general police.

"Baron Pasquier, secretary of state for the department of justice, and keeper of the seals.

"Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, peer of France, secretary of state for the department of war.

"The count de Jaucour, peer of France, minister secretary of state for the marine department.

"The duke de Richelieu, peer of France, secretary of state for the department of the household.

"The port-folio of the minister of the interior provisionally confided to the minister of justice.

"Given at Paris on the 9th of July, in the year of grace 1815, and the 21st of our reign.

(Signed) "Louis.

"By the king,

"The prince TALLEYRAND."

That the duke of Otranto,—so infamously known in the early period of the revolution as Fouché of Nantes, who, at that time so fruitful in crimes, had rendered himself notorious by his cruelty, and who had voted for the death of Louis XVI.,—should be selected as one of the ministers of Louis XVIII., excited very general wonder and indignation. The reasons which induced the king to make this appointment are not known: some suppose that Fouché purchased or deserved it by betraying Bonaparte into the power of the allies: others are of opinion that it was found absolutely impossible to do without him in the existing state of France. But, allowing that his services were desirable, or even absolutely necessary; how could they be depended upon, unless we suppose, what has been asserted, that he was become a new man; and that the qualities, feelings, and habits, which existed in and distinguished Fouché of Nantes, were no longer to be found in the duke of Otranto?

Certainly the ministers of Louis were placed in most difficult circumstances. The allies had resolved to punish France; but how could they do it, without the certainty of increasing

increasing the unpopularity of the sovereign? Blucher more especially, and the Prussians, were determined that Paris should this time feel sensibly that she was a conquered city, and be no longer permitted to boast of the trophies of the subjugation and humiliation of their own country. One of the bridges over the Seine, built by Bonaparte, was called the bridge of Jena, in commemoration of that victory: this Blucher prepared to destroy, and was only prevented by the arrival of the king of Prussia in Paris, who, at the intercession of Louis, gave orders that it should be spared. Blucher next directed his attention to the gallery of the Louvre, where were deposited all the paintings and statues which the French by their conquests had procured from other nations: of these, Blucher claimed and seized upon such as belonged either to Prussia or to those towns and states which by the treaty of Vienna were now annexed to the Prussian government. The Parisians were excessively indignant and mortified at this removal: but other causes of humiliation were soon to follow. The Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, claimed their paintings and statues; so that in a short time the gallery of the Louvre was almost entirely stripped of its ornaments. As the British troops were on guard at the Louvre when the stolen goods were restored to their owners, they became so unpopular in Paris, that the duke of Wellington deemed it proper to address an official letter to lord Castlereagh on the subject. In this letter he states, that at the time of the convention of Paris, the French plenipotentiaries wished to introduce a clause, to secure the portraits and statues to the French nation; but this clause

was peremptorily objected to by the allies: there was therefore no breach of faith in taking them away. And the duke of Wellington further argued very forcibly and justly, that while they remained in Paris, the French would retain their vain-glorious and ambitious spirit, fed, as it would be, by the sight of their trophies. Independently, therefore, of all considerations of justice, which demanded that these pictures and statues should be restored to their lawful owners, this measure was desirable, in order to give a moral lesson to France, and to enable her to recover a right way of thinking and acting.

Of the justice of this proceeding there appears to us not the smallest doubt. War commits many acts of cruelty and oppression, not to render it necessary, as far as possible, to guard against increasing their number; but they would be increased and aggravated in no common degree, if the victorious nation had a right, according to the acknowledged usages and constant practice of war, to strip the conquered nations of all their decorations of art. It is no answer to this reasoning to say, that several of the paintings and statues in the Louvre were obtained by treaty:—that treaty was imposed by the conqueror on the conquered; and by the terms of it, it added, as we have just mentioned, to the oppressions of war, by taking more from the conquered than had been taken according to the usages of all former wars. It was alleged that the pictures, &c. ought to remain in Paris, because, there they were collected all together, so that lovers of the fine arts could view them with less trouble and expense than when they had been scattered over Europe: and besides, at Paris every facility of viewing and study-

ing them was given to people of all countries. That the French are particularly liberal in this respect must be acknowledged; but it may be doubted whether the improvement of the fine arts is not retarded, by the pictures being torn from all the accompanying circumstances which increased their interest and merits in the places where they were originally put up. The grand and principal reason, however, for stripping the Louvre was, that by this measure the French were taught most sensibly that they were conquered; and were made to feel, though comparatively in a very trifling degree, some of the evils which, in the intoxication of their ambitious and victorious career, they had inflicted on other nations; while those nations, by the restoration of their respective pictures, &c. now felt that France was conquered and humbled, and that they were in some measure avenged upon her.

Soon after Louis was restored, measures were taken to elect a new chamber of representatives. They did not meet, however, till the beginning of October; and then their character and proceedings astonished and alarmed the real friends of the peace and liberty of France: for the majority of them soon displayed undoubted and avowed symptoms of restoring the government of France much nearer to the standard and principles which distinguished it before the revolution, than the constitutional charter admitted. The cause of this character of the deputies is not well ascertained: they certainly did not represent the feelings and wishes of the nation: for it is absurd to suppose that the nation, the greatest portion of whom had grown up in the midst of the revolution, and consequently, though suffering from

its evils, must have imbibed many of its notions on government, and had especially benefited by the abolition of tythes and feudal rights, and by the sale of emigrant property, &c., should wish to return to the state and government of 1786. But, though it is very difficult to learn the real causes which produced this character in the chamber of deputies, yet there are some which undoubtedly tended towards its production. In the first place, the deputies were chosen while the allies were in possession of France; of course they could not be the free and unbiassed choice of the people. Secondly, it is quite absurd and erroneous to speak of the deputies as elected by the people: by the constitution, *they* were chosen by the electoral colleges: the members of these electoral colleges, originally chosen by the people, at first were to exist for a certain number of years; but Bonaparte changed this institution, and made them members for life: he likewise purposely neglected to fill up any vacancies occasioned by death, &c.; so that the members of the electoral colleges, at the restoration of Louis, were few in number, and they had been chosen a great many years before, by the people. It is alleged by some that the king filled up the vacancies, but not in the usual and constitutional way;—not through the people, but arbitrarily by the prefects of the districts: this, however, is denied by others. All, however, agree that the deputies were chosen, not by the people, nor by electoral colleges lately chosen by the people; but by the members of those colleges, most of whom had acted for several years, and who naturally regarded themselves as independent of the people, and scarcely as having derived their powers

powers from them. Most of these members had been appointed by Bonaparte. This, at first sight, may render it more unaccountable that they should have chosen deputies who wished to go beyond the constitutional charter. But is there any thing surprising—any thing out of the usual course of human affairs, in men who had been the instruments, or even the sincere agents, of one despotism, becoming the instruments or agents of another? Does not the history of France, since the revolution, afford too many instances of men veering round all at once from one party to another?

In whatever manner, however, the chamber of deputies were chosen, their conduct undoubtedly was not beneficial to the repose of France. They opposed the milder and more politic measures of the king's ministers, and *seemed* even to thwart the king himself; we say *seemed*, because there is some reason to suppose that Louis, though he openly, and by his ministers, opposed the majority of the deputies, yet in fact approved of their proceedings; and he undoubtedly on one occasion addressed them as men calculated to benefit France, and as a chamber containing a large portion of the talents and integrity of the nation. As the majority of them were of the description and character that we have just described, it is impossible to reconcile this panegyric of Louis upon them with a real disapprobation of their proceedings.

But though there is some doubt whether the king coincided with the sentiments of the deputies, there can be none that they were encouraged and supported by the king's brother, the duke and duchess of Angoulême, and the duke

of Berri. The conduct of these branches of the Bourbon family had done no good to the cause of Louis during his former reign; and they seemed not disposed to change that conduct. As these princes naturally regarded the ministry of Louis with abhorrence, they used their utmost endeavours to bring about a change; and this they soon effected. Fouché and Talleyrand were dismissed; the former was at first sent to Dresden as ambassador, but afterwards was with others banished from France, as having voted for the death of Louis XVI. What conduct can be more absurd than this? A regicide appointed minister to the brother of the monarch to whose death he contributed; then dismissed; then appointed to a situation of great dignity and honour; and last of all banished, not for any recently committed crime, but from the crime with which he was stained at the very period when he was minister to Louis. Talleyrand was not treated in this absurd manner; he had some trifling situation given him, which permitted him to be near the king's person. The new ministry consisted of the following persons: The duke of Richelieu, minister for foreign affairs, and of course prime minister; the duke of Feltre, minister of war; the viscount Dubouché, minister of the interior; the sieur de Cazes, for general police; and M. Barbé Marbois, keeper of the seals. The following character of some of them appears to be just, and may therefore be acceptable.

"The duke de Richelieu, grandson of the celebrated marshal of that name, emigrated at the beginning of the revolution, and entered into the Russian service, in which he has acquired general esteem.

esteem. For some years he has held the government of Odessa, much to the satisfaction both of the sovereign and the people. If he does not bring with him a knowledge of the men and things of his own country, he returns at least with a spotless reputation.

"Clarke, duke de Feltre, was an aide-de-camp of the late duke of Orleans at his entrance into public life: he served the republic most zealously under Carnot, with whom he was intimately connected. He evinced equal devotion to the imperial government; and embarking in the royal cause after the landing of Bonaparte, he sustained it with that ardour which forms the leading feature of his character. In all stages of his political career, he has proved himself both able and incorruptible.

"M. de Vaublanc was a distinguished member, and one of the most conspicuous orators, of the first legislative assembly. Among other speeches of his, there exists a very eloquent one in favour of general La Fayette, who was accused by the Jacobin party shortly before the catastrophe of the 10th of August. M. de V. was violently persecuted during the reign of terror, and by flight he escaped the fate of his colleagues on the 18th Fructidor. Since that period, his opinions have become highly royalist. His probity has never been questioned by any party. He has been a member of the legislative body under Bonaparte, and also prefect of Metz. There are several speeches of his at that period, which attest his devotion to the imperial throne.

"M. Barbé Marbois was secretary of legation, and afterwards chargé d'affaires, to the United States. Soon after the treaty which

France made with that republic, he was subsequently intendant of St. Domingo. On the 18th Fructidor he was banished to Cayenne, from whence, in consequence of that stoicism which marks his character, he refused to escape with Barthelemi and Pichegru. He was minister of finance under Bonaparte, and also president of the chamber of accounts; but having made a speech very offensive to the latter during his residence at Elba, Bonaparte dismissed him on his return from that island. M. Barbé Marbois is a man of talents, and of the most austere virtue. His opinions are highly favourable to the royal cause.

"M. de Cazes was attached to the family of Bonaparte, and counsellor of the imperial court, where he merited consideration. He strongly espoused the part of the king, and was in consequence dismissed by Bonaparte on his return. He is much esteemed both for virtue and talent.

"M. Corvetto was counsellor of state under Bonaparte, and was considered as one of the most upright and enlightened of that body."

In the mean time Louis took some measures against those who had favoured Bonaparte during his last reign: but those measures were not prompt; and they were strangely contrasted with his appointment of Fouché—the very man who had been more guilty than any at that time punished, and who, by his office, was to see the punishment carried into execution. Two ordinances were published: the first contained a list of persons whose penalty was simply a loss of peerage: the number of this description, specified by name in the ordinance, is 28, of whom the following

lowing are the most remarkable:—the duke of Dantzic, count Lapede, duke of Elchingen, duke of Albufera, duke of Coregliano, duke of Treviso, count Boissy d'Anglais, duke of Cadore. The second ordinance relates to two descriptions of criminals: the first are those officers who absolutely betrayed and made war against the king before Bonaparte reached Paris: the number of persons set down as coming under this description of active rebellion are only eighteen, among whom are Ney, Labedoyere, and the two Lallemands. Next follow the names of 38 persons who are to leave Paris, and to retire to such places as the minister of police shall point out to them, till the chambers shall decide which are to leave the kingdom entirely, and which to be brought to trial. Among these are Soult, Carnot, Felix Lepelletier, and Regnault. Towards the close of the year a law of amnesty was proposed to the chambers by the king. At first the chamber of representatives wished to have made such alterations in it as would have rendered it an act of vengeance rather than of clemency: but after some violent discussions it was carried nearly as it was originally proposed. By this act of amnesty full and complete pardon was granted to ALL who had taken part in the usurpation of Bonaparte, with the exception of those named in the first and second lists of the second ordinance of the 24th of July, already noticed. All the members of Bonaparte's family were excluded for ever from France. The amnesty was declared not to extend to persons against whom proceedings had been instituted, or sentences passed.

We must now advert to the

treaties between France and the allied powers, which at this time were negotiated at Paris. They consisted of a definitive treaty between France and the allied powers, signed at Paris on the 20th of November 1815:—an additional article to the preceding treaty, relative to the abolition of the slave-trade;—a convention relative to the payment of a pecuniary indemnity to be furnished by France to the allied powers;—a convention relative to the occupation of a military line in France by the allied army;—a note from the ministers of the allied powers to the duke of Richelieu, on the nature and extent of the powers attached to the command of the duke of Wellington;—a convention between Great Britain and France relative to the claims of the British subjects on the French government;—and a note from the ministers of the allied cabinets to the duke of Richelieu, communicating a copy of a treaty of alliance between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia;—besides other documents of less importance.

As these papers are extremely voluminous, we shall merely extract such parts as are of the highest and most permanent interest, and point out most clearly the measures which the allies took to punish France and to prevent her future aggressions.

By the first article of the definitive treaty, the frontiers of France were to remain nearly the same as they were fixed by the treaty of Paris. The fifth article is one of great importance.

“Art. V. The state of uneasiness and of fermentation, which after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the last catastrophe, France must still experience, notwithstanding the paternal

nal intentions of her king, and the advantages secured to every class of his subjects by the constitutional charter, requiring, for the security of the neighbouring states, certain measures of precaution, and of temporary guarantee, it has been judged indispensable to occupy, during a fixed time, by a corps of allied troops, certain military positions along the frontiers of France, under the express reserve, that such occupation shall in no way prejudice the sovereignty of his most christian majesty, nor the state of possession, such as it is recognised and confirmed by the present treaty. The number of these troops shall not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand men. The commander in chief of this army shall be nominated by the allied powers. This army shall occupy the fortresses of Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambrai, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mézières, Sedan, Montmédy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the Tête-de-Pont of fort Louis. As the maintenance of the army destined for this service is to be provided by France, a special convention shall regulate every thing which may relate to that object. This convention, which shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the present treaty, shall also regulate the relations of the army of occupation with the civil and military authorities of the country. The utmost extent of the duration of this military occupation is fixed at five years. It may terminate before that period, if, at the end of three years, the allied sovereigns, after having, in concert with his majesty the king of France, maturely examined their reciprocal situation and interests, and the

progress which shall have been made in France in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, shall agree to acknowledge that the motives which led them to that measure have ceased to exist. But whatever may be the result of this deliberation, all the fortresses and positions occupied by the allied troops shall, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most christian majesty, or to his heirs and successors."

"Art. IV. In conformity to the fifth article of the principal treaty, the military line to be occupied by the allied troops shall extend along the frontiers which separate the departments of the Pas de Calais, of the North, of the Ardennes, of the Meuse, of the Moselle, of the Lower Rhine, and of the Upper Rhine, from the interior of France.

"It is further agreed, that neither the allied troops nor the French troops shall occupy (except it be for particular reasons and by common consent) the territories and districts hereafter named, *id est* :

"In the department of the Somme, all the country north of that river, from Ham, to where it falls into the sea;

"In the department of l'Aisne, the districts of St. Quentin, Ver vins and Laon ;

"In the departments of the Marne, those of Rheims, St. Ménehould, and Vitry ;

"In the department of the Upper Marne, those of St. Dizier and Joinville ;

"In the department of the Meurthe, those of Toul, Dieuze, Sarrebourg and Blamont ;

"In the department of the Vosges, those of St. Dié, Bruges and Remiremont.

"The district of Lure, in the department of the Upper Saône ;
and

and that of St. Hyppolite in the department of the Doules.

"Notwithstanding the occupation, by the allies, of the portion of territory fixed by the principal treaty, and by the present convention, his most christian majesty may, in the towns situated within the territory occupied, maintain garrisons, the number of which, however, shall not exceed what is laid down in the following enumeration :

At Calais - - 1000 men.

At Gravelines - 500 men.

At Bergues - - 500 men.

At St. Omer - - 1500 men.

At Béthune - - 500 men.

At Montreuil - 500 men.

At Hesdies - - 250 men.

At Ardres - - 150 men.

At Aire - - - 500 men.

At Arras - - - 1000 men.

At Boulogne - 300 men.

At St. Venant - 300 men.

At Lille - - - 3000 men.

At Dunkirk and
its Forts - } 1000 men.

At Douay and
Fort de Scarpe } 1000 men.

At Verdun - - 500 men.

At Metz - - - 3000 men.

At Lauterbourg 200 men.

At Weissenbourg 150 men.

At Lichtenbourg 150 men.

At Petite Pierre 100 men.

At Phalsbourg - 600 men.

At Strasbourg - 3000 men.

At Schlestadt - 1000 men.

At Neuf Brisach }
and Fort Mortier } 1000 men.

At Befort - - 1000 men."

The next articles of importance relate to the pecuniary indemnity to be furnished by France.

"Art. I The sum of seven hundred millions of francs, being the amount of the indemnity, shall be discharged day by day, in equal portions, in the space of five years, by means of *bons au porteur* on the

royal treasury of France, in the manner that shall be now set forth."

"Art. I. The allied powers, acknowledging the necessity of guaranteeing the tranquillity of the countries bordering on France, by erecting fortifications on certain points the most exposed, have determined to set apart for that object a portion of the sums which are to be paid by France, leaving the remainder for general distribution, under the head of indemnities. A fourth part of the total sum to be paid by France shall be applied to the erecting fortifications. But as the cession of the fortress of Saar-Louis, equally founded on the motive of general safety, renders the construction of new fortifications in the vicinity of that fortress superfluous, and that the same has been estimated at fifty millions, by the military committee who were consulted upon that point, the said fortress shall be set down at the above-mentioned sum, in the calculation of the sums to be expended in fortifications, so that the aforesaid fourth part shall not be deducted from the seven hundred millions of francs promised by France, but from seven hundred and fifty millions, including the cession of Saar-Louis. In conformity with this disposition, the sum destined for fortifications is fixed at one hundred and eighty-seven and a half millions of francs, viz. one hundred and thirty-seven and a half millions in real value, and fifty millions, represented by the fortress of Saar-Louis.

"Art. II. In apportioning these one hundred and eighty-seven and a half millions of francs amongst the states bordering on France, the undersigned ministers have had in view the necessity, more or less urgent, of those states to have additional

ditional fortresses, and the expense, more or less considerable, which the erecting them would incur, compared with the means which they severally possess, or will acquire by the present treaty.

"According to these principles, His majesty the king of the Netherlands will receive 60 millions.

The king of Prussia 20 millions.

The king of Sardinia 10 millions.

The king of Bavaria, or such other sovereign of the countries bordering on France between the Rhine and the Prussian territory 15 millions.

The king of Spain 7½ millions.

"Of the twenty-five millions which remain to be distributed, five shall be appropriated to finish the works at Mayence, and the remaining twenty shall be assigned for the erection of a new federal fortress upon the Upper Rhine.

"These sums shall be employed conformably with the plans and regulations which the powers shall adopt for that purpose.

"Art. III. The sum destined for the fortifications being deducted, there remains five hundred and sixty-two and a half millions, under the head of indemnities, which shall be apportioned in the following manner:

"Art. IV. Although all the allied states have afforded proofs of the same zeal and devotion for the common cause, there are some, notwithstanding, like Sweden, (which, from the very commencement, was released from all active coöperation, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying her troops across the Baltic) who have made no efforts whatever: others, like Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, although they have armed to assist in the struggle, have been prevented by the rapidity of events from effectually

contributing to its success. Switzerland, which has rendered most essential services to the common cause, did not accede to the treaty of the 25th of March on the same conditions as the other allies. These states are thereby placed in a different situation, which does not allow of their being classed with the other allied states, according to the number of their troops: it is therefore agreed, in order to obtain for them a just indemnity, as far as circumstances will permit, to apportion twelve and a half millions in the following manner:—

To Spain 5 millions.

To Portugal 2 millions.

To Denmark 2½ millions.

To Switzerland 3 millions.

"Art. V. The burthen of the war having been borne in the first instance by the armies under the respective commands of field marshal the duke of Wellington and field marshal prince Blücher; and these armies having moreover taken the city of Paris, it is agreed that there shall be retained out of the contributions paid by France, the sum of twenty-five millions for the service of Great Britain, and twenty-five millions for that of Prussia; subject to the arrangements which Great Britain is to make with the powers, whose forces constituted the army of field marshal the duke of Wellington, as to the sum which is to fall to their share under this head.

"Art. VI. The five hundred millions which remain after the deduction of the sums stipulated in the preceding articles shall be apportioned in such manner as that Prussia, Austria, Russia and England shall each have a fifth part.

"Art. VII. Notwithstanding the states which have acceded to the treaty of the 25th of March of this year, have furnished collectively less

less than one fourth of the number of troops furnished by the four principal powers conjointly; it has been resolved not to take notice of this inequality; they will therefore, taken collectively, enjoy the fifth part which, in pursuance of the disposition contained in the preceding article, remains of the five hundred millions.

"Art. VIII. The allotment of this fifth amongst the several acceding states shall be in proportion to the number of troops furnished by them, and in the same manner as they have participated in the sum of ten millions, allowed by

the French government for the pay of the troops; the table of this allotment is annexed to the present protocol."

"Art. XIV. The fifty millions stipulated by the article of the military convention annexed to the treaty of the 20th instant, for the pay and other demands of the army which is to occupy a part of France, shall be divided in such wise, as that

	France.	Cent.
Russia shall receive	7,142,857	16
Austria - - -	10,714,285	71
England - - -	10,714,285	71
Prussia - - -	10,714,285	71
The Acceding States	10,714,285	71

TABLE of the ALLOTMENT of the One Hundred Millions of Francs amongst the acceding Powers.

Names of the acceding Powers.		The 100 Millions of Francs make per Man 425 Francs	
		15,623	29 Cent.
	Men.	Francs.	Cents.
Bavaria - - - -	60,000	25,517,798	66½
Low Countries - - - -	50,000	21,264,832	22½
Wurtemberg - - - -	20,000	8,505,932	88½
Sardinia - - - -	15,000	6,379,449	66½
Baden - - - -	16,000	6,804,746	31½
Hanover - - - -	10,000	4,252,966	44
Saxony - - - -	16,000	6,804,746	31½
Hesse-Darmstadt - - - -	8,000	3,402,373	15½
Hesse-Cassel - - - -	12,000	5,103,559	73½
Mecklenburg-Schwerin - - - -	3,800	1,616,127	24½
Mecklenburg-Strelitz - - - -	800	340,237	31½
Saxe-Gotha - - - -	2,200	935,652	61½
Saxe-Weimar - - - -	1,600	680,474	63½
Nassau - - - -	3,000	1,275,889	95½
Brunswick - - - -	3,000	1,275,889	93½
Hanse Towns - - - -	3,000	1,275,889	93½
Town of Franckfort - - - -	750	318,972	48½
Hohenzollern-Hittingen - - - -	194	82,507	54½
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen - - - -	356	164,164	50½
Lichtenstein - - - -	100	42,529	66½
Saxe-Meinungen - - - -	600	255,177	98½
Heldbourghausen - - - -	400	170,118	66
Saxe-Cobourg - - - -	800	340,237	81½
Anholt - - - -	1,600	680,474	63½
Schwarzbourg - - - -	1,300	552,885	63½
Reusse - - - -	900	382,766	37
Lippe - - - -	1,300	552,885	63½
Waldeck - - - -	800	340,237	31½
Oldenberg - - - -	1,600	680,474	63½
Total - - - -	235,130	100,000,000	

The

The second article of the treaty of alliance and friendship between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, respecting revolutionary movements in France, as well as the note from the ministers of the united cabinets to the duke of Richelieu, transmitting this treaty, and their note respecting the appointment of the duke of Wellington to the command of the forces to be left in France, are of such importance as to deserve insertion.

"Art. II. The high contracting parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated, for the purpose of maintaining inviolably the arrangements settled at Paris last year, for the safety and interest of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the treaty signed this day with the plenipotentiaries of his most christian majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Bonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the treaty of the eleventh of April 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the contracting powers bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vigour, and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And as the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other states; under these circumstances, the high contracting parties, solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an

event should again occur, to concert amongst themselves, and with his most christian majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the safety of their respective states, and for the general tranquillity of Europe."

"No. 10.—TRANSLATION OF A NOTE FROM THE MINISTERS OF THE UNITED CABINETS, TO THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU, DATED PARIS 20TH NOVEMBER 1815.

"The undersigned ministers of the united cabinets have the honour to communicate to his excellency the duke de Richelieu the new treaty of alliance which they have just signed, in the name and by command of their august sovereigns; the object of which has been, to give to the principles established by those of Chaumont and Vienna the application the most conformable to existing circumstances, and to unite the destinies of France with the common interest of Europe.

"The allied cabinets consider the stability of the order of things, happily re-established in this country, as one of the essential bases of a solid and durable tranquillity. It is towards this end that their united efforts have been constantly directed; it is their sincere desire to maintain and to consolidate the result of these efforts, which has dictated all the stipulations of the new treaty. His most christian majesty will perceive in this act the solicitude with which they have concerted measures the most proper to remove every thing which might in future endanger the interior repose of France, and prepared remedies against the dangers with which the royal authority, the basis of public order, might yet be menaced. The principles and

and the intentions of the allied sovereigns in this respect are invariable; of this the engagements which they have just contracted furnish the most unequivocal proofs; but the lively interest which they take in the satisfaction of his most christian majesty, as well as in the tranquillity and prosperity of his kingdom, makes them hope that the fatal chances supposed in these engagements will never be realized.

"The allied cabinets find the first guarantee of this hope in the clear principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues of his most christian majesty. His majesty acknowledges with them, that in a state torn during a quarter of a century by revolutionary convulsions, it is not by force alone that calm can be restored to the mind, confidence to the heart, and equilibrium to the different parts of the social body; but that wisdom should be united with vigour, and moderation with firmness, for producing these happy changes.

"Far from fearing that his most christian majesty will ever lead an ear to imprudent or impassioned councils, tending to renew discontent and alarms, to excite hatred and divisions, the allied cabinets are entirely relieved from that anxiety by the wise as well as generous disposition which the king has evinced at every period of his reign, and especially at that of his return after the last criminal attempt. They know that his majesty will oppose to all the enemies of the public good, and of the tranquillity of his kingdom, under whatever form they may present themselves, his adherence to the constitutional laws, promulgated under his own auspices, his well-understood intention, to be the father of

all his subjects, to efface from remembrance the evils which they have suffered, and to preserve of times past only the good which Providence has brought forth even from the bottom of public calamity. It is thus only that the views formed by the allied cabinets for the preservation of the constitutional authority of his most christian majesty, for the happiness of his country, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world, will be crowned with a complete success; and that France, established upon her ancient basis, will resume the eminent place to which she is called in the European system.

"The undersigned have the honour to renew to his excellency the duke de Richelieu the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) (Signed)

"METTERNICH. CASTLEREAGH.

"HARDENBERG. CAPOD'ISTRIA.

"His excellency the duke de Richelieu, minister and secretary of state to his most christian majesty for foreign affairs, &c. &c. &c."

"THE ALLIED MINISTERS TO THE
DUKE DE RICHELIEU.

"*Paris, November 20, 1815.*

"The allied sovereigns having entrusted field marshal the duke of Wellington with the command in chief of that portion of their troops which, by article V. of the treaty concluded this day with France, is to remain in that country for a certain number of years, the undersigned ministers of the cabinets, &c. &c. &c. think it advisable to come to an understanding with his excellency the duke de Richelieu upon the nature and extent of the powers attached to this command.

"Although chiefly led to the adoption

adoption of this measure by motives of consideration for the security and welfare of their own subjects, and far from having the intention of employing their troops in the maintenance of the police or interior administration of France, or of interfering with or shackling the free exercise of the royal authority in that country, the allied sovereigns have, nevertheless, in consideration of the high interest which induces them to strengthen the authority of the legitimate sovereign, promised to his most christian majesty, to support him with their arms against all revolutionary convulsion tending to overturn by force the state of things actually established, and which would thus threaten anew the tranquillity of Europe.

"But not forgetting that under the variety of shapes in which the revolutionary spirit might still show itself in France, there might be doubts as to what cases might require the interference of a foreign force, and being well aware of the difficulty of giving precise instructions applicable to each particular case, the allied sovereigns have thought it most advisable to confide to the known prudence and discretion of the duke of Wellington, the determination of the time and mode in which it would be proper to employ the troops under his orders, in a full confidence that he will in no case act without having previously concerted his measures with his majesty the king of France, and that he will acquaint, as soon as possible, the allied sovereigns with the motives which have engaged him to take his determinations.

"And as, in order to assist the duke of Wellington in the choice of his dispositions, it will be impor-

tant that he should be accurately informed of the events which take place in France, the ministers of the four allied courts accredited to his most christian majesty have received orders to keep up jointly a regular correspondence with his grace, and to be at the same time the regular channel of communication between the French government and the commander in chief of the allied troops, for the purpose of forwarding to the French government those communications which the duke of Wellington may have to address to it, and also transmit to the field-marshal those views and applications which the court of France might wish he should receive.

"The undersigned hope that the duke de Richelieu will perceive in these arrangements the same character and the same principles in which the measure of the military occupation of part of France has been conceived and adopted. They moreover carry with them, in quitting this country, the consolatory persuasion, that notwithstanding the elements of disorder which France may still contain in consequence of the revolutionary events, a wise and paternal government, acting on principles adapted to compose and conciliate the minds of the people, and abstaining from all acts contrary to such system, will succeed not only in maintaining the public repose, but also in re-establishing universal union and confidence, while it will relieve the allied powers, as far as the measures of the government will admit, from the painful necessity of recurring to the adoption of means, which, in the event of renewed disorder, would be imperiously prescribed to them by the duty of providing for the security of their own subjects

subjects and the general tranquillity of Europe.

"The undersigned, &c. .

(Signed) (Signed)

"CASTLEREAGH. CAPO D'ISTRIA.

"HARDENBERG. RASOUMOFFSKY.

"METTERNICH. WESSENBERG."

By the ninth article of the military convention, the allied troops, with the exception of those who were to form the army of occupation, were to evacuate the territory of France in 21 days after the signature of the principal treaty.

From the particulars which we have given respecting the treaty between the allies and France, it is sufficiently evident that they considered that country as by no means in a tranquil state; and from the extraordinary powers which they were pleased to bestow on the duke of Wellington, it is equally evident that they regarded it as by no means improbable that circumstances might arise which would render absolutely necessary the most vigorous measures, with a promptness that would not admit of the allies themselves being consulted.

By the terms of the treaty they placed themselves on their guard against revolutionary measures; for such they supposed most likely to occur. In a country which for the last 25 years had passed through such scenes as France had witnessed, it was not to be expected that the love of tranquillity, order, and justice would soon regain their proper and safe dominion. But though the allies effectually guarded against any attempts on the part of the people to disturb Louis on his throne, they do not appear to have been equally solicitous to guard the people against the encroachments of the sovereign on their rights and happiness. They

did, indeed, in a very indirect and gentle manner, hint to him, that he ought to forget what was past, and secure himself on the throne by the moderation and justice of his actions. But in the event that he did not so conduct himself; in the event that by the injustice of his measures the people were roused to opposition and resistance, would not their conduct be deemed revolutionary; and consequently, would not the allies deem themselves at liberty to support the monarch against his subjects?

From the character which we have given of the chambers, especially of the chamber of deputies, as well as from the character of the most active members of the Bourbon family, there was too much reason to apprehend that they would not be moderate in their views and measures; but, on the contrary, that they would be desirous, along with the evils, to root out the benefits of the revolution. The principal of those benefits undoubtedly were, the demolition of feudal vassalage and religious intolerance. We are by no means disposed to give Bonaparte, or those who preceded him in the government of revolutionary France, credit for being actuated by wise and liberal views in the benefits which, through them, were conferred on France: but setting aside all consideration of the motives, the fact is undoubted, that all the governments of this country, from the very commencement of the revolution, set themselves strongly and effectually against religious intolerance. The power of the clergy to do mischief, through the instrumentality or assistance of the state, was altogether destroyed; so that catholics and protestants in the eye of the law were regarded with equal favour,

favour, and were equally supported by the state. The protestants being thus protected, soon advanced before their catholic brethren in industry and wealth, especially in the south of France, where they were most numerous. Hence they looked forward to the restoration of the Bourbons with no feelings of pleasure, with little hope of benefiting by it. During the first reign of Louis they do not seem to have been much disturbed; but soon after his restoration, the protestants in the department of the Garde, especially at Nismes, were treated with great cruelty. The details of their persecution—for persecution it undoubtedly was—it is not easy to ascertain; for, on the one hand, the French newspapers, entirely and avowedly under the complete control of government, cannot be in the least trusted;—while, on the other hand, feelings of irritation and party as certainly exaggerated the character and extent of the persecution.

But that the protestants were persecuted there can be no doubt. By their friends it was asserted, that their persecution arose entirely, or nearly so, from religious motives:—by their enemies it was, on the contrary, maintained that their persecution proceeded from their political principles and conduct solely. That the latter statement cannot be true, appears from the following considerations. In the first place protestants alone were persecuted: but if politics, not religion, caused the persecution, why were not catholics persecuted? for undoubtedly the adherents of Bonaparte were by no means confined to those who professed the protestant religion. In the second place, the protestant places of worship were attacked,

and their religious services molested—Would this have been the case if the persecution had been purely or principally political? In the third place, in the proclamations of Louis upon this subject, the catholics of the department of the Garde are censured because they had violated that article of the constitution which promised protection to all religions. Lastly, it is an undoubted fact, admitted in the French newspapers, that several protestant families abjured their religion and became catholics at the very height of the persecution. Now, why did they so? Surely from no other motive but because they knew that when they ceased to be protestants they would cease to be persecuted. But it is hardly necessary to dwell upon this point:—religious persecution in almost every age and country, from the first persecution of the Christians, has always been defended or concealed under the pretext that political misconduct, and not religious belief, was persecuted.

The persecution of the protestants in the south of France excited a considerable interest in Britain, especially among the protestant dissenters. Resolutions were passed, and subscriptions raised in their favour; and though the protestants in France were instructed, or rather ordered, to state that they did not need the countenance of their brethren in foreign countries, yet there is no doubt that the interest excited by their persecution in Britain contributed greatly to the amelioration of their condition.

For a considerable period after the restoration of Louis it seemed as if he were disposed to pass over all those who had betrayed him,

him, and contributed to seat Bonaparte on the throne: indeed, while Fouché was his minister, it seemed hardly possible that punishment could be inflicted on the most notorious traitors, since one of Louis's ministers would thus be exposed to suffer with them. But after the dismissal of Fouché it was expected that Louis would make use of a vigour that seemed absolutely necessary to keep him fixed on the throne. At length symptoms of this vigour began. Labedoyere, who had been among the first to go over with his regiment to Bonaparte, was arrested, tried, condemned, and shot. This act of vigour not having excited any tumult, the ministry of Louis gained confidence and boldness. Ney was next arrested; a court martial was with difficulty collected to try him; but, strange to tell, it declared itself incompetent to this office. The chamber of peers next assumed the judicial functions; and after a minute examination of evidence, he was condemned to be shot. The sentence was carried into execution in a *clandestine* manner, as if the French government had been afraid to complete its own work.

The counsel of Ney rested his defence principally on those articles of the convention of Paris, already quoted, by which it was declared that no persons should be molested for their political opinions or conduct; and that, if there should arise any doubts respecting the meaning of any article in that convention, the interpretation should be in favour of the French. Hence it was contended, that Ney was protected from punishment by the convention:—he himself wrote to the duke of Wellington to this effect; and his wife likewise made

application to the British ambassador at Paris, and to the prince regent himself; but it was all in vain. For it was contended that, as the convention was clearly and expressly a military convention, it did not, and could not, promise pardon for political offences. To this it was answered, that by whatever name it was designated, there was in it an article which said, as plainly as words could express, that no person should be punished for his political opinions or conduct. What was the meaning of this article, if it did not mean what was the plain and obvious interpretation of the words? Being thus in a manner obliged to admit that this article of the convention was political, those who contended that it did not apply to the case of Ney, took another view of it; for they said it merely bound the *allies* not to punish any person for his political opinion or conduct, but it left Louis at liberty to punish him. To this it was replied that, according to the usages of nations, foreign powers can have no right to punish the inhabitants of a state which they may have conquered; for their political opinions; the article therefore could not be introduced for the purpose of protecting any Frenchman from the punishment of the allies, but must have had a reference to the question respecting political opinions or conduct between Frenchmen and their sovereign. It was moreover maintained that, as Louis did not ratify the convention of Paris, he could not be bound by it. But on the other hand it was asserted, that ratification may be either by word or deed. By virtue of that convention Louis entered Paris: as he, therefore, was benefited by it, the other party to it ought also

to have been benefited by it; by entering Paris he virtually ratified it.

Such were the arguments on both sides regarding the application of the twelfth article of the convention to the case of Ney. The truth probably is, that the allies did not mean by that article to bind Louis from punishing his rebellious subjects; but the article was certainly worded in such a manner that it seemed to bind him as one of the allies, and as having benefited by the convention. That such a traitor as Ney, a man who volunteered his rascality, should have escaped his merited fate in consequence of the loose wording of this article, would have been matter of great and deserved regret; at the same time it is unfortunate that the allies, who exclaimed so loudly against Bonaparte for his infraction of treaties, should have exposed themselves to the same charge.

The next person of note taken up was Lavalette. The charge against him was, that before Bonaparte reached Paris he seized on the post-office (of which he had been director during the former reign of Bonaparte), and thus not only circulated the intelligence of his success, but also contributed to it. Lavalette was condemned, as indeed there could be no doubt of his treason: great intercession was made for him, but the king was firm in his resolution not to pardon him; the execution of his sentence however was delayed; and in the mean time his wife, gaining access to the prison, in a manner that did her infinite honour effected his escape. She was confined; and shortly afterwards three Englishmen, sir Robert Wilson, captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce were arrested on the charge of

having assisted Lavalette to escape out of France.

In the course of these trials one circumstance occurred which proved to how low a state of moral feeling and principle the public mind in France was reduced. Notwithstanding in all these three cases there were undoubted proofs of oaths violated, and of the most traitorous conduct, yet such proofs did not seem to excite much surprise or indignation. Such was the consequence of a people having been plunged in revolutionary and violent changes for such a length of time. The necessity of yielding to circumstances, of swearing allegiance to one form of government to-day, and to another form to-morrow, had rendered completely torpid the moral sense. Oaths of allegiance had become merely words of course, uttered without any meaning, and forgotten almost as soon as uttered.

To conclude:—The state of France at the close of the year 1815 is by no means such as promises speedy tranquillity to it; and while it is restless, the quiet and peace of the rest of Europe cannot be secure. It perhaps is impossible exactly and fully to point out what line of conduct Louis ought to pursue in order to fix his throne on a firm and permanent foundation. The military feelings and habits which the people of France have acquired, will not soon wear away; their late disasters,—their country twice conquered;—a sovereign twice placed over them by those conquests, will not soon be forgotten; but undoubtedly their oblivion will be accelerated if Louis gains over the mass of the population, by securing to them all the benefits which the revolution produced,

duced, and by protecting them from the evils which it engendered. If, on the contrary, he has not learnt wisdom by experience; if it be true that *he* as well as the rest of his family have forgotten nothing which they ought to have forgotten, and have learnt nothing which they ought to have learnt during their misfortunes, then not all the force of Europe can or ought to keep

him on the throne of France. But let us hope better things: let us hope that these princes who lived so long in Britain, did not shut their eyes to the facts which there surrounded them, from which they might have drawn this lesson—that the most powerful as well as the most happy sovereign is he who is powerful and happy in the affections and happiness of his subjects.

CHAPTER XXII.

State of Spain—of Prussia—of Wurtemberg—Sweden—Holland—The United States—their Finances—Navy—South America—West Indies—Guadaloupe—East Indies—Ceylon—Napaul War.

PERHAPS no country in Europe is at present in a more wretched and degraded state than Spain. When we reflect on the efforts which the inhabitants of this fine kingdom made to free themselves from the French, it seems unaccountable that they should now submit so quietly and tamely to the despotism of Ferdinand. But if our readers will turn to our preceding volumes, they will find that we uniformly ascribed the resistance which the Spanish people made to French tyranny, not to their sense of freedom, or their real detestation of despotism; but to their national and almost instinctive dislike of the French, and to the influence of the priests. What has occurred in this portion of the Peninsula since the French were expelled, has abundantly illustrated and confirmed our opinion; though we must admit, that we had no suspicion that Spain was so degraded as she has proved herself to be. It is really disgusting to dwell on the

character of Ferdinand. When tyranny is redeemed, or at least accompanied by great talents and bold undertakings, it affords opportunity for philosophic contemplation and study; and let it not be said, that when thus accompanied, it is much more dangerous and mischievous, than when found united with imbecility of intellect. The case of Ferdinand will abundantly prove how much evil a despotic sovereign may punish his subjects with, even when he is most imbecile in intellect.

There are, however, some singularities in the proceedings of the king of Spain, which must be noticed, and which point him out as having improved on the despotism of all his predecessors: for he glories in punishing those who contributed most zealously and successfully to drive the French out of the Peninsula, and to seat him on the throne; while—very consistently—he takes into his favour those who were the favourites and instru-

ments of Bonaparte in his designs against him. Not able to find any persons capable of carrying into effect his most ungrateful and despotic measures, he has become his own minister. His conduct vacillates; but it does not vary: the object he has in view is always uniform, though his means may be changed.

It is not surprising that a man so weak, and so blind to his own interest, should be the dupe of bigoted and cruel priests, or that he should readily agree to their design of re-establishing the Inquisition. In short, the state of Spain, viewed either in a political or religious light, appears to be much worse now, than it was even in the days of the most bigoted and tyrannical of the Philips.

That Spain has endured such vassalage from a sovereign who owes his throne to his subjects, is most surprising: at one period of the year 1815, sanguine hopes were entertained that she would work out her own liberation a second time; and that the same zeal and perseverance which freed her from the French would revive, and free her from domestic tyranny. A gallant man, by name Porlier, endeavoured to rouse his countrymen; but they did not obey his call: his career was short, but brilliant; and the execution of this noble man seems to have rendered Ferdinand more secure. Indeed, till the Spaniards are more enlightened, and less under the dominion of superstition, it is in vain to expect from them any efforts to raise themselves to their just rank in the scale of European nations.

The situation of Germany,—particularly of Prussia and Wurtemberg,—at present, is singular. With respect to Prussia, it was found ab-

olutely necessary, for the purpose of expelling the French, to rouse in her a public spirit, and to give to her population an influence which they had never possessed before. To effect these objects, associations were formed, the members of which disseminated their opinions over the whole kingdom. These associations gradually began to know their own strength, and could not fail to be sensible that the expulsion of the French was in a great measure the work of the people: however, they naturally looked forward to a reward for their labours, and that reward they placed in the obtaining a free constitution. These associations were by no means confined to the people; they were formed in the army itself. The consequence was, that the king of Prussia was obliged to promise a free constitution to his subjects: whether it will really be granted, a short time must determine, as an absolute refusal to fulfil his promise, or even great unexplained delay in performing it, may rouse a spirit by no means compatible with the peaceable and firm occupation of the throne by the king.

The popular spirit in the kingdom of Wurtemberg is not so daring as it is in Prussia; but it has to contend with a prince by no means disposed to concede to it, and who, in fact, regarded his subjects as almost destitute of rights or privileges. Fortunately for them, the crown prince is of a very different character from his father; and there is reason to hope that the inhabitants of Wurtemberg, as well as of all Germany, as they contributed so essentially to the overthrow of French despotism, and thus restored to their respective rulers *their* freedom, will receive from

from them the rights and privileges which alike contribute to the strength of a state and to the mutual happiness of the governors and governed.

In Sweden little passed this year deserving of notice. The crown prince seemed desirous of preserving this country free from war; and as her situation favoured his design, and the campaign against Bonaparte was very short, he succeeded in preserving Sweden from hostilities. Indeed she stood in need of tranquillity in many respects:—a country by no means richly endowed by nature, and containing a scanty and scattered population remarkable rather for their virtues than their industry, it had been almost completely exhausted by the wars in which the madness of Gustavus had involved her. Besides, the nobility of Sweden were to be reconciled to the dominion of a French soldier:—long and justly distinguished by the ambitious restlessness of their character and habits, it was not to be supposed that they would, all at once, quietly sit down under the dominion of a low-born foreigner: they naturally regarded this as a favourable opportunity to regain some of those privileges that they had lost about forty years before. They anticipated—without foundation, however, as events proved—that the crown prince, in order to secure some part of his acquired power, would willingly concede to them in other points. Such a nobility were to be managed with great prudence and caution; and it appears that the crown prince has succeeded in this respect.

It was also necessary to reconcile the Swedish people in general to a change of dynasty so complete as that which had been brought about.

When this change first took place, they had suffered so deeply and dreadfully from the measures of Gustavus, that they rejoiced at his dethronement, and hailed his successor with pleasure: but it was reasonable to apprehend, that when their sufferings passed away—when their national feelings and prejudices revived—they would look back with regret on their conduct towards Gustavus, and with dislike on the crown prince. Some sovereigns under these circumstances would eagerly have sought an opportunity to plunge their country in hostilities; thus hoping to drive out all unfriendly feelings, and to quash all revolutionary movements. The crown prince chose a more proper mode of proceeding; he turned the thoughts of the people, from the consideration of subjects unpleasant and dangerous to himself—not to war,—but to the designs he was planning and executing for their benefit. He thus seems to have succeeded in gaining the confidence and affections of the great body of the Swedish nation; and while he possesses these he is safe from the machinations of the nobles.

His situation with respect to Norway was yet more arduous than with respect to Sweden. The union of Norway with Sweden undoubtedly was effected, at the time, against the wishes of the Norwegians. We have already, in a preceding volume, inquired whether there was any justification of this union:—being accomplished, however, it was the duty of a wise prince, as soon and effectually as possible, to reconcile the Norwegians to it. To this the crown prince seems to have directed all his views and efforts: he not only adhered most strictly and conscientiously

tiously to the terms of the union, but consulted the wishes and prejudices of the Norwegians on many points where he might have followed his own views and opinions. The Norwegians are a people of great simplicity: in a considerable degree uncontaminated by the vices which exist in more populous and richer communities, they regard with great attachment the habits and feelings of their ancestors. They disliked Sweden on many grounds: they were particularly apprehensive that their national independence, which had been preserved notwithstanding they were governed by a Danish prince,—would be destroyed by their union with Sweden. It became, therefore, necessary to prove to them, that the crown prince would carefully guard their national independence; and that, when annexed to Sweden, they should possess even more privileges than they had enjoyed under Denmark.

By the prudence of his measures the crown prince reconciled the Norwegians to their new government much sooner than was expected. Their representatives were assembled: the first object of their deliberations and inquiries regarded the advantages and disadvantages likely to result from the union; these they discussed with coolness and judgement. They did not lose sight of the rights, or even of the prejudices, of the nation whom they represented, and of whom they formed a part; but they at the same time gave due force to all those considerations which pointed out the benefits of the union. As soon as the representatives had finished their deliberations, deputies from the diet of Norway were sent to Stockholm: here they were received by the king and the crown

prince with all proper respect. When his majesty had taken his seat on the throne, the marshals of the kingdom, at a given signal, conducted to the foot of it the spokesman of the people of Norway, who in their name delivered a speech, and presented the constitution adopted and signed by the diet at Christiana on the 4th of November 1814. Of this speech the following address of the diet forms a part:

“The representatives of the Norwegian people, summoned to inquire into and consider the situation of the kingdom, and to come to the most mature conclusion for its welfare, have now finished their important task. They perceive that a union with the neighbour kingdom will not only put a period to the devastations of war, but also, if founded on equitable conditions, open a prospect of eternal friendship for the future, and give the kingdoms of the North complete ability and strength to resist external enemies. Your majesty, ready to form such a union, recognised the right of the people to constitute themselves as an independent state, and commissioned respectable men to make known your gracious intentions, and thus to promote the union. The representatives of the nation, animated with zeal and anxiety for the welfare of their native land, thereupon decided for a perpetual union between the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway under a common king, gave to Norway a constitution founded on the aboriginal rights of a free people, and on the 4th instant unanimously elected and acknowledged your majesty as Norway’s constitutional king. The representatives of the people have not for a moment doubted that your majesty, who com-

commenced by recognising the rights of the nation, will continue to maintain and protect them. They are completely satisfied that they have acted in conformity to the wishes of the nation, and venture to assure your majesty of the inviolable fidelity and devotedness of a people, who hitherto have never forgotten their duty to their king.—May Almighty God strengthen you to govern according to his gracious purposes a kingdom which his wisdom has intrusted to you!

“CHRISTIE, president.

“WEIDEMANN, secretary.

“Extraordinary diet, Christiana, Norway, Nov. 26, 1814.”

The king returned the following gracious reply:—

“Good lords, and men of Norway, deputies from the diet of that kingdom!—I receive with the sincerest pleasure the assurances of fidelity and attachment which you have conveyed to me in the name of the Norwegian people. This solemn moment, which puts the last seal to the so happily established union between Sweden and Norway, was long called for by the actual demands of the North. The two nations who inhabit the Scandinavian peninsula could not in the lapse of ages obey divided interests; every thing called for an union between them, founded on reciprocal respect, and supported by a common spirit of freedom and honour. Though I ascended the throne of Sweden under gloomy prospects, yet I derived energy against dangers, and hope for the future, from an unbounded confidence in the Swedish people. They have not disappointed my expectations; and this people, who were so often the victims of the severe blows of fortune, now stand respected among the nations. With equal confi-

dence have I now, from the free and unanimous election of the diet, accepted of the crown of Norway; and this transaction, a guarantee for the principles of my government, will have the same happy consequences. Secured against foreign dangers, animated by the same noble efforts to promote internal welfare, the northern peninsula will be viewed with respect by the nations of Europe.

“Norwegians! I have through my well-beloved son given you my assurances, to govern the kingdom of Norway according to its laws and constitution; and also adopted the fundamental principles which were discussed and agreed upon between my commissioners and the diet. I now repeat to you this solemn declaration. Be assured that I shall ever feel it a sacred duty to meet the wishes of the Norwegian people with friendly readiness. Let us thank that Providence which, after such fluctuation of events, and such lengthened internal discord, has established security and unanimity in the North; let us give ourselves up to the pleasing hopes which futurity opens to our view. Norwegians and Swedes shall alike share my paternal regard. Behold here at my side, honoured by your joint gratitude, the hero who, next after the Almighty, has been the author of the fraternal league between you. As king and father, I embrace this opportunity to express to him my own and the common acknowledgements of our country. To him will I, when on the confines of eternity, deliver, with full confidence, both the crowns, which will from him receive a new and heightened lustre. It is he who must finish the great work of which he laid the foundations, and which I can only commence,—to reign over

you with mildness, to respect your freedom, and to defend your independence with valour. Then will you bless the hour which gave birth to the union of the Scandinavian nations, and my memory will live among you on account of my paternal efforts for your welfare, and for the prince whom I give you still further to promote it."

The king of the Netherlands seemed as much and as sincerely disposed as the crown prince of Sweden to reconcile and benefit his new subjects: but he had a more difficult and delicate task to perform. The contrast between the characters of the people of the Netherlands and of Norway is very great: in the former there is the most abject superstition, which naturally regards with most acute and dreadful abhorrence a union with heretics: in Norway the people are simple in their religious forms,—justly attaching more importance to what they do, than to what they profess; and evidencing their religion by what proceeds from the heart, not by what is done by the hands. The people of the Netherlands are obstinate and sluggish in their dispositions: the Norwegians, with a country infinitely less favoured by nature, struggle with patience and industry against the evils and disadvantages of their condition.

The king of the Netherlands, however, notwithstanding the difficulties which he had to encounter, principally from the superstitious prejudices of his new subjects, proceeded gradually and deliberately, but resolutely, in the prosecution of those designs which he conceived would benefit all classes of his people. His first object of course was to give to them such a constitution as would secure their liberty and happiness; a committee there-

fore was appointed to draw it up; and from the following extracts from their report, we may safely conclude that the object of the sovereign was favourable to the liberty of his people, and that the constitution proposed was in conformity with that object. Our extracts will also show that the committee consisted of men of sober and sound sense, who were persuaded that practicability, and a regard to the peculiar habits and circumstances of the people for whom the constitution was to be framed, were of infinitely more importance than the soundest theoretical notions on the subject of liberty.—[The figures refer to the articles of the constitution.]

"Sire,—The committee whom you had charged to revise the fundamental law of the United Provinces, and to propose the modifications required by the increase of territory, the erection of the Low Countries into a kingdom, and the stipulations of the treaties of London and Vienna, has applied to this work with all the zeal inspired by its importance, and by the desire of justifying your majesty's confidence.

"You declared, sire, to the notables assembled last year in the city of Amsterdam, that you had accepted the sovereignty on the express condition that a fundamental law *should sufficiently guaranty personal liberty, the security of property, and, in a word, all those civil rights which characterize a people really free.*

"From these words, which gratitude has engraved on every heart, from the manners and habits of the nation; from its public œconomy, from institutions tried by the experience of ages, were derived, with a distrust of theory too well justified by so many ephemeral constitutions; the

the principles of this first law, which is not an abstraction more or less ingenious, but a law adapted to the situation of Holland at the commencement of the 19th century.

"It has not rebuilt what was entirely worn out by time; but it has raised again what might be preserved with advantage. It is in this spirit that it has re-established the provincial assemblies, modifying their organization. In its relations to the general government this organization had not always been free from just censure. These relations have ceased.

"But the provincial assemblies, as directing the internal administration, had greatly contributed to the prosperity of the country: this administration has been restored to them. The fundamental law has also restored to the cities and rural districts all the independence compatible with the general welfare.

"It has invested the sovereign authority with all the prerogatives calculated to make it respected at home and abroad.

"It assigns the legislative power jointly to the prince and the states-general elected by the provincial states, who are themselves elected by all the inhabitants of the kingdom who are interested in its prosperity.

"In such a system of laws and institutions, well combined together, the members of the committee, who belong to the southern provinces, have recognised the bases of their ancient constitutions, the principles of their ancient liberty and independence; and it has not been difficult to modify this law so as to render it common to both nations, united by bonds the breaking of which has been followed only by their own misfortunes and those of Europe; bonds which it is their

wish and the interest of Europe to render indissoluble.

"Confined to this task, and taking for the basis of our labours this first law formed on liberal and paternal views, we have examined in succession its general principle and its particular dispositions.

"We have endeavoured, sire, to imbue ourselves with your spirit, and to impress on the constitution which is to govern your fine kingdom that character of justice and benevolence which is found in all your actions, in all your sentiments. We have not had the presumptuous pretension to foresee, to regulate every thing; we have left room for future experience to contribute its part to the completion of the work: we have only laid foundations on which your wisdom, enlightened by time and other counsellors, will raise institutions rather indicated than fixed, and which will complete, without useless delay but without precipitation, the edifice of which we have traced out the dimensions and laid the foundations.

"All the safeguards which the first fundamental law had given to individual liberty and property have been retained. We have found but little to add to them.

"Every arbitrary arrest is forbidden (Art. 168). If on urgent occasions the government causes an individual to be arrested, he must be brought within three days before the judge whom the law assigns him. (169.)

"No one can, under any pretext whatever, be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of this judge. (167.)

"The unjust penalty of confiscation is abolished. (171.)

"All judicial sentences must be pronounced in public. (174.) Those in civil causes must contain the grounds on which they are founded.

ed. (173.) In criminal cases they must declare the circumstances of the crime, and the law applied by the judge. (172.)

"No one can be deprived of his property, except for the public benefit, and for a reasonable indemnity. (164.)

"The abode of every subject of the king is inviolable. (170.)

"The right of petitioning, duly regulated, is recognised by the law. (161.)

"It admits of no privilege in respect to taxes. (198.)

"Every subject of the king is eligible to all employments, without distinction of birth or religious belief. (11 and 198.)

"In reserving the first function of the state to natives born of parents domiciliated in the kingdom (8), the law admits to other employments, both natives of the country and those who may be naturalised in it; this hospitable country will always offer protection and kindness to those whom liberal laws and a paternal government may induce to settle in it; but the right of voting upon its dearest interests, or of sharing in their direction, must belong to those alone who have sucked in with their mother's milk the love of their country.

"The liberty of the press will have no other restraint than the responsibility of him who writes, prints, or distributes. (227.)

"We have placed among the first duties of the government that of protecting public instruction, which must spread among all classes the knowledge useful to all, and among the higher classes that love of literature and the sciences which embellish life, make a part of the national glory, and are intimately connected both with the prosperity and security of the state. (226.)

"The most precious of all rights, that of liberty of conscience, is guaranteed as formally as it is possible to be. (190.) We venture to believe, sire, that these divers dispositions will fulfil the condition which you have so nobly imposed.

"We have recalled to your majesty's mind the good which has accrued to the country from the administration of the provincial states. Free in future from all participation in the government, it will be still more useful. Equally respected in the northern and southern provinces, where numerous institutions, public works of a most interesting nature, and constantly increasing prosperity, attested their useful influence; preferred to all other modes of administration by enlightened men in a neighbouring country, where such a regime was not generally known, it will be for our government a wholesome means, the more proper to make the laws loved and respected, as it will inspire more esteem and confidence. Far, sire, from your heart are those pernicious maxims which separate the interest of the prince from the interest of his subjects, and mistake the strength and the happiness which result from their constant and intimate union.

"It is to the provincial states that the project which we lay before your majesty gives the election of the members of the states-general.

"An electoral body being already formed of members elected either directly or indirectly by the nation, it was superfluous to organize another. This mode, besides, enters into the general system of the constitution, which makes all powers emanate from each other, descending, without the inconvenience of popular elections, to those classes

classes of society which bear but a small part in the burthens of the states, yet, having an interest to defend, have a right to be represented. (133, 134.)

"The number of deputies to be sent by each province to the states-general has been subjected to some difference of opinion. Some members thought that the most just and simple basis was the population.

"Plausible reasons and numerous examples were not wanting to support this opinion; these reasons have been contested; the justness of the application of these examples to the union of our provinces has been disputed; and it has been observed that the colonies which acknowledge the northern provinces as their mother country, the importance of their commerce, and the many millions of inhabitants subject to the laws of the metropolis, did not permit the adoption of the European population as the only basis of representation; that the only means of establishing perfectly and for ever an intimate and sincere union between the two countries, was to give each an equal representation. The majority acceded to this opinion. The present number of deputies sent by the northern provinces remains unchanged. That of the southern provinces has been regulated in an equitable manner, paying particular attention to their population, and to the proportional number of deputies by which they have been already represented. (79.)

"But there is a part of the states-general which we have thought ought not to be subjected to a periodical election. The great increase which the state has received, the rank it assumes among the nations of Europe, the diversity of the elements of which it is composed, its

more complicated interests have imposed it upon us as a duty, not to disdain the lessons of experience.

"We have thought that to hinder precipitation in the deliberations, to oppose in difficult times a barrier to the passions, to surround the throne with a bulwark which may baffle the attempts of faction, to give the nation a perfect guarantee against all arbitrary extension of power, it was expedient, after the example of powerful kingdoms and flourishing republics, to divide the representatives of the nation into two chambers.

"To effect this division we have not adopted foreign institutions, which might not well amalgamate with our national institutions. We have sought the principles of this division in the spirit which induced its adoption.

"The king proposes to the chamber elected by the provincial states, the projects of laws which have been deliberated on in his council of state. (106.)

"This chamber examines them, and, having adopted them, sends them to the other chamber, which has to examine them in the same manner. (109.) The chamber whose members are chosen for life, receives and discusses the propositions which the other thinks it proper to make to the king. It never makes any itself. (114, 115.)

"If it adopts the proposition, it transmits it to the king, who gives or refuses his sanction. (116.)

"By not adopting, it will for the most part only save the king from exercising, not only a necessary and indispensable right, but which, if too often repeated, might weaken that reciprocal confidence so useful to the monarch, and so fortunate for the people. In every case, the law is the result of the assent of the king and of the two chambers. (119.)

In most of our provinces, and especially in the northern ones, a great proportion of the inhabitants took part in the direction of affairs, by the effect of the organization of the public ; authorities and this participation kept alive public spirit, which is the most powerful spring of representative governments.

"The government finds itself much stronger, it is much better obeyed, when it makes known to the nation the motives of its determinations, the object of the sacrifices which it imposes, and of the efforts which it commands. Recent examples prove what vast resources arise to government when the whole people follows from conviction the grand measures it adopts.

"We have thought that to preserve this precious advantage it was necessary to render the sittings of the states-general public, restraining, however, this publicity within the limits which may prevent the abuse of it, and remove all kinds of danger. (108.)

"The bases of the organization of the judicial power in the first fundamental law, nearly approaching the ancient laws of Holland, do not essentially deviate from the ancient legislation of Belgium. We have retained them.

"In civil causes, the judges in the first resort are placed nearer to those under their jurisdiction. (184.) A court of appeal is for one or more provinces. (182.) A high court, superior to those tribunals, regulates their acts, and to this the law which will organize the whole judicial system may give more extensive attributes. (180.)

"In criminal matters the prosecution and punishment of crimes are committed, in a certain resort, to magistrates already invested with the cognisance of civil causes, and tempering by this double capacity

the habit of severity which may be contracted by the daily exercise of the right of punishing. (183.)

"A high military court, composed of military persons and lawyers, is charged with the revision of the sentences of courts martial, to which numerous reasons make it proper to leave the cognisance of all crimes committed by military persons. (188.)

"Codes common to the whole kingdom shall be formed of the civil, penal, and commercial laws, and of the organization of justice. (163.)

"The independence of the judges is guaranteed; they receive from the public treasury a salary fixed by the law, and are named by the king, the most of them for life, upon the presentation of the provincial states, or of the second chamber of the states-general. (176, 182, 186.)

"Such, sire, are the bases of a system of laws, which, matured in your council, and submitted to the sanction of the states-general, will be a new benefit conferred on your people.

"We have adopted also all the principles laid down by the first law, for the defence of the state, A permanent army will be as it were the advanced guard of the nation. (204.)

"A militia, wisely organized, will always be ready to fly to the defence of the country. (206 and 212.)

"The nation, wholly included in the guards of the communes, will defend in a mass, if necessary, its liberty and its independence. (210.)

"Several religious communities have been attracted to Holland by the mildness of its laws, and by the protection which the government afforded them. This protection will remain the same. (191.)

"The

"The law might have stopped here, and have left to your majesty the care of proving how great is your care for the ministers of religion; but it seemed to us that the fundamental law might make it duly for your successors, to take your noble sentiments for the rule of their conduct (193), and contain besides the assurances that no form of worship shall ever trouble the liberty of the rest, all being equally guarantied by the laws of the state. (196.)

"We think, sire, that a constitutional law which consecrates all legitimate rights, whose principles are derived from the manners and the character of the nation, may hope for a longer duration than one founded upon mere theory; but time changes and modifies every thing; and a means of revision not foreseen nor fixed at a certain period, but possible, if the necessity of some changes should be strongly felt, seemed to us useful, if attended with forms that prevent or check all spirit of innovation. (229, 238.)

"The fundamental law had reserved to the committee which has drawn it up, the right of interpreting its dispositions for the three first years. We have thought that to a law necessarily expressing the unanimous sentiments of the king, and of the two chambers of the states-general, this interpretation must be left, which is no other than the just application of the articles of the constitutional act of the kingdom.

"To effect, with a prudent circumspection, without shock or collision, the changes which the fundamental law makes necessary, it attributes to your majesty, by organic dispositions, the care of successively introducing the divers institutions which it has created or re-

established, to name, for the first time, the members of the two chambers of the states-general, and all the magistrates, whatever may be otherwise the mode of nomination that it has adopted. (Additional art. 1.)

"It maintains in force all the laws which govern the different parts of the kingdom, till the moment when they shall be replaced with the desirable celerity, but without precipitation, by other laws maturely weighed; and it thus gives itself the best support, the most powerful auxiliary it can have, your wisdom, and your love for your subjects. (Add. Art. 2.)

It will be seen that by this constitution the most ample religious toleration was granted. This occasioned a remonstrance on the part of the Roman Catholic bishops of Belgium: in this remonstrance are many doctrines which are better suited to the 15th than to the 19th century. The king, however, remained firm; and by continuing to pursue prudent as well as firm measures, it is to be hoped that in the course of time more liberal ideas on the subject of religious toleration will prevail in Belgium.

In the United States of America little calls for our notice. The war with Great Britain had left them nearly exhausted in their means and finances: specie there, as in Britain, had nearly disappeared; and paper money even as low as the lowest coin in circulation had been substituted: but it was soon evident that a paper circulation in America and Britain was very different; such a circulation must entirely depend on credit and confidence: in Britain these are carried to a very high degree of perfection; in America, on the contrary, there was little of either. Hence, and likewise from the circumstance that the people of
the

the United States were very averse and not easily compellable to pay taxes, the government there, soon after the war closed, found itself greatly embarrassed. Their first object, therefore, was the finances: many plans were proposed, among others the establishment of a national bank; but there seemed difficulties and serious objections in the way of all the plans. The chairman of a finance committee of congress was directed to take the opinion of Mr Dallas, the secretary to the treasury, on the subject of the embarrassments of the United States. The following passages from Mr. Dallas's answer will point out his ideas on this subject.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, requesting for a committee of the house of representatives an opinion upon the following inquiries:

"1. The effect which a considerable issue of treasury notes, with the quality of being receivable in subscriptions to a national bank, will have upon the credit of the government; and particularly upon the prospect of a loan for 1815.

"2. The practicability of getting 44 millions of treasury notes (forming with six millions of specie the capital for a national bank) into circulation without depreciation.

"The inquiries of the committee cannot be satisfactorily answered in the abstract; but must be considered in connexion with the state of our finances and the state of our public credit.

"When I arrived at Washington the treasury was suffering under every kind of embarrassment. The demands upon it were great in amount, while the means to satisfy them were comparatively small, precarious in the collection, and difficult in the application.

"The demands consisted of dividends upon the old and new funded debt, of treasury notes, and of legislative appropriations for the army, the navy, and the current service—all urgent and important. The means consisted—first, of the fragment of an authority to borrow money, when nobody was disposed to lend, and to issue treasury notes which none but necessitous creditors, or contractors in districts, or commissaries, quarter-masters, and navy-agents, acting as it were officially, seemed willing to accept: second, of the amount of bank credit, scattered throughout the United States, and principally in the southern and western banks, which had been rendered in a degree useless, by the stoppage of payments in specie, and the consequent impracticability of transferring the public funds from one place to another place: and third, of the current supply of money from the imports, from internal duties, and from the sales of public land, which ceased to be a foundation of any rational estimate, or reserve, to provide even for the dividends on the funded debt, when it was found that the treasury notes (only requiring, indeed, a last payment at the distance of a year), to whomsoever they were issued at the treasury, and almost as soon as they were issued, reached the hands of the collectors, in payment of debts, duties, and taxes: thus disappointing and defeating the only remaining expectation of productive revenue.

"The actual condition of the treasury thus described will serve to indicate the state of the public credit. Public credit depends essentially upon public opinion. The usual test of public credit is, indeed, the

the value of the public debt. The facility of borrowing money is not a test of public credit; for a faithless government, like a desperate individual, has only to increase the premium according to the exigency, in order to secure a loan. Thus public opinion, manifested in every form and in every direction, hardly permits us at the present juncture to speak of the existence of public credit; and yet it is not impossible that the government, in the resources of its patronage and its pledges, might find the means of tempting the rich and the avaricious to supply its immediate wants. But when the wants of to-day are supplied, what is the new expedient that shall supply the wants of to-morrow? If it is now a charter of incorporation, it may then be a grant of land; but, after all, the immeasurable tracts of the western wilds would be exhausted in successive efforts to obtain pecuniary aids, and still leave government necessitous, unless the foundations of public credit were re-established and maintained.

"With these explanatory remarks, sir, I proceed to answer, specifically, the questions which you have proposed:—

"1st. I am of opinion, that a considerable issue of treasury notes, with the quality of being receivable in subscriptions to a national bank, will have an injurious effect upon the credit of the government, and also upon the prospects of a loan for 1815.

"Because it will confer, gratuitously, an advantage upon a class of new creditors, over the present creditors of the government standing on a footing of at least equal merit.

"Because it will excite general dissatisfaction among the present

holders of the public debt, and general distrust among the capitalists, who are accustomed to advance the money to the government.

"Because, a quality of subscribing to the national bank attached to treasury notes exclusively, will tend to depreciate the value of all public debt not possessing that quality; and whatever depreciates the value of the public debt, in this way, must necessarily impair the public credit.

"Because, the specie capital of the citizens of the United States, so far as it may be deemed applicable to investment in the public stocks, has already, in a great measure, been so vested; the holders of the present debt will be unable to become subscribers to the bank (if that object should eventually prove desirable) without selling their stock at a depreciated rate, in order to procure the whole amount of their subscriptions in treasury notes; and a general depression in the value of the public debt will inevitably ensue.

"Because, the very proposition of making a considerable issue of treasury notes, even with the quality of being subscribed to a national bank, can only be regarded as an experiment, on which it seems dangerous to rely: the treasury notes must be purchased at par, with money; a new set of creditors are to be created; it may or it may not be deemed an object of speculation by the money-holders, to subscribe to the bank; the result of the experiment cannot be ascertained, until it be too late to provide a remedy in case of failure, while the credit of the government will be affected by every circumstance which keeps the efficacy of its fiscal operations in suspense or doubt.

"Because,

"Because, the prospect of a loan for the year 1815, without the aid of a bank, is faint and unpromising; except, perhaps, so far as the pledge of a specific tax may succeed: and then it must be recollected, that a considerable supply of money will be required for the prosecution of the war, beyond the whole amount of the taxes to be levied.

"Because, if the loan for the year 1815 be made to depend upon the issue of treasury notes, subscribed to the national bank, it will probably fail for the reasons which have already been suggested: and if the loan be independent of that operation, a considerable issue of treasury notes, for the purpose of creating a bank capital, must, it is believed, deprive the government of every chance of raising money in any other manner.

"2d. I am of opinion, that it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to get 44 millions of treasury notes (forming with six millions of specie the capital of a national bank) into circulation with or without depreciation.

"Because, if the subscription to the bank becomes an object of speculation, the treasury notes will probably be purchased at the treasury and at the loan offices, and never pass into circulation at all.

"Because, whatever portion of the treasury notes might pass into circulation, would be speedily withdrawn by the speculators in the subscription to the bank, after arts had been employed to depreciate their value.

"Because it is not believed that, in the present state of the public credit, 44 millions of treasury notes can be sent into circulation. The only difference between the treasury notes now issued, and those pro-

posed, consists in the subscribable quality: but reasons have been already assigned for an opinion, that this difference does not imply such confidence in the experiment, as seems requisite to justify a reliance upon it for accomplishing some of the most interesting objects of the government.

"I must beg you, sir, to pardon the haste with which I have written these general answers to your inquiries: but knowing the importance of time, and feeling a desire to avoid every appearance of contributing to the loss of a moment, I have chosen rather to rest upon the intelligence and candour of the committee, than to enter upon a more laboured investigation of the subject referred to me.

"I have the honour to be, very respectfully, sir, your most obedient servant, A. J. DALLAS.

"Wm. Lowndes, esq. chairman."

Thus it will appear that the arduous war from which Europe and America have just extricated themselves have inflicted on them both deeper financial wounds (if the expression may be allowed) than were anticipated; and that it must necessarily be a long period before they can be healed. Of the European states, it is probable that Britain, notwithstanding her load of debt, will recover first. In favour of America there is the vigour of youth, great natural advantages, and a wonderful spirit of enterprise, aided by a popular constitution. As, however, good and evil are much and closely intermixed in the affairs of this world, we may console ourselves with the hope that, by the exhaustion of all the great powers, hostilities cannot soon be revived to any considerable extent, or for any great length of time.

In one respect the United States and Britain have manifested a wise dereliction of popular prejudices on the subject of trade; for they have formed a commercial treaty, not clogged with those jealous, and at the same time for the most part ineffectual, restrictions which all preceding commercial treaties display;—they evidently, by the framing of this treaty, consider it possible that two commercial countries may respectively flourish, not only without injuring each other, but even with mutual benefit.

The government of the United States, proud of the triumphs of their navy during the war with Britain, resolved to pay great and immediate attention to it. That they could bring to bear on this subject a large portion of good sense, of deep reflection, and of that temper and spirit which profit by the good regulations of others, while it avoids all prejudices however long and deeply established, is manifest from the report of the secretary of the navy. On the 18th of March 1814, the senate came to the resolution to direct the secretary of the navy to devise and digest a system for the better organization of the department of the navy of the United States. In obedience to this resolution the report was made, of which we shall give the following abstract, convinced, as we are, that America, if Britain do not follow her plans, will soon become too powerful for us on the ocean. The report also is worthy of notice, as pointing out some faults in our navy system.

The secretary sets out with saying, it had been generally admitted that imperfections existed in the civil administration of the naval establishment; and hence it 1815.

had been inferred, that a radical change of system could alone remedy the evil.

The secretary, after observing at length on the waste, bad agency, and other defects of the naval system, next refers to those qualities and causes which have exalted the reputation of their infant navy, in the following terms:

“That our navy is not excelled in any thing which constitutes efficiency, perfect equipment, and general good qualities, it is believed will be admitted. That our seamen are better paid, fed, and accommodated, is no less true. That all the imported and many of the domestic articles of equipment and of consumption in the service are exceedingly enhanced; that the wages of mechanical labour is more than double that which is paid by Great Britain; that our expenditure is greatly increased by the interruption to navigable transportation, and the great extent of the local service, is equally obvious. Yet, under all these circumstances, it is demonstrable, that upon a comparison of an equal quantity of tonnage and number of guns and men, or in proportion to the number of men alone, our naval expenditure is considerably less than that for the navy of Great Britain, in which ‘one hundred and forty-five thousand men are employed, at an expense of more than twenty millions of pounds sterling, annually.’

“The manning of large ships of war (74's, &c.) now out of commission, is recommended by government as the cheapest and the most effectual mode of defending the American coast.” “The nature, construction, and equipment of the ships, &c.” continues the secretary, “which constitute a navy, form the basis of its efficiency, du-

rability, and economy, and the most important branch in the civil administration of its affairs.

"The defects in this part of the British system have been the theme of criticism and reprehension for many years past. The most minute, laborious, and able investigation has from time to time taken place, under the direction and scrutiny of the parliament, yet nothing approximating to radical amendment has been adopted; and the advocates of reform, either from the subtle ramifications of the evil, or the agency of some sinister influence, appear to despair of success."

The secretary next speaks of the diversity in the form, dimensions, and proportions of the British ships of war in general, and illustrates his argument by the following statement:

"When lord Nelson was off Cadiz with seventeen or eighteen sail of the line, he had no less than seven different classes of 74 gun ships, each requiring different masts, sails, yards, &c. so that if one ship was disabled, the others could not supply her with appropriate stores."

"The consequences resulting from this defective organization and want of system are strongly illustrated in the fact related by a recent professional writer of rank and talents, that 'out of 538 ships, &c. in the British navy, now at sea, there are only sixty-nine which are in reality superior in the discharge of metal or force of blows, but inferior in sailing, to some of the American frigates; and that there are but eighteen, which, unless in smooth water, are equal to contend with the United States, leaving 451, out of 538, which are admitted to be incompetent to engage, single-handed, with an American frigate.'

"These facts," says the secretary, "are encouraging; and if the American navy is made formidable upon the principle proposed, the host of British frigates and smaller vessels on the coast would be struck out of the account, or added to the list of the American navy, if they came in contact,

"These views, it is true, are prospective; but, with a stable, judicious, and liberal system, the result would be realized at no remote period.

"Having noticed these exceptions to the civil administration of the British navy, it is but just to observe, that the organization of the military part of their system is much more perfect."

After discussing the subject further as to the system to be adopted in dock-yards, and in the other departments of the naval establishment, he concluded by submitting, with great deference, a new system for the organization of the department of the navy, which he presented in the form of a bill for the better organization of the navy department.

In South America the war still rages between the partisans of Spain and the friends of American independence; but the details of these hostilities in most parts of that immense territory are so vague and unauthentic, that they cannot with propriety be inserted. With one exception, the South Americans seem to be proceeding in their plan of liberating their country from the yoke of the parent state. The exception we allude to is Carthagen. Against it an expedition was sent out from Cadiz, which has captured that city; but it is doubtful whether the commander will be able to follow up his successes by advancing into the interior.

In

In the West Indies, Guadaloupe was the scene of hostilities; the military and naval French commanders there refused to acknowledge Louis XVIII. ; and it was necessary to send a British force to reduce the island.

There have also been hostilities in the East Indies. In Ceylon, British valour has at length succeeded in gaining possession of the capital and the interior. The king of Candy, by his unparalleled cruelty, roused his subjects to call in the British, who soon dethroned him, and, with the consent of the

principal people, annexed his dominions to those which we previously possessed in that island. In our East India continental possessions, earl Moira found himself under the necessity of making war against the Nepaulese, a hardy nation, who inhabit a mountainous and comparatively cold country to the north of Hindostan. They fought well ; but being unequal to the combat with British troops, they were obliged to make peace on conditions favourable to the security of our possessions in India.

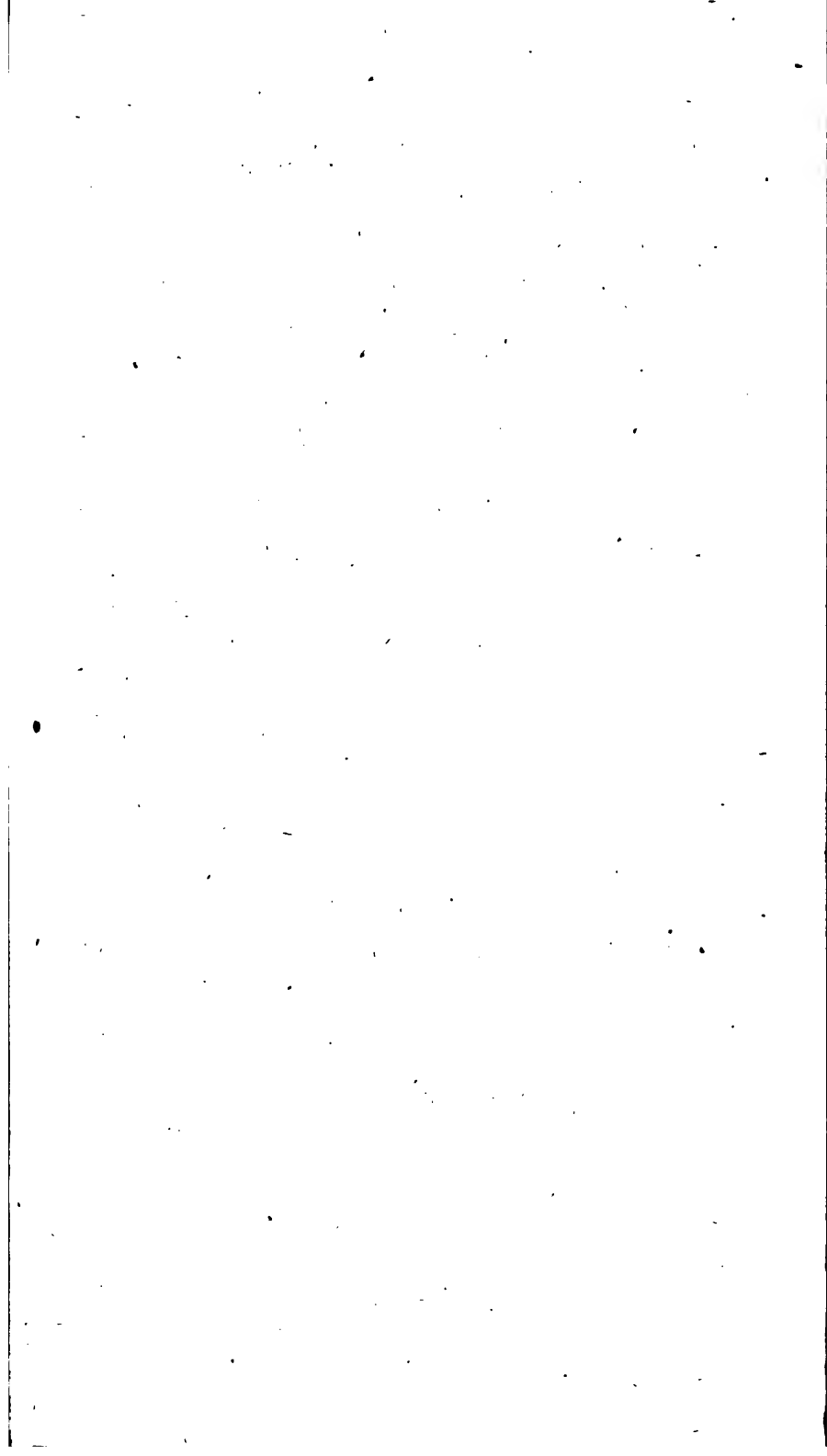
Prices of STOCKS for 1815.—N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1815.	{ Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. 3 p. ct.	4 p. ct. 5 p. ct.	5 p. ct. Navy.	6 p. ct. Long.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.	India Bonds.	South S. Stock.	South S. Ann.	Imp. Ann.	Exch. Bills.	India Stock.	Omn.	N. Ser.
Jan.	{ 260 251	66 65½	65½ 65	83 82½	95 94	16½ 16½	64½ 63½	30 pr. 15 pr.	91½		3½ 3½	6 pr. 3 pr.		24 dis. 14 dis.	
Feb.	{ 259 257	65½ 64½	65½ 64½	82½ 81½	94½ 93½	16½ 16½	64 62½	18 pr. 7 pr.	70½ 68½	64½ 64	3½ 3½	6 pr. 2 pr.	193½ 192½	3 dis. 14 dis.	
March	{ 257	64 63½	63½ 59½	81½ 89½	94 89½	16½	62½ 61½	7 pr. 1 dis.	65½	63½ 59½	3½	5 pr. 3 dis.	191½	3 dis. 10½ do.	
April	{ 226 230	56½ 56	58 56	73½ 71½	89½ 86	14½ 14½	57½ 56	14 pr. 4 dis.	62	57½ 56½	3½	10 pr. 5 dis.	175½		
May	{ 229½ 227½	58½ 56½	59 57½	73 71½	87½ 86½	14½	56 55½	15 pr. 11 pr.	63	57½	3½	11 pr. 5 pr.	176½ 175		
June	{ 230 219	59½ 53½	59 59	74½ 69½	87½	15 13½	56½ 55	10 pr. 7 dis.	58½ 53½		3	5 pr. 2 dis.		13 pr. 9½ pr.	3½ pr. 2½ dis.
July	{ 233 227	59 56½	59 56½	74½ 72	86½ 84½	14½ 14½	57½ 55½	4 pr. 9 dis.	60½ 60	58½ 57	3½	3 pr. 6 dis.	176 174½	12½ pr. 7 pr.	3½ pr. ½ pr.
Aug.	{ 228½ 224	57½ 56	57½ 56	73 71	85½ 83½	14½ 14½	55½ 54½	8 dis. 2 dis.	59½		3½	1 pr. 4 dis.	176 171	8½ pr. 14 pr.	
Sept.	{ 226	56½	56	72 71½	85½ 84	14½	55½ 54	8 dis. 5 dis.			3½	4 dis. 1 do.	171 170	7½ pr. 6½ pr.	
Oct.	{ 242½ 231	60½ 57½	61½ 57	74½ 72	90½ 85	15½ 14½	60½ 56½	5 pr. 6 dis.	62½	57	3½	5 pr. 3 dis.	178 170	16½ 7½	
Nov.	{ 240½ 239	61 60½	62½ 61	75½ 74½	92 90½	16½ 15½	58½	7 pr. 5 pr.	67½ 65½	60½ 59½	3½	6 pr. 4 do.	180½ 180	16½ 15½	
Dec.	{ 238½ 237	60½ 59½	61 61	75½ 74	90½	15½ 15	58½ 57½	5 pr. 3 dis.		59½	3½			15½ 13½	

PRINCIPAL.

**PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES**

In the Year 1815.



PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, &c.

For the Year 1815.

CHINA.

Statement by Kea-King, Emperor of China; received at Canton, Nov. 8th, 1813.

IMPERIAL notice of a revolution has occurred, for which I blame myself. I, whose virtues are of an inferior class, received, with much veneration, the empire from my imperial father 18 years ago. I have not dared to indulge myself in sloth. When I ascended the throne, the Pe-leen sect threw into rebellion four provinces, and the people suffered what I cannot bear to express. I ordered my generals to go against them; and after eight years conflict, they reduced them to subjection. I hoped that thenceforward I should have enjoyed perpetual pleasure and peace with my children the people. Unexpectedly, on the 6th of the 8th moon [Sept. 2, 1813], the sect of Teen-lee, (i. e. Celestial Reason Illuminati) a banditti of vagabonds, created disturbance, and caused much injury, from the district of Chang-yeuen, in the province of Pe-che-le, to the district Tsaon in Shang-Tung. I hastened to order Wan, the viceroy of Peking, to lead forth an army to exterminate them, and to restore peace. This affair was yet at the distance of a thousand le (200 miles). But suddenly, on the 5th of the moon, the

rebellion arose under my own arm. The calamity has arisen in my own house. A banditti of upwards of seventy persons of the sect Teen-lee, violated the prohibited gate, and entered withinside. They wounded the guards, and entered the inner palace. Four rebels were seized and bound. Three others ascended the wall with a flag. My imperial second son seized a musket and shot two of them. My nephew killed the third. After this they retired, and the palace was restored to tranquillity. For this I am indebted to the energies of my imperial second son. The princes and chief officers of the Lungtsung gate led forth the troops, and after two days and one night's utmost exertion completely routed the rebels. My family (that reigns under the title) Ta-tsing has continued to rule the empire one hundred and seventy years. My grandfather and imperial father, in the most affectionate manner, loved the people as children. I am unable to express their virtue and benevolence. Though I cannot pretend to have equalled their good government and love of the people, yet I have not oppressed nor ill-used my people. This sudden change I am unable to account for. It must arise from the low state of my virtue, and my accumulated imperfections. I can only reproach myself. Though this rebellion has
(A 2) broken

broken out in a moment, the calamity has long been collecting. Four words "Carelessness, Indulgence, Sloth, and Contempt" (of business) express the source whence this great crime has arisen. Within-side and without-side [in my family, and abroad in the empire] things are in the same state. Though I have again and a third time given warning, till my tongue is blunted, and my lips parched (with frequent repetition), yet none of my ministers have been able to comprehend it. They have governed carelessly, and caused the present occurrence. Nothing like it occurred during the dynasties of Han; of Tang; of Sung; of Ming. The attempt at the close of the dynasty Ming did not equal the present by more than ten-degrees. When I think of it, I cannot bear to mention it. I would examine myself; reform and rectify my heart, to correspond to the gracious conduct of Heaven above me, and to do away the resentment of the people below me. All my ministers who would be faithful to the dynasty Ta-tsing must exert themselves for the benefit of the country, and to their utmost make amends for my defects, as well as to reform the manners of the people. Those who can be contented to be mean, may hang their caps against the wall, and go home to end their days; not sit inactive as dead bodies in their places, to secure their incomes, and thereby increase my crimes. The tears fall as my pencil writes! I dispatch this to inform the whole empire.

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

On the 28th of September, 1819, a party of conspirators, seventy or eighty in number, entered the imperial palace, and remained in it

two days and one night. They attempted to reach the innermost apartments, where were some of the princes and others of the imperial family, but were prevented. During those two days, many persons were killed and wounded; several ladies of the palace were induced from fear to destroy themselves. The conspirators were finally driven out; and some of them were killed, and others taken. This attack was supposed to have been excited by the emperor's elder brother, called commonly his right brother. The emperor himself was to have arrived from Iehöl on the day when the attack was made, and it is supposed the object was to take his life: had this succeeded, his elder brother would probably have been submitted to, by the country, without opposition. The emperor, however, remained to amuse himself a day longer than was expected, and thus escaped the fate to which the conspirators had devoted him. The Chinese say, respecting his escape, that—"Mo-fei Teen ning"—It was unquestionably by the decree of Heaven. When the above circumstances were reported to the emperor, he wrote and published the paper already given. It is said that several attempts on his life have lately been made: one by means of poison mixed in a cup of gingsen, which he declined, and gave to his page, who died soon after. Another by means of contriving to convert his pipe into a rocket: it went off ere he put the pipe to his mouth, while he was intent on reading a dispatch. It is said that he rose and kicked to death the man who presented the pipe to him. The people tell an anecdote of him, which seems to indicate his being a good-natured man. Last year he had occasion to be displeased with his elder

elder brother already mentioned. He spoke harshly on the occasion, and said, "Chay ko she shinmo tungste?" What kind of a thing is this!—His elder brother overheard this, and said, "A thing!—I'll tell you what a thing I am—I am the son of the emperor Keen lung, and am Kea-king's elder brother. Now do you speak out and say what 'thing' you consider me." The quarrel lasted for several days, the elder brother insisting that the emperor should speak out. Finally, Keen-king, finding that he could not appease his brother in any other way, fell down on his knees, and said, "You are my venerable elder brother—my venerable elder brother!" The brother then embraced him, and they became friends for the time being. It is said that the emperor, though he has every reason to charge treason on his brother, does not dare to proceed to take his life; it is so repugnant to the feelings of the nation to take an ELDER brother's life. The emperor, after his arrival at Peking, displaced several of his ministers, King-kwel the first Pea-sang (or as called by courtesy Co-lao) was removed; and Sung-taglim, the friend of the English embassy, put in his place. The emperor also put to death eighteen or twenty of his eunuchs. In almost every province, troops to the amount of 60,000 were called out to attack the rebels, or, as the Chinese yet continue to call them, robbers:—for they do not wish to consider the rebellion as of any consequence. The rebellion began in Shang-tung, where a famine prevailed: those who wished to overturn the government laid hold of this circumstance. It was such a concurrence that overturned the dynasty Ming. In Shang-tung, the rebels seized on three districts in Pe-che-le, and on

three districts in Ho-nan. They put to death the officers of those districts, and, as the Chinese persist in affirming, ate their flesh. Considerable quantities of human flesh were eaten by the famishing people. They even go so far as to say that it was carried about for sale. One of the leaders in Shang-tung was by the government said to affirm himself to be Lew-heun-te, a person famous for his virtue and public spirit, upwards of two thousand years ago, now returned to life, agreeably to the doctrine of the metempsychosis. In the time of Lew-heun-te, there was another hero Kwan-foo-tsze, now worshipped by the Chinese as the god of war. This person is said to have appeared several times in defence of his country. The people have it reported among them, and many believe it, that he appeared lately in the heavens with a red and angry countenance, and terrified the rebels. The government troops came forward and obtained a great victory. This rebellion is attributed to the bad influence of the comet which appeared in 1811. On Dec. 9, 1813, at midnight, a large meteor was seen in Canton, which was thought ominous of ill. This belief of planetary influence on the affairs of men may serve to produce the effect which is attributed to it, by encouraging the people to rebel, who are previously disposed to do so. In China there exist a great many secret associations of the people. They generally call themselves "brotherhoods," and take to themselves various epithets, as "Teen-le-Fwing," Celestial Reason's Association; "Teen-to-Hwing," Heaven and Earth Association; "San-ho-Hwing," Association of the Three Powers, i. e. heaven, earth, and man; "Pe-teen-Hwing," Association of the Water-lily.

lily. The government calls them "Reason fei," Banditti of Religionists. They do not teach any religious system, but they generally sacrifice or drink a small quantity of each other's blood when they take the oath of brotherhood. They have, like the freemasons of Europe, secret marks by which they are known to each other. Their ostensible object is to defend each other's property, and revenge each other's wrongs. It is said that their property is always secure, and that they can travel with perfect safety at all times. They revenge each other's wrongs even on the officers of government.

YORK, Dec. 23, 1814.—During the tremendous gale on Friday, part of the engine-chimney adjoining the factory of Whitehead and Pearson, on Bradford-moor, Yorkshire, was thrown down, and falling through the roof, did much damage to a new building adjoining the Bank in Low Ousegate; and the falling of bricks and tiles rendered the passing along the streets extremely unsafe. About a dozen fine trees upon the walk were torn up, and in consequence of being flooded at the time, the roots of a great many more were loosened.—At Lancaster the tide began to flow about two hours earlier than set down in the tide-table; and the coach from Ulverston, crossing the Lancaster Sands, was obliged to make for the shore above Silverdale. The tide continued to flow about half an hour later, and was between six and seven feet higher than mentioned in the table. It inundated St. George's Quay, Lancaster.—During the heavy gale on Friday last, many persons were hurt by the falling of bricks and slates from the houses in this town, but we have heard of only two serious injuries being sustained, viz, an el-

derly woman had her head severely cut by a brick in Old Hall-street, and a man had his arm broke in Liver-street, by a slate; but we understand they are both doing well. Numerous were the narrow escapes, particularly in the instance of a family in the park, who fortunately happened to leave their house in time to escape complete destruction, which in all probability would otherwise have ensued, as it was blown down, and became in an instant one heap of rubbish. The number of chimneys destroyed exceeds any thing ever remembered.

WAYMOUTH.

This week we have experienced one of the most tremendous gales of wind at S. E. ever known at this port.—On Wednesday evening the gale increased most violently, when at nine o'clock the French brig *L' Amitié*, from Havre de Grace to the Isle of Bourbon, of 300 tons burthen, laden with various merchandise, came ashore on Portland Sands, having cut away all her masts. In consequence of firing guns of distress, and hoisting signal lights, the Portland men, at the most imminent danger of their lives, got on board, and the vessel's head was brought towards the shore, and prevented from going to pieces. During this critical period, the captain and crew were preparing a raft for conveying themselves and the passengers to the shore; but by the timely and fortunate arrival of the Dutch consul at this port (who also underwent extreme peril in getting aboard), he with much difficulty persuaded the whole to remain till next morning, when upwards of 20 ladies and children, with other passengers and crew, amounting to upwards of 50 souls, were let down by ropes into the boats, and safely landed (although the sea was raging

ning tremendously high), and conducted to the hotel in that island. The vessel and cargo, it is supposed, will be saved. Upon the whole, this storm has been the most serious of its kind in the memory of the oldest persons living, and appears only to have been exceeded by the remarkable hurricane in 1709.

Early on Monday week, the person who attends the gasometer at the factory of Messrs. Benyons and Bage, in Shrewsbury, imprudently entered it with a lighted candle; the gas was immediately ignited, and blew up the apparatus, together with the roof of the building in which it was contained; but, happily, the communication thus made with the atmosphere had the effect of extinguishing the flame, without injury to the extensive premises attached. The author of this misfortune was very much burnt, and was conveyed to the Infirmary; another man, who was with him at the time of the explosion, escaped unhurt, by instantly laying himself at full length, with his face towards the ground.

Among the many calamitous effects of the late hurricane on the 16th ult. we have to record the destruction of the beautiful and elegant Gothic spire of Thaxted church, in Essex. It had been struck with lightning in the summer, and scaffolding had been erected to take down the damaged part of the pinnacle; but owing to the scaffolding being injudiciously suffered to remain during the winter above the part of the spire which still remained, the whole was blown down on the roof of the church about the middle of the day.

24.—An inquest was held at the Cow, in Cow-lane, on the body of a young woman, name unknown, who was run over on Thursday

evening, by the Manchester-coach, at the end of Redcross-street Barbican. Mr. Plumpton, pastry-cook, in Barbican, deposed that he saw deceased, as well as several others, between four and five o'clock on Thursday evening, attempting to cross at the end of Redcross-street, when the Manchester coach was passing. He heard the coachman call out, and at the same time the deceased was knocked down by one of the leaders. The horses were immediately pulled up. The stage coach was endeavouring to avoid a hackney-coach when the accident happened. Miss Roby, milliner, in Red-cross-street, was passing at the time, and was next to the deceased when the coach was coming up, and she had scarcely time to escape. The deceased was taken up apparently lifeless, and carried to the house of Mr. Senior, a surgeon, in Beech-street, who said that the skull of the deceased was crushed to pieces, and that she died in consequence of the accident. Verdict—Accidental Death. Five pounds, or the fore-horse.

Wednesday se'nnight a respectable man residing in the parish of St. James' Clerkenwell, who had lately come from Manchester, attempted to put a period to his existence by breaking a stone bottle and boring a hole on each side of his neck, of a sufficient size to admit two fingers. Upon its being discovered, surgical assistance was immediately procured, and the gentleman at whose house he then lodged, knowing nothing of him or his relations, and having observed that he appeared very dejected, thought it advisable to have him removed to the workhouse, which was accordingly done, and he was put into one of the rooms on the third story. The doctor had just

left him after having dressed the wounds of his neck, when the unfortunate man immediately made a spring from his bed through the window, breaking only three panes of glass, and also the wood-work, and fell on the rough stones in the yard at the back of the workhouse, a height of forty feet; and astonishing to relate, he was taken up alive, and but little hurt.

The Turkish frigate called the *Camel*, Abdallah Hamed commander, was recently employed in collecting the annual tribute in the Grecian Archipelago. While at anchor off Mytilene, the following tragical circumstance took place:—A Greek, being unable or unwilling to pay the assessment, had been conveyed on board ship, and after undergoing repeated bastinadoes, was threatened with further punishment. Having next day refused compliance, his wife and daughter were, by Hamed's order, put to death, after treatment too dreadful to describe. This scene took place in presence of the wretched husband, who, maddened by the sight, devoted himself to destruction to obtain revenge for such outrages on the common feelings of nature. When the crew were asleep, he gained the powder chamber, and fired it. An instantaneous explosion, which scattered burning fragments over the neighbouring islands, announced the terrible catastrophe to the inhabitants. What remained of the frigate was speedily consumed; and of the crew, 160 perished. The survivors, including Hamed, the commander, were dreadfully mutilated.

JANUARY, 1815.

2.—An inquest was held at the St. Andrew's Head, Upper East Smithfield, on the body of a man

discovered in Down's wharf, tied up in a hamper, which was to be sent to Scotland. Mr. Toss, clerk in the warehouse, deposed, that on Tuesday se'nnight two despicable-looking men came before the wharf was opened, in the morning, with a horse and cart, and inquired if the Leith smack went from thence: on being told it did, they went to a public house while the warehouse was opening, and afterwards came to him with a hamper. They said the direction was written on a piece of leather, which he found by the light was "Mr. Wilson, janitor, College, Edinburgh," (resurrection-man, we understand, to Dr. Monro). After they had paid the booking and wharfage, he asked their names, in consequence of the unusual hour at which they came, which they said were Chapman, and then departed. The hamper lay in the warehouse until Friday se'nnight, when the vessel was ready to sail (the *Mary Ann* of Leith). It was put on board, and the crew, on account of the smell, turned it round two or three times, when the bottom broke, and the head of a man came through. They sent to the beadle, to inform the proper officers; and on opening the hamper, the body of a man was discovered, with his head bent back between his shoulders, and the body and limbs shockingly mutilated. The beadle corroborated this evidence, as far as related to the state of the body on opening the hamper. Being asked by a juryman, whether he thought the body was taken by any resurrection-men for the purpose of dissection, he said he believed the body was never buried. After a short consultation, the Jury returned a verdict—Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

OLD BAILEY.

5.—James West was found guilty of stealing bank-notes out of the Bristol mail, to the amount of upwards of 1300*l*. In his defence, he said he had got them at a gaming-house, and that if he were found guilty, nobody would be safe in taking such notes.

On Friday, Joseph Akerman was indicted for the wilful murder of John Southcombe, on the 22d of October last, by driving over him a certain mail coach drawn by four horses. The prisoner was the coachman of the Bath mail coach on the day in question, and left the post-office at about ten minutes after eight o'clock. On their arrival at the two-mile-and-half stone, the guard heard a violent crash, and on looking forward he saw a cart overturned, and a man lying in the road. He called to the coachman to stop, and the mail was pulled up at the Hand and Flower public-house about eighty yards from the spot where the accident happened, from whence assistance was sent to the man. The Exeter and Worcester mails were immediately before the Bath mail, and they were all going at their usual rate of eight miles an hour; their lamps being lighted. Upon subsequent inquiry, it turned out that the deceased and his brother were driving towards London, and that, as the brother had stated, they were driving on their proper side when the mail coach came in contact with them, which overturned them, and the hind wheel of the mail went over the body of the deceased. The coach, at the time of the accident, was on the wrong side of the road. The deceased died in consequence of the injury which he sustained.—Upon the part of the prisoner, Walter Mansell, esq. and the Rev. Henry

Brereton, were called; and from their testimony it appeared that the Bath mail was driven at a very steady pace, that there was plenty of room for the cart of deceased to pass, and that the accident was occasioned by a sudden swerve of the cart towards the mail, as if the wrong rein had been pulled. They describe the conduct of the prisoner to have been attentive and proper, and in no ways negligent or careless. It was so dark that they could not tell whether the coachman was driving on the right side of the road or not. The guard, after the accident had happened, called to the coachman to "drive on, and never mind." A gentleman named Warren, who was walking on the foot-path, said the coach was certainly on the proper side, and that there was room for two carts to have passed beyond it. It was further proved, that the deceased and his brother were tipsy, and were incapable of driving. They had been seen by one of the Hammersmith coachmen, a short time before the accident, driving on the wrong side of the road.

Mr. Baron Wood summed up the evidence, with a remark that in his opinion the offence imputed to the prisoner did not amount to murder, although, if the jury were of opinion that the conduct of the prisoner had been negligent or careless, or that he had been driving on the wrong side of the road at the time the accident happened, they might find him guilty of manslaughter. His lordship particularly adverted to the conduct of the guard, who had so inhumanly called out to the coachman to drive on after the accident had happened, and reprobated such conduct in forcible terms.

The jury withdrew, and, after an absence

absence of a quarter of an hour, returned with a verdict of—Not Guilty.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

20.—Another trophy has been gained by our gallant navy in the capture of the President frigate, the largest of the ships of war hitherto sent to sea by the United States, and commanded by the ablest officer in that service. The President, commodore Decatur, accompanied by the Macedonian armed brig of 420 tons, loaded with provisions, sailed from New York during one of those gales which compelled our blockading squadron, under captain Hayes, to stand out to sea. From the orders which had been issued, her track was speedily known; and next day the squadron, consisting of the Majestic, capt. Hayes; Tenedos, capt. Hyde Parker; Endymion, capt. Hope; and Pomona, capt. Lumley, made all sail in chase. The President made every effort to escape, by cutting away the anchors, and throwing overboard every moveable article. The British squadron made equally strenuous exertions to come up with her. But only the Endymion of 40 guns, capt. Henry Hope, could overtake her, about five in the evening. The Endymion at half-past five commenced close action, yard-arm and yard-arm; and it was continued with great gallantry and spirit on both sides for two hours and a half; when, the Endymion's sails being cut from the yards, the enemy got a-head. Capt. Hope taking this opportunity to bend new sails to enable him to get his ship alongside again, the action ceased, till the Pomona, getting up at half past eleven at night, and firing a few shots, the enemy hailed to say she had already surrendered. The Endymion was in-

ferior in number of men, tonnage, guns, and weight of metal. The President had six feet of water in her hold, and lost a great number of men; but the exact amount, owing to the ships having parted company, and the silence of the enemy, could not be ascertained. The Endymion had ten men killed and fourteen wounded—a less proportion of loss than we have sustained in any action with the Americans. We are told that thirteen British renegadoes, who were of the President's crew, jumped overboard when she struck, to avoid the ignominious death due to their treason in having fought against the British flag.

The force of the Endymion is said to be 48 guns, of all sizes—men, 340—tonnage, 1977. The force of the President was 59 guns—crew, 490 men—tonnage, 1600: her killed and wounded about 100.

We have the official documents relative to the communications between general Dauxion Lavaysse and the president Petion. They are of an interesting nature, and show great moderation on the part of the Haytians, mixed with a firmness which commands respect. M. Lavaysse opened the business of his mission, by a letter from Jamaica, dated on the 6th of September, which is quite vague and indistinct in its proposals. The president replied, on the 24th of the same month, by a complimentary letter, inviting Lavaysse to Port-au-Prince. In this letter there is nothing remarkable; unless the praises which the president takes the opportunity to bestow on England, for her abolition of the slave trade, may be so considered. Lavaysse accordingly sailed for Port-au-Prince—not, as was stated by the French journalists, in a vessel sent by the president,

dent, but—in an English vessel. Arrived at Port-au-Prince, he on the 9th of November addressed the president in a letter, in which, after attributing all the sufferings of the Haytians to “the men who were a disgrace to the French name, the enemies of the house of Bourbon, the disciples of Robespierre, Marat, and Carrier, and the worthy satellites of their successor the Corsican tyrant,” he formally proposed,—

1. That the president should recognise and proclaim the sovereignty of the French king.

2. That the president, and other leading men, in imitation of what was done in France at the epoch of Bonaparte's deposition, should form themselves into a provisional government subject to the authority of Louis XVIII.

3. That they should hoist the French flag.

In return, he promised the president and his colleagues honourable distinctions and rewards; and he assured them, that the progress of knowledge in France had destroyed the tyranny of hurtful prejudices; that Louis, “like the Divinity of whom he is the representative”—(a mode of speaking which must certainly shock that pious prince)—felt equal affection for his subjects without distinction of colour. In this letter M. Lavaysse again took occasion to inveigh with fury against the “Corsican,” as well as against the “bashaw Leclerc,” and “the other brigands who were sent to Hayti in 1802 by the usurper;” and amongst whom, it may be observed, was a general Desfourneaux, who not long ago hoped by his falsehood and sophistry to persuade the French government to send him out on a similar expedition.

The president on the 12th of November answered this letter by a

statement of the evils which Hayti had suffered from revolutionary France. He reminded him that the national cockade was the first incitement to massacre in St. Domingo; that the colonists, now so clamorous at the court of the Bourbons, but lately for the most part satellites of Bonaparte, were many of them on the outset of the revolution violent democrats, as was proved by the lamented assassination of colonel Mauduit, a particular and personal confidant of Monsieur's. This letter concluded by stating, that the president had convoked the chief authorities of the republic for the 21st of November, and would lay before them the propositions made by M. Lavaysse. The French agent was soon after this attacked with illness. However, two short letters passed between him and the president on the 19th and 20th, of no particular importance. On the 21st of November the general assembly of the Haytian authorities was held at Port-au-Prince; when it was unanimously resolved to reject the proposals of Lavaysse; to whom the president in consequence addressed a formal statement of their reasons for so doing; but added, that wishing to re-establish relations of commerce with France, and to show that respect which they had always felt for his majesty Louis XVIII., the Haytian republic was willing to establish the bases of a pecuniary indemnity for the losses which the French colonists had sustained, and must continue to suffer, in consequence of the separation of Hayti from France. To this liberal offer it appears that Lavaysse was not authorized to make any answer. He accordingly on the 29th of November, with many acknowledgements for the urbanity which had been shown to him,

him, personally demanded his passports; and shortly afterwards departed in a merchant-vessel which he hired for that purpose. All the official documents relative to this transaction were printed and published at Port-au-Prince on the 3d of December, preceded by an address of the president to the people and the army, strongly impressing on them the necessity of defending that independence which they had acquired by force of arms. "Victory," says the president, "always accompanies a just cause. This is a sufficient assurance that it will accompany ours, if we should be attacked. In that case you will always see me at your head, proud to lead you to success, or to perish with you. The republic expects that every man will do his duty. I will set you the example."

20.—At the late Methodist conference at Bristol, it was stated, that the number of the Methodists, in England alone, had increased more than 12,000 in the last year, in Wesleyan Methodists only.

The French college, established at Penn in Buckinghamshire under the auspices of the late right hon. E. Burke, and maintained during nineteen years by the munificence of the British nation, will be transferred to Paris in the course of the ensuing summer, and continued there under the patronage of his most christian majesty.—That benevolent institution, which reflects the highest honour on Britain, has been so successfully conducted under the superintendence and indefatigable exertions of the highly-revered superior abbé Maraine, that many of the pupils having completed a series of preparatory studies, and made considerable literary attainments, recommended by exemplary conduct, have been honoured and

intrusted with commissions in the English army under the immortal Wellington, and since the restoration of legitimate monarchy, with important stations in the French empire. His most christian majesty has signified his approbation of the conduct of the superior, by transmitting to him, through his ambassador at the court of London, the decoration of the order of the Lis, with a patent of permission to wear the same.

26.—This day the Redoubtable, of 74 guns, was launched at the king's dock-yard, Woolwich. In spite of the cold, the yard was crowded for a considerable time before the ship went off the stocks, and the river presented a scene truly picturesque. The vessel was decked out in all her colours, which were affixed to jury-masts, and was crowded with several hundred persons; even the opposite bank was lined with shivering spectators. This beautiful vessel is built after a new construction, and is rendered more roomy and convenient to her crew than the old-built ships.

28.—About a quarter past six o'clock a fire was discovered at Mr. Biggs's house in St. Paul's church-yard by the foot-passengers, who knocked violently for a considerable time, but none of the family were made to hear. At length the door was forced, when the flames burst out with such fury, as to prevent any one from alarming the family up stairs; but which was at length done by the ringing of the bells, and crying out "Fire, fire!" Mrs. Biggs, with an infant in her arms, and a servant maid, got first out of the house, as they had arisen from their beds, and were taken to Mr. Butler's. Mr. Butler entreated her to go up stairs; but the feelings of the mother were too much alive for

for the safety of her other five children, to admit of a moment's delay; and it is supposed she would have returned and rushed into the flames in search of them, had she not fainted away: as soon as she recovered, she was prevailed on to go to a friend's house in Cheapside. So rapid were the flames, that no other person except a servant with another of Mrs. Biggs's children succeeded in getting out by the door; the rest took to the roof of the house, and got away unhurt, among whom was an elderly woman, who was attending as a nurse on one of Mrs. Biggs's lodgers, who, we hear, made his escape by getting from one roof to another. We have only accounted for two out of Mrs. Biggs's six children, the eldest of whom, a son, was only nine years of age. We wish we could have stated that they had all been saved; but the eldest son above mentioned, and his sister between three and four years old, perished in the flames, nor was it in the power of any one to prevent it. They lodged, it appears, in a room above their brothers, to which those who first got into the house could not reach, and to which the servants who escaped by the roof durst not venture. Indeed, the situation of this family will be better understood by stating, that the fire was not discovered until a quarter past six, and the house was down to the ground before seven o'clock. The two other children of Mrs. Biggs escaped, no one can tell how; but they happily did escape, though one of them was not discovered until eleven o'clock on Tuesday morning in St. Martin's-le-Grand. This fire entirely consumed the two houses above mentioned, and damaged the top of the house of Mr. Hall to the right, and scorched a little the house of Mr. Dollond,

the optician, to the left. To add to the misfortune of Mr. and Mrs. Biggs, the former of whom is on a journey on business, not a sixpence of their stock in trade was insured, and we hear they were only beginning the world, not having been long in business. To the credit of the inhabitants, the ladies were all day sending in articles of dress for the children; and in the evening a meeting was held at the instigation of Messrs. Pearsall, Butler, Daw, Kinder, Bunn, and Dunnett, six of the principal inhabitants, when it was resolved to bring forward a subscription for the benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Biggs and family, who have not saved a farthing of their property, either in stock, furniture, or wearing apparel. About 1000*l.* was raised for them.

FEBRUARY.

I.—Some years ago, a handsome and very intelligent youth, whose name is Henry Pargeter Lewis, the son of a respectable attorney in Dudley, was placed, for a probationary time, previously to an intended apprenticeship, with a surgeon and apothecary, of the name of Powel, in the immediate neighbourhood of one of our great public schools. He had not been there long before one of the scholars, who lodged at the surgeon's, in league with the servant-boy of the house, devised the following stratagem to frighten him:—One night, during an absence of the master, the servant-boy concealed himself under the bed of Henry, before the latter retired to rest, and remained there till the hour of midnight; when, on a pre-concerted signal of three raps at the chamber-door, it suddenly opened, and in stalked the school-boy, habited in a white sheet, with his face horribly disguised, and bearing

ing a lighted candle in his hand;—the servant-boy, at the same moment, heaving up the bed under Henry with his back. How long this was acted is not known. It was done long enough, however, completely to dethrone the reason of the unfortunate youth, who, it is supposed, immediately covered himself with the bed-clothes, and so continued till the morning. On his not rising at the usual time, some one of the family went to call him; and not answering, except by incoherent cries, he was discovered in the state described. The melancholy tidings of his situation were conveyed to his friends: and on his removal to them, the facts were disclosed, partly by the confession of the servant-boy, and partly by the unfortunate youth himself during the few lucid intervals which occurred in the course of the first year after his misfortune. His father and mother were then living: but they are now both dead, and the little property they left to support him is nearly exhausted, together with a small subscription which was also raised to furnish him with necessaries, and to remunerate a person to take care of him.—He is perfectly harmless and gentle, being rather in a state of idiocy than insanity, seldom betraying any symptoms of violent emotion, except occasionally about midnight (the time of his unhappy disaster), when, full of indescribable terror, he exclaims, "Oh! they are coming! they are coming!" All hope of recovery is at an end, more than twenty years having elapsed since the catastrophe happened. The name of the contriver and chief agent of the fatal mischief is withheld, from motives of delicacy.

Windsor Castle, Feb. 4.

The king continues in good

health; but since the last report his majesty has been less uniformly tranquil than he was during some preceding months."

Horse Guards, Feb. 17.

At a general court-martial held at Winchester, Jan. 16, 1815, and continued by adjournments to Feb. 7, lieut.-gen./sir J. Murray, bart. was arraigned upon the under-mentioned charges, viz.

1st. "For landing or continuing on shore when landed, between the 7th and the 12th June 1813, near Tarragona, a large quantity of heavy artillery, ammunition, and stores, when he had good reason to believe that no real benefit could be derived for ten or twelve days, as to producing the fall of Tarragona by these means; and when he had received information, which he believed, that long before that time a superior force of the enemy would be near him, and was aware that the siege must then be abandoned, knowing at the same time the great difficulties and dangers attending a sudden re-embarkation on that coast; such conduct being highly unmilitary, and against the spirit of his instructions."

2d. "For neglect of duty, and disobedience of the express written order of his excellency field marshal the marquis of Wellington, the commander of his majesty's forces in the Peninsula, by not immediately re-embarking the whole of the forces under his command, (after he had determined to raise, and had actually raised, the siege of Tarragona,) and returning to Valencia in order to assist the Spanish armies in that province in securing the positions which they might have acquired there."

3d. "For neglect of duty in hastily re-embarking the forces under his command, without any previous preparations

preparations or arrangements, and thus precipitately and unnecessarily abandoning a considerable quantity of artillery, stores, and ammunition, about 12th June, 1813, near Tarragona, when he was so far from being compelled to this degrading measure by the immediate approach of any superior force, or by any other sufficient cause, that by due zeal, firmness, and exertion, the greater part, if not the whole, might have been embarked in safety,—admiral Hallowell, who was at the time on duty on the station, engaging to effect the same:—such conduct being highly to the prejudice of the service, and detrimental to the British military character.”

Upon which charges the court came to the following decision:

“With respect to the first and second charges, that lieutenant-general sir John Murray is not guilty.”—“With respect to the third charge, that lieutenant-general sir John Murray is guilty only of so much of that charge as states, ‘That he unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety, such conduct being detrimental to the service;’ and the court does therefore find him guilty of such part, but does acquit him of the remainder of that charge.—The court, under all the circumstances of the case, considering the conduct of sir John Murray to have proceeded from a mere error in judgement, is of opinion, and does adjudge, that, for the part of the third charge, of which lieutenant-general sir John Murray has been so found guilty, he be admonished in such a manner as his royal highness the commander in chief may think proper.”

His royal highness the prince regent has been pleased, in the

name and on the behalf of his majesty, to approve and confirm the finding and sentence of the court; but, as the court has only attributed to sir John Murray a mere error in judgement, the case has not appeared to his royal highness to call for any further observation.

The committee of the Stock Exchange, on the anniversary of the De Berenger hoax, distributed the sum stopped on account of the fraud, to different charities, as follows:

To the London Hospital	£500
Middlesex ditto	500
Westminster ditto	500
Six other charities, 300 <i>l.</i> each	1800
Nine other ditto, 200 <i>l.</i> each	1800
Twenty-eight other do. 100 <i>l.</i> each	2800
Twenty-one other ditto, 50 <i>l.</i> each	1050

These sums are to be paid free of all expense; and whatever balance may remain (about 33*l.*) will, in addition to one of the 200*l.* donations, be given to the society in Craven-street for discharging small debts.

7.—An inquest was held on the body of Henry Jameson, aged about 21, son to Mr. Jameson, a respectable merchant, of Fen-court, Fenchurch-street, who unfortunately fell off the parapet wall of the adjoining house on Friday se’nnight, whereby he was killed on the spot.—The two servant maids in the family deposed, that the deceased supped with his sisters about 12 o’clock on Friday night, his father being out; that he appeared in his usual good spirits, went up stairs to his room, which was on the attic, and immediately after, they, as well as many of the neighbours who had not gone to bed, were alarmed with the cry of “Thieves.” They ran out at the back door and saw a crowd assembled

assembled at the back of the adjoining house; and on their going there they discovered their young master, who was then able to tell his name, and desired them to open the buttons of his clothes: he almost instantly expired.—A young man, named Piper, stated, that he was passing at the end of Fen-court about 12 o'clock on Friday night, and in consequence of a cry of Thieves! he hastened to the spot, where he saw the deceased surrounded by several of the neighbours, who at first, in consequence of the noise of his fall, conjectured the houses were beset with thieves, but soon after discovered their mistake; when it was generally said the deceased went, out of a frolic, from the roof of his father's house to the adjoining house, to alarm the servant maids, who were then going to bed, and at his return he unfortunately fell from the parapet wall on a fan-light projecting at the back of the premises. Verdict—Accidental Death.

9.—An inquest was held on the body of Richard Deakin, who was found drowned in the Thames, near London-bridge, on Tuesday. He had 1s. in silver, and 8d. in copper, in his pocket, but no watch, handkerchief, nor pocket-book: they took him to the Swan-stairs.—J. Probart deposed, that he is clerk and warehouseman to the deceased, who kept a warehouse at 91 Watling-street, in the Manchester line; he also kept lodgings in Noel's-court, Doctor's-commons, where witness was with him last Tuesday fortnight, and had some brandy and water with him: he told witness he should go into the Borough that evening, as he must attend at Guildhall the next day, where he should be detained for some time. Not appearing as usual next morn-

ing at the warehouse, witness made inquiries respecting him, when the following letter, here produced, was found in his room;—"I am damned sorry I did not do your business; I thought I did, but this remains for another brush: you will remember refusing me credit, and preventing my getting goods, refusing a recommendation: then I swore I would be revenged. J. M. T. Shepherd and Shepherdess Fields, Jan. 18."—This witness, upon being interrogated by one of the jury, whether that was the Mr. Deakin who had been so ill used five weeks ago, answered in the affirmative. He was again asked if he knew any thing of that matter? Witness replied, that the morning after that transaction, a man came to him very early with one of Mr. D's cards; in consequence of which he went; and found him, (surrounded by a great number of people, who did not offer to render him any assistance) in a ditch in the Shepherd and Shepherdess Fields, with his clothes nearly torn off his body, and a rope round his neck. He had him conveyed to the Britannia public-house, where he was taken care of. He was then asked if Mr. D. received any bodily injury? He said he received a great contusion on the back of his head, to which Dr. Young had applied 12 leeches, and that he had a mark from the rope in his neck, which he frequently said was benumbed; and, in short, that he was at times quite in a low and desponding state, compared with what he was before the circumstance happened.—Samuel Cook, porter to the deceased, corroborated the above evidence, and added, that the deceased was a man of very penurious habits; that he often had a pint of beer and a biscuit, because he would not go out to dinner; that he

be thought he did not dine the day before he was missing, or for six days; he was a bachelor about 50 years of age, and was particularly attentive to business.—The jury then had three points to consider; first, whether Mr. D. from the recent treatment he received, was insane, and drowned himself; or whether he met any of the apparent enemies, who sent the letter and used him ill, and afterwards had thrown him into the river; or whether he fell into the river, and was drowned, as on viewing the body, it appeared he had received a violent blow on the forehead, which made his nose swell, and which very possibly he might have received in either of the above circumstances. However, as no proof could be produced of either, the jury returned their verdict,—Found accidentally drowned.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

THISTLEWOOD v. DARLEY AND CRAYCRAFT.

22.—This was an action of *quidam* brought by James Thistlewood, esq. against the defendants, to recover for himself, and the poor of the parish of St. James, Westminster, the amount of a sum won by the defendants at the unlawful game of hazard, at a public gaming-house in St. James's-street, from the plaintiff's brother, being 840*l.* together with the penalties thereon, under the act of the 9th of queen Anne, cap. 14.

The plaintiff, Mr. John Thistlewood, was a gentleman of respectability and property, residing out of town, where, having negotiated the sale of a small estate, he sent his brother, Mr. Arthur Thistlewood, to London, to conclude the business, and receive the purchase money, which amounted to between 8 and 900*l.* In the course of that day he

had dined with a cheerful party, where he drank rather freely, and became in that state which rendered him very incapable of caution or control; he afterwards, at rather an unreasonable hour of the night, found himself by accident in a house in St. James's-street, eminent for the resort of persons addicted to deep play, and being full of money he speedily attracted the notice of some of those gentlemen who come to such places much better prepared by perfect sobriety and coolness to calculate the sums on which they stake their money; two of those gentlemen were Mr. Hill Darley and Mr. Craycraft. They soon fell into play with Mr. Thistlewood, and it was agreed that those two gentlemen should subscribe 50*l.* each to make a bank between them, which Mr. Thistlewood was to play against, and at the conclusion of this match of hazard, at six o'clock the following morning, Mr. Thistlewood found himself minus 840*l.* On the first return of sobriety and reflection, he was greatly distressed at losing the money in so imprudent a manner, which was not his own property but that of his brother, and he called on Mr. Craycraft, who received him very politely, but could not be prevailed on to restore any part of the money. Mr. Darley he could not find. He in consequence brought his action against Craycraft, in the King's Bench, under the act of queen Anne, which empowers any one who has lost at one sitting by any unlawful game more than 10*l.* to recover the same by action. There was a verdict at the Nisi Prius for the plaintiff; but the King's Bench set aside the verdict afterwards, on account of some irregularity in the proceedings. Mr. Thistlewood afterwards put in a bill in equity, to which the defend-

(B) dant

dant put in their answers: and Mr. Thistlewood, the plaintiff and real owner of the money, was ultimately obliged to bring this action in his own name, to avail himself of the act of Anne to recover his property.

Mr. serjeant Best, for the defence, objected to two points.—First, he denied that the answers of the defendants in equity were admissible evidence on a penal action of this sort; and secondly, that it was proved the writs and continuances under the first action were sufficiently connected, to bring the suit of the plaintiff within the twelve months required by the statute of Anne.

The chief justice promised to reserve those points for subsequent consideration.

Verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, 2,800*l.* subject to the consideration of the points above.

MARCH.

1.—Died at Boulogne, Smithton Tennant, esq. F. R. S. 1785, and chemical professor of the university of Cambridge; M. B. 1788; M. D. 1796; a man in whom genius, talents, and virtue, were united in their highest forms. Although his industry was checked by a frame naturally weak, and a languid state of health, his acquirements in science were remarkably general, and in many branches profound. He was known throughout Europe by several important discoveries in chemistry. In this country he was distinguished in a very numerous circle of the best society, for the variety, extent, and accuracy of his knowledge, the singular rectitude of his understanding, his love of literature, and a highly cultivated taste for the elegant arts, combined with great originality, and extraordinary powers of conversation. To

those who had the happiness of being intimately connected with him, he was endeared by his virtuous independent principles, and the sincerity, warmth, and constancy of his friendship. To this may be added, a very original cast of humour in his character and manners, and a singular felicity of wit, untinctured by personality or sarcasm, which rendered his conversation delightful to his friends, and made it impossible to know him much, without admiring and loving him. The circumstances of Mr. Tennant's death were most afflicting. He was returning from France, where he had been several months, and was waiting at Boulogne for a favourable wind. He had actually embarked on Wednesday the 22d Feb. but the vessel was obliged to put back, and it was determined, if the weather should be tolerable, to make another trial in the evening. During the interval, Mr. T. proposed to a German officer of distinction (Baron Bulow), whom he had accidentally joined on the road, and who was also going to England, to ride with him to Bonaparte's Pillar, near Boulogne. In returning, they deviated a little, to look at a fortification near the road; but as they were attempting to pass a drawbridge, which, owing to some neglect, was not properly secured, the bridge gave way, and they were precipitated into the trench. The officer fortunately escaped without any serious hurt; but Mr. Tennant was found fallen under his horse, and was taken up speechless, his skull and one of his arms being considerably fractured. He was conveyed with difficulty to the hospital, where he died.

Windsor Castle, March 4.

"The king continues in good health; and any deviation from a state

state of perfect composure, which had been observed in his majesty during the month of January, has entirely subsided for more than a fortnight past."

9.—Lord Cochrane made his escape from the King's Bench prison, on Monday March 6. A reward of 300 guineas was offered in vain for his apprehension; but on the 21st he appeared in the house of commons before the house sat, and the marshal of the King's Bench retook him into custody. Further particulars of this extraordinary occurrence will appear in our detail of parliamentary proceedings.

It is our painful duty to record a series of outrages occasioned by popular irritation against the corn bill. On Monday afternoon (March 6,) various persons assembled near the house of commons, not numerous at first, all inveighing against the corn bill and the members who supported it. An order to clear the passages of the house was executed with difficulty. Several of the mob acquainted with the persons of the members pointed them out; and hooting or applause followed, as the member was known to be friendly or adverse to the bill. At length many carriages were stopped, and the members were forced to walk through the crowd. The civil power being now deemed insufficient; the magistrate, having applied to the speaker, received an order to call in the military. The horseguards suppressed the tumult; but the populace repaired to other parts of the town. They broke the windows of lord Eldon in Bedford-square, Mr. Robinson's (the mover of the corn-regulations) in Burlington-street, lord Darnley's in Berkeley-square, Mr. Yorke's in Bruton-street: the doors of the two former were forced, and part of the furni-

ture destroyed; in Mr. Robinson's, particularly, besides destroying the furniture, some valuable pictures were cut to pieces. They afterwards attacked lord Ellenborough's, who came forward and remonstrated with them; and after cheering the noble lord, they departed. The windows of a house near Russell-street belonging to Meux's brew-house, and of Mr. W. Pole's in Saviour-row, were also broken. On Tuesday, lord Castlereagh's house in St. James's-square was attacked, and the house of Mr. Robinson a second time; but the populace were dispersed by the cavalry. Fire-arms were discharged from the parlour-windows of Mr. Robinson's, which proved fatal to two innocent persons, Mr. Edward Vize, a midshipman, and a Mrs. Watson. The house of lord Bathurst, gen. Floyd, and Mr. Turner in Mansfield-street; rt.-hon. Charles Yorke in Bruton-street; lord King, sir W. Rowley, and others in Wimpole-street, and lord Harewood facing Hanover-square; Mrs. Simpson's, Harley-street, and Mr. Meux's in Liquorpond-street, were damaged.—On Wednesday, after a slight attack on lord Castlereagh's, the mob proceeded to Mr. Ponsonby's in Curzon-street, and demolished the windows, &c. Shots were fired through the door, while the mob were endeavouring to force it. Mr. Quintin Dick's (next door), the earl of Derby's, and Mr. Morris's (an East India-director), were also injured. At sir J. Banks's in Soho-square they forced the doors, and scattered boxes of papers in the street. The houses of Mr. Tomkins in Searle-street, of Mr. serjeant Best, and of Mr. Peacock, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, were also damaged.—On Thursday, a disturbance took place in Holles-street, before the house of

Mr. Davies Giddy; and shots were fired, but without other mischief than wounding a boy. A proclamation was issued on Thursday offering 100*l.* upon the conviction of any person taking an active part in the outrages.—On Friday night the few persons loitering about appeared attracted together merely from curiosity; and no disturbances of consequence afterwards occurred.

The corn bill has passed both houses of parliament; and received the royal assent. Among the several petitions to parliament, that of the city of London to the house of commons, presented an extraordinary number of signatures, 40,571 having signed within ten hours. The signatures of that addressed to the lords were estimated at upwards of 80,000.—The court of common council came to a resolution to petition the prince regent to withhold his assent; and the petition was presented by the lord mayor in state.

The coroner's inquest who sat on the body of Mr. Vize, have found a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons, firing shot from and out of fire-arms, from Mr. Robinson's front parlour windows;" and their verdict was accompanied by the following observations: "1st. It is the opinion of the jury, that the military acted improperly, on entering the house of Mr. Robinson, without proper authority so to do.—2dly. It is the opinion of the jury, that, from the evidence adduced, there was no necessity for firing with shot at the time Edward Vize met his death.—3dly. It is their opinion also, that the firing was unconstitutional, in not being ordered by the civil authorities."

The jury on Jane Watson have returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against Mr. Robinson's butler,

and three soldiers," who were afterwards tried and instantly acquitted.

BONAPARTE.

20.—Bonaparte is again the ruler of France!!! In one fortnight, at the head of a few followers, has he penetrated through 500 miles of France, and regained the throne which it had cost all Europe so many years, and so much blood and treasure, to wrest from him. There is nothing parallel to it in history, scarcely in romance. No battle has been fought, no blood been spilt. A simultaneous expression of the army in his favour produced an universal torpor; and so well had the combinations been made, that he advanced with security, and found every thing ready to facilitate his course.

We shall now endeavour to narrate briefly his progress. It seems that, during the temporary absence from Elba of col. Campbell, the British commissioner, who had gone to Florence, Bonaparte sailed from Porto Ferrajo on the 26th of February, at nine *p. m.* on board a brig, which was followed by four other vessels, such as pinks and feluccas, carrying from 1000 to 1100 men at most, consisting of a small number of Frenchmen, the rest Poles, Corsicans, Neapolitans, and natives of the island of Elba. These vessels anchored in the roads of the gulf of Juan, near Cannes, on the 1st of March; the men were landed. Fifty men went the same day to Cannes, where they urged the mayor to go and take orders from him, whom they named the general in chief in the gulf of Juan; but the mayor absolutely refused: he immediately received orders to provide 2000 rations that same evening. The same day, fifteen men of the expedition presented themselves before Antibes, demanding to enter it as deserters

arters from the island of Elba. General baron Corsini, a distinguished soldier, covered with honourable wounds, who was in the command of that place, received them, and disarmed them. A short time afterwards, an officer came to summon the place in the name of Bonaparte; he was arrested and thrown into prison. At last, a third emissary presented himself to the commandant, to reclaim the 15 men detained, and to invite him, in the name of gen. Drouet, to repair to the gulf of Juan, with the civil authorities: the only answer which this embassy received was being arrested. On the 2d he put his small army in march, passing the town of Grasse without attempting to enter it. On the 4th he bivouacuated at Digne; and in the course of the two following days proceeded, by Sisteron and Gap, across the mountains towards Grenoble, a garrison town and military *dépôt*, which was under the orders of gen. Marchand. It could not be concealed that he had been received with joy by the soldiery. Marchand's corps at Grenoble was the first, of any strength, with which he came in contact. On approaching it, he threw open his bosom, and exclaimed, "Soldiers, you have been told I am afraid of death—here is my bosom, fire into it if you like!" The appeal was answered with enthusiastic shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* and the soldiers joined his ranks. It is too probable that Bonaparte found there a considerable supply: some say 150 pieces of cannon, and 100,000 muskets. From Gap to Grenoble, and thence to Lyons, he must have rather made a journey under an escort, than marched; for he reached the latter place with 600 horse on the evening of the 8th. The population of Lyons amounts to 110,000

souls; the inhabitants were loyal; they received Monsieur, the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, marshal Macdonald, and gen. St. Cyr, on their arrival from Paris, very favourably. They voluntarily broke down the bridges, and declared, that were they possessed of cannon, they would oppose the invader. But the officers of the garrison, with some expressions of respect for the person of Monsieur, told him they wished to serve under Bonaparte; and the troops uttered shouts of *Vive Napoleon!* His royal highness, who had intended to march to the succour of Grenoble, abandoned this intention, on learning the news of its surrender; and precipitately left Lyons on the morning of the 8th, followed by marshal Macdonald and the prefect of the department. It is believed that the troops they brought with them to act against the invader, refused to return with them. They took the road to Clermont, a city westward of Lyons about 70 miles; and the duke of Orleans was sent to inform the king of the general disaffection of the military.

Bonaparte advanced from Lyons on the 13th towards Macon and Chalons.

Marshal Ney joined Bonaparte at Laons le Saulnier. His proclamation, dated from that place on the 14th of March, describes the Bourbons as unfit to reign, and recommends his troops to join the great Napoleon!

On the 16th Bonaparte arrived at Autun, without meeting with any opposition; and his advanced guard was at Auxerre, only forty leagues from Paris.

The number of national guards, volunteers, and other troops, collected at Melun, to stop the march of Bonaparte, was not less than

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100,000 men. The best spirit seemed to prevail amongst them. They appeared devoted to the cause of the king, and eager to meet and repel his antagonist. A powerful artillery strengthened their positions. Relying on their numbers, they had left the town, the rocks, and the forest of Fontainebleau, unguarded; preferring the flat plains of Melun, where the whole of their army might act at once against the comparatively small band of the invader.—On the 19th Bonaparte reached and occupied Fontainebleau, without the least opposition. He had at that time with him only 15,000 veteran troops; but other divisions were either following him, or advancing to support his right and left flanks on parallel lines of march.

Ney, whose corps is stated to have amounted to 30,000 men, had previously communicated to the court a declaration signed by the whole army under his command, both officers and privates; in which they stated, "that they respected him too much to deceive him; that they would not fight for Louis the XVIIIth, but that they would shed all their blood for *Napoleon the Great*." This declaration did not entirely extinguish the hopes of the Bourbons. They still relied on the good disposition and numbers of the troops at Melun; and, blinded by the addresses sent up from many garrisons and provinces at the very moment of their defection, still thought that their cause would be espoused by the nation as her own. Early on the morning of Monday the 20th, preparations were made on both sides for the encounter which was expected to take place. The French army was drawn up *en diagon* on three lines, the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road.

The ground from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continual declivity; so that, on emerging from the forest, you have a clear view of the country before you; whilst, on the other hand, those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence, broken only at times by peals of martial music intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops by repeating the royal airs of *Vive Henri Quatre, & la Belle Gabrielle*, or by the voice of the commanders, and the march of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation: the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops, perhaps secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainebleau no sound, as of an army rushing to battle, was heard. If the enemy was advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night. If so, France was saved, and Europe free. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached: an open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning: it reached the advanced posts—"Long live the emperor!" burst from the astonished soldiery. "Napoleon! Napoleon the great!" spread from rank to rank; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers; whom he called "his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore." All discipline

plins was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted; the commanders-in-chief took to flight; thousands rushed on his passage; acclamations rent the sky. At that moment his own guard descended the hill—the imperial march was played—the eagles were once more exhibited, and those whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts. In the midst of these greetings did Napoleon pass through the whole of the royal army, pursuing his course to Paris, and arrived at eight o'clock in the evening at the Thuilleries. It was not until the next morning that his arrival was generally known. He is said to have left his army behind him at Fontainebleau.

The king went in great state to the chamber of deputies on the 16th inst.; and addressed them in the following speech:

“Gentlemen—In this momentous crisis, when the public enemy has penetrated into a part of the kingdom, and threatens the liberty of the remainder, I come in the midst of you to draw closer those ties which unite us together, and which constitute the strength of the state; I come, in addressing myself to you, to declare to all France my sentiments and my wishes. I have re-visited my country, and reconciled her to all foreign nations; who will, without doubt, maintain with the utmost fidelity those treaties which had restored to us peace. I have laboured for the benefit of my people. I have received, and still continue daily to receive, the most striking proofs of their love. Can I, then, at sixty years of age, better terminate my career than by dying in their defence? Therefore, I feel nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He comes to light again

amongst us the torch of civil war, brings with him also the scourge of foreign war; he comes to reduce our country under his iron yoke; he comes, in short, to destroy that constitutional charter which I have given you—that charter, my brightest title in the estimation of posterity—that charter which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I here swear to maintain. Let us rally, therefore, around it! let it be our sacred standard!—The descendants of Henry the Fourth will be the first to range themselves under it; they will be followed by all good Frenchmen. In short, gentlemen, let the concurrence of the two chambers give to authority all the force that is necessary; and this war, truly national, will prove by its happy termination, what a great nation, united in its love to its king and to its laws, can effect.”

The whole assembly, electrified by the sublime words of the king, stood up, their hands stretched towards the throne. Nothing but these words were heard, “Long live the king!—We will die for the king!—The king in life and death!” repeated with a transport which all French hearts will participate at this feeble recital of a scene the most touching and the most honourable to the national character.

One of the latest acts of Louis XVIII., previous to his leaving Paris for Lisle, was the following address:

“THE KING TO THE FRENCH ARMY.

“Officers and soldiers!—I have answered for your fidelity to all France; you will not falsify the word of your king. Reflect that if the enemy should triumph, civil war would soon be lighted up among you; and that at the same moment more than 300,000 foreigners, whose arms I could no longer check, would

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pour

pour down on all sides of our country. So conquer or die for it—let this be our war-cry. And you, who at this moment follow other standards than mine, I see in you only deluded children: abjure, then, your error, and come and throw yourselves into the arms of your father; and I here engage my faith, that every thing shall be immediately forgotten. Reckon, all of you, on the rewards which your fidelity and services shall merit.

“March 18, 1815. “Louis.”

(Printed from the original manuscript, in the king's hand-writing.)

The people of Marseilles, it is said, were so indignant at the rebellious attempt to overturn the throne, that they offered two millions of francs to the regiment which should take Bonaparte dead or alive.

French papers to the 22d inst. have arrived. They include a *Moniteur* of the 20th (the last which was published under the authority of Louis XVIII. and just before his departure from the capital,) and the *Journal de Rouen* of the 22d, which contains Paris intelligence of the 20th. In the *Moniteur* there is a proclamation issued by the king, closing the sitting of the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies; and declaring, that they would hereafter be employed in a new session, at the place which might provisionally be chosen for the seat of government. The king informs his faithful subjects, the peers of France, and the deputies of the departments, that Divine Providence, which had restored him to the throne of his ancestors, has now permitted that throne to be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force which had sworn to defend it; that he will, however, retire with some brave men whom intrigue and perfidy could not de-

tach from their duty; and, since he cannot defend his capital, will remove from it to some other point of the kingdom, where his subjects, though not more faithful than his good Parisians, may be better situated to declare for the good cause; and expresses a hope that his other subjects will soon see through their error, and return to their duty.—The same paper also contains articles from Bourdeaux, Nantes, Angers, and Caen, giving the strongest assurances of the loyalty of their citizens, who were arming in defence of their sovereign and the constitution. The duchess d'Angoulême was at Bourdeaux, and the duke de Bourbon at Angers. His Most Christian Majesty had arrived at Lisle. Marshals Berthier and Macdonald remained with him. Monsieur, and marshal Marmont, were marching with a large force towards Lisle.

It appears, by dispatches from lord Fitzroy Somerset, dated at Paris on Wednesday the 22d inst. that his lordship and his suite, with the Spanish, Swedish, and Russian embassies, were, at the above date, detained in Paris, being unable to procure passports for post-horses.

We now proceed to notice the first acts of Bonaparte's government. He issued at Lyons several decrees, bearing date the 13th of March, the substance of which is as follows:

All the changes effected in the court of cassation, and other tribunals, are declared null and void.—All emigrants who have entered the French service since the 14th of April are removed, and deprived of their new honours.—The white cockade, the decoration of the lily, and the orders of St. Louis, St. Esprit, and St. Michael, are abolished.—The national cockade, and the tricoloured.

coloured standard, to be hoisted in all places.—The imperial guard is re-established in all its functions, and is to be recruited by men who have been not less than twelve years in the service.—The Swiss guard is suppressed, and exiled 20 leagues from Paris.—All the household troops of the king are suppressed. All property appertaining to the house of Bourbon is sequestered.—All the property of the emigrants restored since the 1st of April, and which may militate against the national interest, is sequestered.—The two chambers of the peers and deputies are dissolved, and the members are forthwith to return to their respective homes.—The laws of the legislative assembly are to be enforced. All feudal titles are suppressed.—National rewards will be decreed to those who distinguish themselves in war, or in the arts and sciences.—All the emigrants who have entered France since the 1st of Jan. 1814, are commanded to leave the empire.—Such emigrants as shall be found fifteen days after the publication of this decree (dated the 13th of March) will immediately be tried, and adjudged by the laws established for that purpose, unless they can prove ignorance of this decree; in that case, they will merely be arrested, sent out of France, and have their property sequestered.—All promotions in the legion of honour conferred by Louis are null, unless made in favour of those who deserve well of their country.—The change in the decoration of the legion of honour is null. All its privileges are re-established.—The electoral colleges are to meet in May, to remodel the constitution, according to the interests and the will of the nation; and to assist in the corona-

tion of the empress and the king of Rome.

In the list of his new ministers are Gaudin; Maret, Fouché, Davoust, and Savary.

An imperial decree, dated Thuilleries, March 21, declares that the mobiliary national guard shall not be put into activity; and that the corps of volunteers shall be disbanded. Another of the 20th nominates general Carnot a count of the empire, &c. for his defence of Antwerp.

Caulincourt has been dispatched to Germany, to invite the archduchess Maria Louisa to Paris.

Bonaparte, on his return to France, issued addresses to the French people, and to the army, dated on the day of his landing. We subjoin the latter at length.

Gulph of Juan, March 1.

Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, &c. &c.

TO THE ARMY.

Soldiers!—We are not conquered: two men risen from our ranks [Augereau and Marmont] betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor. Those whom during the twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France, shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their

very

very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle. Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils: your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you: come and join him. Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for 25 years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tri-colour: you bore it in the days of our greatness. We must forget that we have been masters of nations: but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmühl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensk, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during 19 years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse,

of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes: those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies. Honours, rewards, affections, are given to those who have served against the country and us. Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours: his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride:—'And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot that treason, and the presence of the enemy, imprinted on it.' Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for 25 years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country.

By the emperor, (signed)
 NAPOLEON.
 The

The grand marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army. **BERTRAND.**

The vast importance of the intelligence from France this month reduces almost to insignificance that from all other nations. Our remaining notices, therefore, will occupy but little space.

THE NETHERLANDS.

His royal highness the prince sovereign was on the 17th inst. solemnly proclaimed king of the Netherlands, at the Hague, with great pomp, and amidst the unbounded acclamations of the people. In the evening the whole town was splendidly illuminated. His majesty's title is, "William by the grace of God, king of the Netherlands, prince of Orange Nassau, and duke of Luxemburg." His eldest son is to be called "prince of Orange."

A letter from Brussels, March 19, says, "the Prussian army under general Kleist is in full march from the banks of the Rhine to the French frontiers. Lord Wellington is coming to take the command of the army which is to be united for the protection of Belgium. The highest indignation was excited at Vienna by the news, that the man who was so long the tyrant of Europe seeks again to tear it in pieces. Three thousand Hanoverian troops have just arrived here, marching to the frontiers of France."

Another letter, dated March 20, says, "All is in arms, from the frontiers of Switzerland to the North Sea. Numerous armies are advancing to enter France, if the traitors, who desire only the misery of their country, should unhappily have any success. The Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops are in motion on the Upper Rhine. The Prussians are going to form a camp at Arlon; a camp will be formed before Mons,

and one before Tournay. A regiment of Prussian black hussars is said to be lent to our sovereign, and to be expected this week. Numerous English troops will be soon here, and a very large Dutch force is in motion. Never did the annals of Europe present such remarkable events: and all nations loudly invoke vengeance on the heads of the monsters who breathe but in the midst of blood, carnage, and destruction."

GERMANY.

We are informed by the Continental papers, that the congress has at length settled the fate of Saxony.

Prussia obtains a portion only of that country; the population of which is estimated in some accounts at 700,000, and in others 900,000; the whole of Saxony comprises about two millions. The part that remains to the king of Saxony, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole population, excels in arts and manufactures, and comprises Dresden and Leipsic, the two principal cities. The part ceded to Prussia, which is the eastern side, is the richer of the two in natural productions. In addition to this accession of territory, Prussia receives further indemnities on the left bank of the Rhine, and also Thorn, and Kalisch in Poland.

A letter from Vienna states, that sir Sidney Smith has received from the emperor of Russia and other sovereigns promises of unlimited support in the plan for checking the depredations of the Barbary States, and giving freedom to the navigation of the Baltic.

Important declaration of the allied powers in congress, relative to the entrance of Bonaparte into France.

Brussels, March 22.—Letter to his excellency count de Thiebaux, minister of justice.

"My

"My lord—I have just received the news that Napoleon Bonaparte has entered Paris, which city the king has left to repair to Lisle. Though this news is not yet official, I have every reason to believe it true. It is a misfortune for France, but it must not excite any consternation among us; on the contrary, let us redouble our activity and zeal to take measures at this moment. I engage to neglect nothing to secure our country from a foreign invasion; but I depend also upon the assistance and co-operation of my fellow-countrymen, in case the danger should approach. You will see by the inclosed declaration of the high allied powers, which I have this moment received from Vienna, that they are all agreed in supporting the cause of Louis XVIII. Please to take the necessary measures for giving publicity to this news.—Wholly yours,

"WILLIAM, prince of Orange."

DECLARATION.

The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them. By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended—by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.—The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte

has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.—They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of 30th May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts; that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to guaranty against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions. And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the sovereigns of Europe animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the king of France, and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.—The present declaration inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna, on the 19th March, 1815, shall be made public. Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris; Vienna, 19th March, 1815.

Here

Here follow the signatures, in the alphabetical order of the courts;—Austria, prince Metternich, baron Wissenberg.—France, prince Talleyrand, the duke of Dalberg, Latour du Pin, count Alexis and Noailles.—Great Britain, Wellington, Clancarty, Cathcart, Stewart.—Portugal, count Pamella Saldanha Lobs.—Prussia, prince Hardenberg, baron Humbolt.—Russia, count Kasumowsky, count Staeckelberg, count Nesselrode.—Spain, P. Gomez Labrador.—Sweden, Lafmenhelm.

AMERICA.

Dispatches from major-general Lambert have related the total defeat of the British army before New Orleans. The British loss upon this occasion amounts to 2,450 killed, wounded, and missing, including gens. Pakenham and Gibbs, the first and second in command, killed; and gen. Keane, the third in command, wounded. The navy had no share in the action.

The treaty of peace, concluded at Ghent, between his majesty and the United States of America, on the 24th of Dec. last, was ratified at Washington, Feb. 17, at 11 P. M.

On Thursday the citizens of London presented, not very judiciously, a petition to the regent, to beg him not to give his assent to the corn bill, who was pleased to return the following reply:—

“I have heard with the greatest concern the sentiments contained in this your address and petition.

“I shall ever be desirous of paying to the representations of any part of his majesty’s subjects, all the attention which may be consistent with the duty imposed upon me by the sacred trust committed to my charge.

“But I feel that it would be a dereliction of that duty, if, in com-

pliance with the wishes which you have thought proper to express, I were to withhold the royal sanction from the important measure which now awaits it, and so to exercise the king’s prerogative, as to indicate a want of confidence in a parliament, which, under difficulties the most trying, has, by the wisdom, vigour, and firmness of its conduct, invariably upheld the honour of his majesty’s crown, and promoted the best interests of his people.”

LORD COCHRANE.

20.—Lord Cochrane was taken into custody on Tuesday, in the house of commons, under circumstances which render it as remarkable as his escape from prison.—About half-past one o’clock his lordship was seen passing hastily through the avenues of the house to the lobby, across which he went with great precipitation into the body of the house. After remaining there a short time, he came out again and went to the office of Mr. Dorrington, to take the preliminary steps necessary to his taking his seat in the house, and a messenger, at his request, was dispatched to the Crown-office in Chancery-lane, for the writ of his return as the representative of the city of Westminster. His lordship then returned to the house, and, taking his seat on the treasury bench, took from his pocket a pamphlet and some manuscripts, which he began to read in a loud tone. Information of his lordship’s appearance in the house having been sent to the King’s Bench, the officers, accompanied by William Jones, esq. the marshal, set off in search of him.—Mr. Jones entered the house of commons, accompanied by Mr. Laverder the officer, Mr. Pace, and Mr. Gibbon, his own tipstaff. Laverder and Pace advanced respectfully towards his lordship, and the former

mer said, "My lord, you are my prisoner." Lord Cochrane immediately demanded his authority: upon which Lavender replied, "My lord, my authority is the public proclamation of the marshal of the King's Bench prison, offering a reward for your apprehension." Lord Cochrane then said he was there in attendance to resume his seat as one of the representatives of the city of Westminster, and that he would obey no such authority. The officers then took his lordship by the arms, and requested him to accompany them. He refused, however, and resisted their efforts to remove him, struggling and kicking with some violence. He was at length overpowered, and Lavender perceiving him put his hand towards his pocket, he was led to believe he was not without fire-arms. This idea induced him, as a measure of precaution, to search his lordship's pockets; but he found nothing, save a few loose papers, some snuff, a bottle containing some chemical acid, and three or four pistol bullets. On the snuff being pulled out, his lordship said—"That is snuff. I candidly own to you that I intended to throw it into the eyes of any one that should attempt to interrupt me." His lordship was finally conveyed out of the house; and on reaching the lobby he proceeded quietly, but evidently labouring under considerable agitation, escorted by the officers into Palace-yard, where a coach was called, and his lordship was re-conducted to the King's Bench prison, and once more safely lodged within its walls. He was placed in the strong room, without fire, and whilst there, was visited by Mr. Bennett and Mr. B. Wilbraham, who, with others of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the prison, happened

to be on the spot.—His lordship, in reply to various questions, said that he considered himself an ill-used man; that he ought not to have been sent to prison; Cochrane Johnstone had robbed him of 4000*l.* that he went to the house of commons to have the question again agitated; never had a thought of leaving England; had been all the while in London.—Some conversation took place in the house of commons on this extraordinary occurrence, which our readers will find in our report of the parliamentary proceedings.

YORKSHIRE ASSIZES.

28.—Trial of Joseph Blackburn.—Mr. Richardson stated the facts, from which it appeared that the prisoner was an attorney at Leeds, and had been employed to make a mortgage deed for a friendly society, which he wrote on a forged stamp. Persons employed in the stamp-office in London proved that the stamp was forged; and two engravers at Leeds proved that they had been employed by Mr. Blackburn to make dies for stamping. On comparing the impressions on the deed, particularly the words "two pounds," it appeared that they had been made by the dies furnished to the prisoner.—This trial excited great interest. Upwards of twenty witnesses were called to the prisoner's character, who stated that they had known him a considerable time, and that they always considered him as a man of the greatest honour in his profession, and of the strictest integrity.—After a charge from the judge, the jury retired for about half an hour, and on their return pronounced the fatal verdict of—Guilty.—His lordship then passed sentence of death upon him and ten other capital convicts.—Mr. Blackburn appeared almost convulsed with agony, and his dejected and altered

altered appearance excited the most painful feelings in all who witnessed this awful solemnity.—Before the judge left York, he was pleased to relieve all the prisoners under sentence of death, except Joseph Blackburn and William Roberts, the execution of the latter of whom is respite, in order to afford time to submit a point of law to the opinion of the judges. He was convicted for not surrendering to a commission of bankruptcy.

ALLISON V. NOVERE AND OTHERS.

29.—The plaintiff is a gentleman in the law, at Huddersfield, and the defendants are three of the directors of the Norwich union fire and life insurance company. The action was instituted upon a policy of insurance for one thousand pounds, which had been effected on the marriage of the plaintiff, with a lady named Ormond, and payable to the survivor of them. The office resisted payment on the ground that the deceased was of such intemperate habits, that her premature decease could be attributed to no other cause.—The plaintiff called nine different witnesses, who deposed, that at the time of effecting the insurance, and for upwards of twelve months afterwards, Mrs. Allison enjoyed good health, with some intermission arising from two miscarriages; and that from early life up to the period of her death, she was of regular habits, and by no means addicted to the vice imputed to her.—The defendants, on the other hand, called eleven different witnesses, who swore that the deceased, both before her marriage and subsequent to that period, drank to excess; that this habit was contracted as early as the year 1806; that she kept spirits in her bed-room; that she sometimes drank as much as seven or eight glasses of spirits, and

at others two quarts of mulled ale a night; that she drank wine, morning, noon, and night; that she laid in bed for a fortnight together in a state of intoxication; that she frequently fell out of bed from intemperate drinking; that on one occasion she was found on the floor, with the neck of a bottle grasped in one hand, and the other part of the bottle and its contents in another part of the room, at which time she was dead drunk, and incapable of getting into bed again without assistance. And in order to prove that Mr. Allison was aware of her propensity to liquor, a man-servant, who had lived in his family at Huddersfield, swore that on one occasion Mr. Allison, in going into the parlour, said to his wife, "What! tipsey again, Rachael?" and went up to her and kissed her. These witnesses, in their cross-examination, admitted that Mrs. Allison was a healthy-looking woman, of elegant manners and superior education.—The judge summed up the evidence, observing, that it was quite impossible to believe that any person could for a series of years lead the life described by the witnesses for the defendants, and still continue to exhibit the appearance of good health. Such a course of intemperance, said his lordship, must have long before extinguished her.—The trial lasted nearly fifteen hours, and the jury, after retiring for about one minute, returned a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages one thousand pounds.

His Majesty's ship Tonnant, off Chandelur's Island, Jan. 28.

My lord,—After maturely deliberating on the situation of this army, after the command had unfortunately devolved upon me, on the 8th inst. and duly considering what probability now remained of carry-
ing

ing on with success, on the same plan, an attack against New Orleans, it appeared to me that it ought not to be persisted in. I immediately communicated to vice-adm. sir A. Cochrane that I did not think it would be prudent to make any further attempt at present, and that I recommended re-embarking the army as soon as possible, with a view to carry into effect the other objects of the force employed upon this coast. From the 9th inst. it was determined that the army should retreat, and I have the satisfaction of informing your lordship that it was effected on the night of the 18th inst. and ground was taken up on the morning of the 19th, on both sides of the Bayone, or creek, which the troops had entered on their disembarkation, 14 miles from their position before the enemy's line, covering New Orleans, on the bank of the Mississippi, and one mile from the entrance into Lac Borgne: the army remained in bivouac until the 27th inst. when the whole were re-embarked. [The dispatch praises the discipline of the army; states that the retreat was effected without being harassed by the enemy; that all the sick and wounded (except 80, whom it was considered dangerous to remove), the field artillery, ammunition, hospital and other stores, were brought away, and that nothing fell into the enemy's hands, excepting six iron 18-pounders. The batteries were destroyed, the guns rendered unserviceable, and only four men were missing. An exchange of prisoners had taken place with the enemy, who treated the sick and wounded which had fallen into his hands, with kindness and humanity. The labour and fatigue of the seamen and soldiers were particularly conspicuous on the night of the 7th inst. when 50

boats were dragged through a canal into the Mississippi, in which the water was only 18 inches deep. The dispatch concludes by praising the conduct and exertions of various officers.] J. LAMBERT, major-gen.

P. S. During the night of the 25th, in very bad weather, a boat containing two officers, viz. lieut. Brydges and cornet Hammond, with 37 of the 14th light dragoons unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy, off the mouth of the Regolets. I have not been able to ascertain correctly the particular circumstances.—Now follows a list of the officers killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of the 8th of January.

Vice-adm. the hon. sir A. Cochrane has transmitted a letter from capt. Jackson, of his majesty's ship *Lacedemonian*, stating, that on the 5th Oct. the boats of that ship having been dispatched, under the directions of lieut. Maw, in pursuit of an enemy's convoy discovered passing through Cumberland and Jekyll islands, succeeded in capturing one gun-vessel, carrying five guns, and 80 or 40 men, with four merchant-vessels, one of which was burnt, having grounded. Lieut. Howes, of the royal marines, Mr. Chichester, midshipman, and two men, were wounded; the enemy had one killed, four wounded, and several driven overboard.

14.—The hon. capt. Maude, of his majesty's ship *Favourite*, arrived at the Foreign Office at half-past nine last night, being the bearer of the ratification, by the president and senate of the United States of America, of the treaty of peace, concluded at Ghent, between his majesty and the said United States, on the 24th of Dec. last. The ratifications of the above treaty were duly exchanged at Washington, at 11 p. m. on the 17th ult.

Drawing-

Downing-street, March 24.

Dispatches from major-general sir John Lambert, K. C. B. commanding on the coast of Louisiana.

Camp, in front of the enemy's lines, below New Orleans, Jan. 10.

My lord—It becomes my duty to lay before your lordship the proceedings of the force lately employed on the coast of Louisiana, under the command of major-gen. the hon. sir E. M. Pakenham, K. B. and acting in concert with vice-adm. the hon. sir A. Cochrane, K. B. The report which I inclose from major-gen. Keane will put your lordship in possession of the occurrences which took place until the arrival of major-gen. the hon. sir E. Pakenham to assume the command; from that period I send an extract of the journal of major Forrest, assist.-quart.-mast.-gen. up to the time of the joining of the troops (which sailed on the 26th of October last under my command), and which was on the 6th of January; and from that period I shall detail, as well as I am able, the subsequent events. I found the army in position, in a flat country, with the Mississippi on its left, and a thick extensive wood on its right, and open to his front, from which the enemy's line was quite distinguishable. It seems sir E. Pakenham had waited for the arrival of the fusileers and 43d regiment, in order to make a general attack on the enemy's line; and on the 8th the army was formed for that object. In order to give your lordship as clear a view as I can, I shall state the position of the enemy. On the left bank of the river it was simply a straight line of about a front of 1000 yards with a parapet, the right resting on the river, and the left on a wood which had been made impracticable for any body of troops to pass. This line was strengthened

by flank works, and had a canal of about four feet deep generally, but not altogether of an equal width; it was supposed to narrow towards the left: about eight heavy guns were on position on this line. The Mississippi is here about 800 yards across, and they had on the right bank a heavy battery of 12 guns, which enfiladed the whole front of the position on the left bank. Preparations were made on our side, by very considerable labour, to clear out and widen a canal that communicated with a stream by which the boats had passed up to the place of disembarkation, to open it into the Mississippi, by which means troops could be got over to the right bank, and the co-operation of armed boats could be secured. The disposition of the attack was as follows: A corps consisting of the 85th light infantry, 200 seamen, and 400 marines, the 5th West India regiment, and four pieces of artillery, under the command of colonel Thornton of the 85th, was to pass over during the night, and move along the right bank towards New Orleans, clearing its front until it reached the flanking battery of the enemy on that side, which it had orders to carry. The assailing of the enemy's line in front of us, was to be made by the brigade composed of the 4th, 21st, and 44th regiments, with three companies of the 95th, under major-gen. Gibbs, and by the 3d brigade, consisting of the 93d, two companies of the 95th, and two companies of the fusileers and 43d, under major-gen. Keane; some black troops were destined to skirmish in the wood on the right; the principal attack was to be made by major-gen. Gibbs, the 1st brigade, consisting of the fusileers and 43d, formed the reserve; the attacking columns were to be provided with fascines, scaling-ladders, and rafts,

the whole to be at their stations before day-light. An advanced battery in our front, of six 18-pounders, was thrown up during the night, about 800 yards from the enemy's line. The attack was to be made at the earliest hour. Unlooked-for difficulties, increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay in the entrance of the armed boats, and those destined to land col. Thornton's corps; by which four or five hours were lost, and it was not until past five in the morning that the 1st division, consisting of 500 men, were over. The *ensemble* of the general movement was lost, and in a point which was of the last importance to the attack on the left bank of the river, although col. Thornton, as your lordship will see in his report, which I inclose, ably executed in every particular his instructions, and fully justified the confidence the commander of the forces placed in his abilities. The delay attending that corps occasioned some on the left bank, and the attack did not take place until the columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than 200 yards distance; as they advanced, a continued and most galling fire was opened from every part of their line, and from the battery on the right bank. The brave commander of the forces, who never in his life could refrain from being at the post of honour, and sharing the danger to which the troops were exposed, as soon as from his station he had made the signal for the troops to advance, galloped on to the front to animate them by his presence, and he was seen, with his hat off, encouraging them on the crest of the glacis: it was there (almost at the same time) he received two wounds, one in his knee, and another, which was almost instantly fatal, in his body: he fell in the arms of ma-

jor M'Dougall, aid-de-camp. The effect of this in the sight of the troops, together with major-gen. Gibbs and major-gen. Keane being both borne off, wounded at the same time, with many other commanding officers, and further, the preparations to aid in crossing the ditch not being so forward as they ought to have been, from perhaps the men being wounded who were carrying them, caused a wavering in the column, which in such a situation became irreparable; and as I advanced with the reserve, at about 250 yards from the line, I had the mortification to observe the whole falling back upon me in the greatest confusion. In this situation, finding that no impression had been made, that though many men had reached the ditch, and were either drowned or obliged to surrender, and that it was impossible to restore order in the regiments where they were, I placed the reserve in position, until I could obtain such information as to determine me how to act to the best of my judgement, and whether or not I should resume the attack; and if so, I felt it could be done only by the reserve. The confidence I have in the corps composing it would have encouraged me greatly, though not without loss, which might have made the attempt of serious consequence, as I know it was the opinion of the late distinguished commander of the forces, that the carrying of the first line would not be the least arduous service. After making the best reflections I was capable of, I kept the ground the troops then held, and went to meet vice-adm. sir Alexander Cochrane, and to tell him that under all the circumstances I did not think it prudent to renew the attack that day. At about ten o'clock I learnt of the success of col. Thornton's corps on the right bank.

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I sent the commanding officer of the artillery, col. Dickson, to examine the situation of the battery, and to report if it was tenable; but on informing me that he did not think it could be held with security by a smaller corps than 2000 men, I consequently ordered lieut.-col. Gubbins, on whom the command had devolved (col. Thornton being wounded), to retire.

The army remained in position until night, in order to gain time to destroy the 18-pounder battery we had constructed the preceding night in advance. I then gave orders for the troops resuming the ground they occupied previous to the attack.—Our loss has been very severe; but I trust it will not be considered, notwithstanding the failure, that this army has suffered the military character to be tarnished. I am satisfied, had I thought it right to renew the attack, that the troops would have advanced with cheerfulness.

The services of both army and navy, since their landing on this coast, have been arduous beyond any thing I ever witnessed, and difficulties have been got over with an assiduity and perseverance beyond all example by all ranks, and the most hearty co-operation has existed between the two services.

[The dispatch concludes by expressing the regret of gen. Lambert, and of the whole army, for the loss of sir E. Pakenham, commander-in-chief. Major-gen. Gibbs, who died of his wounds the following day, and major-gen. Keane, were both carried off the field within 20 yards of the glacis, at the head of their brigades. Major-gen. Keane is doing well. Capt. Wyllly of the fusileers, military secretary to sir E. Pakenham, and who enjoyed his confidence and esteem, is the bearer of the dispatches.] I have, &c.

JOHN LAMBERT, major-gen. com.

Next follows a report from major-gen. Keane, dated Camp on the left bank of the Mississippi, nine miles from New Orleans, Dec. 26, 1814, stating the landing of a part of the troops, and that about eight o'clock in the evening on the 22d, when the men, much fatigued by the length of time they had been in the boats, were asleep in their bivouac, a heavy flanking fire of round and grape shot was opened upon them, by a large schooner and two gun-vessels, which had dropped down the river from the town: from this they were covered. "A most vigorous attack was then made on the advanced front and right flank picquets, the former of the 95th, under capt. Hallan, the latter of the 85th, under capt. Schaw. These officers and their respective picquets conducted themselves with firmness, and checked the enemy for a considerable time; but renewing their attack with a large force, and pressing at these points, col. Thornton judged it necessary to move up the remainder of both corps. The 85th regiment was commanded by brevet-major Gubbins, whose conduct cannot be too much commended. On the approach of his regiment to the point of attack, the enemy, favoured by the darkness of the night, concealed themselves under a high fence which separated the fields; and calling to the men as friends, under pretence of being part of our own force, offered to assist them in getting over; which was no sooner accomplished than the 85th found itself in the midst of very superior numbers, who, discovering themselves, called on the regiment immediately to surrender. The answer was an instantaneous attack; a more extraordinary conflict has perhaps never occurred, absolutely hand to hand both officers and men. It terminated in the repulse of the ene-

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my with the capture of 30 prisoners. A similar finesse was attempted with the 95th regiment, which met the same treatment. The enemy, finding his reiterated attacks were repulsed by col. Thornton, at half-past ten o'clock advanced a large column against our centre. Perceiving his intention, I directed col. Stovin to order lieut.-col Dale, with 130 men of the 93d regiment, who had just reached the camp, to move forward and use the bayonet, holding the 4th regiment in hand, formed in line, as my last reserve. Col. Dale endeavoured to execute his orders; but the crafty enemy would not meet him, seeing the steadiness of his small body, gave it a heavy fire, and quickly retired. Col. Brooke, with four companies of the 21st regiment, fortunately appeared at that moment on our right flank, and sufficiently secured it from further attack. The enemy now determined on making a last effort, and, collecting the whole of his force, formed an extensive line, and moved directly against the light brigade. At first this line drove in all the advanced posts; but col. Thornton, whose noble exertions had guaranteed all former successes, was at hand; he rallied his brave comrades round him, and moving forward with a firm determination of charging, appalled the enemy, who from the lesson he had received on the same ground in the early part of the evening, thought it prudent to retire, and did not again dare to advance."

By his royal highness the prince of Wales, regent of the united kingdom of great Britain and Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty,

A PROCLAMATION.

George P. R. Whereas a treaty of peace and friendship between his

majesty and the United States of America hath been concluded at Ghent, on the 24th of Dec. last, and the ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, hereby to command, that the same be published throughout all his majesty's dominions: and we do declare to all his majesty's loving subjects our will and pleasure, that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all his majesty's loving subjects to take notice thereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly. Given at the court at Carlton house, the 17th day of March 1815, in the 55th year of his majesty's reign. God save the king.

Letter from capt. Dacres, of his majesty's ship *Tiber*, addressed to vice-admiral sir Herbert Sawyer, K. C. B. dated on board his majesty's ship *Tiber*, at sea, March 9.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 8th of this month, lat. 46 deg. 24 min. North, long. 13 deg. 30 min. West, I fell in with, and, after a chase of 11 hours, captured the American privateer *Leo*, of seven guns and 93 men, Mr. J. Hewes commander. She is a very fine vessel of her class, copper-bottomed and fastened, and 220 tons burthen, from *L'Orient* about three weeks, and had the day before burnt an English sloop from St. Michael's, and was going to cruise off the rock of Lisbon. I have, &c.

JAS. R. DACRES, capt.

APRIL.

LOVE MURDER AT LISBON.

On Friday, Wm. Sawyer was indicted for the wilful murder of Harriet

Harriet Gaskett at Lisbon, by shooting her through the head, on the 17th of April, 1814.

The prisoner was a young man in the commissariat department of the British army, and the circumstances were of a most singular nature. The deceased went out to Portugal in the month of February 1814, and lived with an officer in the same department with the prisoner. The latter was also a resident at their house at Campo Major, near Lisbon. An attachment grew up between the deceased and the prisoner, which was the cause of jealousy to his brother officer. On the 17th of April they met at dinner with two or three other officers. Harriet and the prisoner appeared much dejected, and ate no dinner. The prisoner particularly appeared in a state of great mental dejection. Towards the evening, he and the deceased walked together in the garden, and the report of three pistols was heard. On going into the garden the prisoner and the deceased were both lying on the ground. Harriet Gaskett was quite dead, but the prisoner was not. He was removed into the house, and soon recovered strength: he then cut his throat, but not fatally. The next day his brother officers met, and reduced into writing the statement of the facts, and it was read to the prisoner, who signed it. They collected the facts from report in the neighbourhood, and from what they understood to have passed. They said the prisoner appeared calm and collected, and understood what was read to him, except one witness, who said, it appeared to him that the prisoner was wholly indifferent to life, and he believed would have signed any thing which had been presented to him. The

written statements were then read, in which the prisoner acknowledged he had a criminal intercourse with Harriet Gaskett; that she had promised to live with him; but that her former protector discovering this arrangement, he had made her promise not to live with him; but she added that she would die with him. That having made up their minds to die together, they went into the garden, when she drank half a bottle of laudanum, and he took the remainder; that he then at her request shot her through the head, and discharged two other pistols against his own; and that these not succeeding, he afterwards cut his throat.—This was the substance of the evidence against him.—In his defence, he put in a written paper, in which he stated, he was unable to articulate from the wound in his throat, but that all he remembered of the transaction was, that being in great and extreme agitation of mind, he only recollected being in the garden, where Harriet had declared she would kill herself, and desired him to die with her. When he convalesced from his wounds, he was told that he had signed some papers, but he had no recollection how or when he had done it.

A great number of officers, some of high rank, spoke most highly of him, as a good-tempered and humane young man.

The learned judge having recapitulated the evidence, the jury retired for nearly two hours, and then returned a verdict of Guilty; but strongly recommended him to mercy, as there was no evidence of malice prepense.

The verdict being received, the counsel for the prisoner moved in arrest of judgment, that the court had no jurisdiction over the offence,

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being committed within an independent kingdom, not subject to Great Britain.

Lord Ellenborough admitted of this objection, but desired them to look at the indictment, to see if they found any other objection. In looking it through, two other objections were urged, that it did not conclude "against the form of the statute;" and also "it was not averred that the parties were British subjects." Judgement was respited in order to have these points of the law argued next term.

POLICE. LAMBETH-OFFICE.

10.—On Wednesday, Margaret Moore underwent a second examination, charged with an attempt to steal the king's crown, from the Tower, on Friday the 31st of March last.

Elizabeth Eloisa Stackling, deputy keeper of the regalia in the Tower, deposed that about one o'clock the prisoner came and asked to see the regalia. The usual charge made for such exhibition is eighteen-pence; but the prisoner having offered a shilling, and she, supposing her to be a soldier's wife, consented to take it. She proceeded to show her the regalia in the usual way, until she came to the last article, the crown: this is contained in a case, and is never taken out: she opened the case, and held it with both hands, on the ledge of a table, except when she was obliged to disengage one hand, and point out particular jewels. She had just been describing the aqua-marine, a jewel of great value, when the prisoner stared, and in an instant thrust her hand through the centre bar of the railings or grating placed there, and, seizing hold of the centre bow of the crown, pulled with great violence to draw it forth. Witness put her hand at the top of the bow and bottom of the

crown, to preserve it, while the prisoner kept struggling with still greater violence to get it away. This struggling continued for about five minutes, and she at length got the crown from her grasp. She then put the crown at a distance behind her, and instantly slipped the bolt of the entrance, secured the prisoner, and called for assistance. When help was obtained, she sent for the governor; but the ward-keeper having come in, a constable was also sent for, who soon arrived and took the prisoner into custody. She was searched, and about 5*l.* in money was found upon her; there were also some papers. In the struggle there were two bows of the crown broken from the socket; a string of pearls was also broken, which rolled upon the floor, some inside the railing, and some outside, where the prisoner was. These were subsequently picked up by the witness, assisted by the governor.

The prisoner said that she was a single woman, residing at No. 3, Union-street, Apollo-gardens; she was a milk-woman; she was a widow, her husband was a labouring man, and was dead about 11 years. Being asked by the magistrate why she came so far from home, she replied she very often went to Thames-street to buy salt herrings.

Q. Then what induced you to go to the Tower?—A. I went on Friday purposely to see the lions: no one was with me—I then went to see the crown.

Q. How came you to snatch that article from the keeper?—A. I thought it a pity that so valuable a thing should remain there while half the nation was starving for want of bread. I wished also, at the time, to take the whole of what was there, and give it to the public."

Q. Who

Q. Who told you to do this, or who was it put that good thought in your head?—A. I had no adviser whatever.

The prisoner was remanded.

12.—At Bonaparte's levee at the Thuilleries on the 26th ult. the council of state presented a record from the registers, of the date of the 25th; which, beginning with a declaration of the sovereignty of the people, traces the progress of the revolution through its various stages, from the dethronement of the Bourbons to the establishment of Napoleon's imperial hereditary throne, with the sanction of the public votes; declaring, that his abdication was not valid, being without the same sanction, and, at all events, not legal as applying to his son. The re-establishment of the Bourbons, in the presence and under the dictation of foreign influence, is declared illegal; broken pledges and despotic designs are charged against them, down to their second forfeiture—when not an arm was raised in their favour, and all the army and all the people ran out to meet and to hail the tyrant!—Every blessing is promised by the renovated emperor; he is called upon to guaranty all liberal principles, individual liberty, equality of rights, liberty of the press, and abolition of censorship, liberty of religious opinion, voting of taxes and laws by the representatives of the people legally chosen; national property of all descriptions, independence and irremovability of tribunals, and responsibility of ministers—all this, they say, he has promised to do; and the epoch of superlative happiness, the coronation of the heir to the crown, is announced for the month of May.

At the same levee, the different bodies of the state were presented to Bonaparte; and addressed him on

the occasion in language expressive of the strongest attachment and admiration. [Only a week or two before, assurances equally fervent and respectful were made in the same place to Louis XVIII.] The answers of Bonaparte were replete with affected moderation and liberality. The following answer to the council of state will serve as a specimen of the whole:—"Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extensive, according to the interests of the nations they govern. Sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the interests of the people require it.—Beyond those principles I know no legitimate authority. I have renounced the ideas of the great empire, only the bases of which I had been able to lay in a period of 15 years. For the future, the prosperity and consolidation of the French empire shall be the object of all my thoughts."

Bonaparte is said to have required of his council of state, a conscription of 600,000 men, and twenty-five millions sterling; but the answer was, "that the present disposition of the nation rendered it unsafe to venture to propose the sacrifices necessary to meet his majesty's wishes; and that they felt it to be their duty to recommend to his majesty measures of conciliation with foreign powers; since the happiness and freedom of France could only be secured by avoiding unnecessary expenditure of the property and population of the empire."

Bonaparte has had recourse to an expedient which he, doubtless, thinks will recommend him to the favour of the friends of humanity; and which, were we not well persuaded of his motives, we should ourselves be induced to commend: he has passed a decree for the im-

mediate abolition of the slave trade. —The object of this measure is, to cast an odium on Louis XVIII. who, (by the advice of his ministers) required five years to be allowed for its abolition. Bonaparte (acting for himself only) orders it immediately to cease. Why not do this when he was before in power?]

LETTER TO THE SOVEREIGNS OF
EUROPE.

Paris, April, 1815.

"Sir, my brother—You have, no doubt, learnt in the course of the last month my return to France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of those events must now be made known to your majesty. They are the results of an irresistible power, the results of the unanimous wishes of a great nation which knows its duties and its rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people was not fitted for it: the Bourbons neither associated with the national sentiments nor manners—France has therefore separated herself from them: her voice called for a liberator: the hopes which induced me to make the greatest sacrifices for her, have been deceived: I came; and from the spot where I first set my foot, the love of my people has borne me into the heart of my capital.—The first wish of my heart is, to repay so much affection by the maintenance of an honourable peace. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary for the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the maintenance of the repose of Europe. Enough of glory has shone by turns on the colours of the various nations. The vicissitudes of fortune have often enough occasion-

ed great reverses, followed by great success.—A more brilliant arena is now open to sovereigns, and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will be more delightful to know no other rivalry in future, but that resulting from the advantages of peace, and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people.—France has been pleased to proclaim with candour this noble object of her unanimous wish. Jealous of her independence, the invariable principle of her policy will be the most rigid respect for the independence of other nations: if such then, as I trust they are, are the personal sentiments of your majesty, general tranquillity is secured for a long time to come; and justice, seated on the confines of the various states, will of herself be sufficient to guard the frontiers. NAPOLEON.

The treaty of Fontainebleau (says Bonaparte) has been violated by the allied powers, and by the house of Bourbon, in what respects the emperor Napoleon and his family, and in what respects the interests and the rights of the French nation. He produces eight instances to support his accusation, of which the principal are the following:—"1. The empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports, and an escort, to repair to the emperor; but far from performing their promise, the husband and wife, father and son, were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in family and domestic affections.—3. The duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and their descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was

was completed by a complete spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuable proposition, or sovereignty, and without her consent.—4. Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France; but he has had nothing.—7. Napoleon was to have received two millions, and his family 2,500,000 francs per annum. The French government has constantly refused to discharge its engagements; and Napoleon would have soon been obliged to disband his faithful guards for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced twelve millions, which they had offered to him.”

A decree, dated at Lyons so far back as the 12th of March, but not published till April 11, grants an amnesty to all persons “implicated in calling in foreigners in the year 1814,” excepting thirteen persons, whose property is sequestered, who are to be brought to trial, and who, in case of condemnation, are to suffer the penalties of the criminal code!—The following are the names of the thirteen proscribed individuals:—Lynch, mayor of Bourdeaux; baron Vitrolles, appointed Louis’s commissioner in the southern provinces, and detained under arrest by count Delaborde at Toulouse; Marmont, duc de Ragusa; Talleyrand, prince de Benevento, now at Vienna; the abbé de Montesquiou, de la Roche Jacquelin, Alexis de Noailles, Sosthene de la Rochefoucault, Bourrienne, Bellart, count de Bournonville, comte de Jaucourt, and duc de Dalberg.

Bonaparte reviewed on the 9th inst. at Paris, twenty regiments of infantry and cavalry, recently ar-

rived from Orleans and the left bank of the Loire. After the review the troops formed a circle around him; when he addressed them in a speech, containing the following passage:—“Soldiers! we do not wish to meddle in the affairs of other nations, and woe to those who would meddle in ours! They would find upon our frontiers the heroes of Marengo, of Austerlitz, and of Jena—they would find there the whole people; and if they have 600,000 men, we have two millions.”

Almost all the marshals have submitted to Bonaparte.—Augereau has published an address, teeming with the most fulsome and disgusting praise of the very man whom; about eleven months ago, he did not hesitate to call a coward, and unworthy to reign over a brave people.—The perfidy of Ney was without parallel. On the news of Bonaparte’s landing, he said to the king:—“I believe I may promise your majesty that I will bring the scoundrel in an iron cage to Paris.” On which the king embraced Ney, who, affecting the utmost transport, and drawing his sword half way out of the scabbard, exclaimed, “Your majesty may rely entirely on me: I will bring him, dead or alive.”

GERMANY.

It is stated from Vienna, that 40 Frenchmen in disguise made an attempt in the night of the 19th ult. to carry into effect a plot for seizing the young Napoleon, and carrying him off to France. A count Montesquiou was at the head of the plot, and even a secretary of Talleyrand’s was in the number of the conspirators. It was ascertained, that relays of horses had been ordered from Vienna to the Rhine. The archduchess Maria Louisa and her son were immediately removed from Schoenbrunn to the imperial palace.

lace. While this stratagem argues a conviction on the mind of Bonaparte, that he could not secure his favourite object by more direct and more certain means, the affair, especially in the arrangement which followed it, evinces the most decided hostility of the emperor of Austria to the political designs of Bonaparte.

AFRICA.

There has been another revolution at Tunis. The old bey, Sidi Ottomanus, was assassinated on the 20th of January by his cousin, Sidi Mahmoud Flassen, who had long enjoyed his confidence and favour. The two sons of the unfortunate old bey, who were in the apartments of their wives at the moment of the assassination of their father, fled, but were overtaken and dragged into the presence of Sidi Mahinoud, who instantly caused their heads to be struck off. He was then recognised as absolute chief of the regency. Jussuf Roggia, his minister, commenced his functions with causing Mariano Stikna, who enjoyed great favour under the old government, to be impaled, and the renegade Mahmet to be strangled. The latter had formed a conspiracy against the new bey.

It appears from "the report of the proceedings of earl Nelson's trustees," dated the 18th inst. that they have at length, by their agent, Mr. Lichfield, entered into an agreement for the purchase of an estate, mansion-house, and park, at Standlynch, Wilts, the property of the late H. Dawkins, esq. comprising the manor of Standlynch, the extra-parochial hamlet of that name, a large and respectable mansion-house and offices, nearly 1900 acres of land, of which about 1290 acres are freehold, 515 copyhold of inheritance,

subject to certain small fines, and 93 acres, copyhold, for lives, with a fishery in the river Avon, and a water corn-mill, and the right of appointing the curate of Standlynch. The whole of the land-tax, with a very small exception, is redeemed. The price which the trustees have agreed to give for this estate, including the timber, which is considerable, is 93,450*l.*; and it has been reported to them by their architect, who surveyed the buildings, that about 3000*l.* will be wanted for repairs. The trustees being aware that they could not be warranted in entering into an agreement for the payment of any purchase money beyond the amount of the grant of 90,000*l.* thought it necessary, before they authorized their agent to enter into the negotiation, to require from earl Nelson, with whose approbation and concurrence the negotiation was entered upon, an undertaking that he would, in the hope that parliament might think proper to make good the same, pay the excess of price beyond the sum of 87,000*l.*; a portion of the estate equivalent in value being, in case no such grant shall be made, conveyed to his lordship as his private property; by which arrangement, 3000*l.* would be set apart for the repairs, according to the estimate.

MAY.

FRANCE.

1.—Popular commotions in favour of the king have taken place at Toulouse, at Montauban, at Bayonne, and at Bourdeaux. At the latter place, several of the populace were killed by the soldiers, who were reduced to the necessity of defending the barracks with artillery. Even in Paris persons have been taken up, while distributing pamphlets exciting to insurrection and the

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assassination of Bonaparte. These symptoms of disaffection, with a want of zeal in the national guards, have induced the government to promote confederations in its favour in all the departments. At Paris, the inhabitants of the suburbs—the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and St. Marceau, have confederated to the number of 15,000 men. They proceeded to the court of the Thuilleries, and were received by Bonaparte, who promised them arms; adding, that while he went to the frontiers, he should be tranquil as to the capital, for they would defend it with the national guard. This association is believed to have for its object to overawe the latter, which is composed of respectable citizens.

A long report from Fouché, the minister of police, gives official information of the existence of a strong and general disposition in favour of the Bourbons; with all the organized character of societies—correspondence, internal and external, among the more systematic partisans; and the overt acts of pulling down the tri-colour flag, hoisting the white flag, and crying "*Vive le Roi!*" among those whose unmethodized zeal and honest nature are less capable of disguise or restraint. The report is couched in strong terms; and while it must alarm the friends and adherents of the government, it will serve to encourage the friends of the lawful monarch. Its presentation was followed by a decree reviving the coercive laws of the revolutionary assemblies.

Lucien Bonaparte's arrival at Paris is officially noticed: he has had conferences of business with Napoleon, and the Palais Royal has been assigned for his residence.

In a decree for convoking the meeting of the electors of colleges

in the Champ de Mai, which Bonaparte published on the 30th ult. he no longer affects to entertain hopes of peace, but distinctly mentions war as actually determined upon. The preamble stated, that according to his original intention of convening the electoral colleges in the Champ de Mai, a general committee was to have been formed from them, after which a few months would have enabled him "to accomplish the grand object of all his thoughts;"—but that from the hostile dispositions of foreign powers, he considered war inevitable, and was obliged to prepare for it. It then goes on to say, that this state of things has forced him to call together the electoral colleges for the purpose of electing deputies, without waiting till the people shall have accepted the new constitution. He therefore decrees, that the electoral colleges of the departments and arrondissements shall assemble within four days after the promulgation of this document in the chief towns of both, and proceed to the election of deputies to the chamber of representatives. These deputies are to proceed to Paris; and the chamber will be convoked after the acceptance of the constitution has been proclaimed.

Carnot and Fouché have been chosen members of the legislative body. They preferred this to being in the other house; as it is said, by being there, they can better maintain their influence.

It is announced, that the heights to the north of Paris, such as Montmartre and Menil Montant, will be defended by works, and mounted with 600 cannon; while to the southward and westward, the inhabitants are told that the engineers think it practicable to inundate that part of the country. The possibility that
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the forces of the allies will penetrate into the heart of France is not concealed; but the danger they will encounter, from the preparations making at every point, is imposingly displayed in one of the articles of the *Moniteur*: it is there said, that all the places upon the northern frontier, from Dunkirk to Charlemont, are declared in a state of siege; that they are armed and provisioned, and sluices prepared to inundate the country on the first hostile movement that takes place; all the passes on the different frontiers and in the interior are guarded; eight armies, or corps of observation, are formed; 400 battalions of national guards are organized; 500 battalions of the regular army will in ten days be re-united in the camps; some parks of artillery, forming upwards of 150 batteries, are on the road to the armies; the levy en-masse is organizing in Alsace, Lorraine, Franche Comté, Burgundy, &c. and partisan and free corps are organizing; so that any attempts against the rights of the French nation will be frustrated.

Madrid, May 10.—On the 4th ult. there was communicated to the royal council, by order of his majesty, a treaty between the king and his august father, accompanied by a note.—The treaty contains eight articles, by which his majesty Charles IV. renounces the crown of Spain in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. and his successors; on condition of being allowed twelve millions of reals per annum, to be paid monthly, and in advance, instead of the eight millions previously allowed him. That having been a great length of time without any assistance, he has contracted debts to the amount of 1,500,000 francs, which are to be acknowledged by his son, and to be defrayed within three years. The

queen mother, in case of survivorship, to have eight millions of reals per annum. The infant Francisce, brother of Ferdinand, to enjoy the same stipend as has always been allowed to persons of his rank. His majesty Charles IV. stipulates, that he shall fix his abode in any place or country he may think proper. [The note before mentioned states that his majesty Ferdinand VII. had thought proper to put some limitation to the 5th article, by excepting from the places at which the revered authors of his being shall fix their residence, all parts under the influence of Napoléon and Murat. To this exception Charles IV. agreed without hesitation.—Himself and the queen to be treated, during their lives, with all the respect due to their rank; and to continue in the enjoyment of their royal titles.]

ITALY.

12.—The Austrian declaration of war against the king of Naples, dated Vienna, April 12, states, that a wise policy would have prescribed Murat to limit his future views to the preservation of his kingdom, and to renounce every idea of conquest; that, instead of so doing, he formed extensive projects of future conquest and aggression, and in February last, demanded from Austria a passage for an army through Italy into France; that, this demand being refused, Murat kept his answer back, and did not reveal his real designs until the 5th of March, when he learned the escape of Bonaparte from Elba. He then made it positively known, "that he considered the cause of Napoleon as his own," and required from the pope a passage for troops through the Roman states. The pope protested against this violation of his territory, left Rome, and proceeded to Florence. On the 8th of April the Neapolitan pleni-

plenipotentiaries at Vienna delivered a note full of assurances of the most friendly sentiments of their master; but announcing his intention to give to his military forces a more extended position, and that they would therefore occupy the line of demarcation fixed for the Neapolitan army by the armistice of 1813. Meanwhile the Neapolitan army, without any further declaration, began on the 30th of March hostilities against the Austrian posts in the legations. For these reasons his imperial majesty considers war as begun between the two states.

GERMANY.

The treaty of alliance and concert transmitted from this country to Vienna has been returned from thence ratified; together with the answer of the Austrian cabinet to the declaration added by our government to the treaty. According to this answer, all doubt of the identity of view between the allied powers is removed. It is therein stated, that the interpretation given by Great Britain to the 8th article is entirely conformable to the principles of Austria; that the emperor is firmly resolved to employ all his efforts against Bonaparte's usurpation; but that he does not desire forcibly to impose any particular form of government on France. The subsidiary treaty has also been concluded; so that all the rumours of disagreement on that head prove to be void of foundation.

A meeting lately took place among the Saxon troops at Liege, on account of the intended division of them into such as are natives of the part of Saxony ceded to Prussia, and such as belong to the other part which remains to the king. These troops, consisting of one battalion of grenadiers of the guard, and one regiment of grenadiers of the line,

had for some time shown a turbulent and disorderly spirit; and, on hearing of the order, resolved to disobey it. On the 2d they broke out into open mutiny, and even attempted to force their way into prince Blucher's hotel; but were prevented by the Saxon officers and two Saxon sentinels on duty in the hotel. They retired after breaking the windows, and in the night proceeded to Huy, according to a previous order. The battalion refused to quit Liege till it was disbanded. On the 6th the following proclamation was published at Liege:

BLUCHER'S PROCLAMATION TO THE SAXONS.

"Soldiers of the Saxon corps!—Terrible crimes have been committed in your ranks. I had with confidence fixed my quarters among you, when I was attacked by a troop of assassins and rebels; who, refusing to obey their officers, persisted for three days in a criminal mutiny. —Soldiers! you would be dishonoured in the eyes of all Europe, your national honour would be forever lost, if I did not render you the testimony that you have on this occasion expressed in a striking manner the indignation which was excited in you by a licentious soldiery, which, in refusing to obey its officers, violated the first duty of a soldier. By the confidence you place in me, you have counted on the possession of the rights which honour and the laws of war give you. You have not deceived yourselves. The regiment of grenadiers has ceased to exist. The standard which it disgraced has been burnt, and the sword of justice has fallen on the guilty.

"Soldiers! continue to attend to the voice of your officers. Their duty is not only to lead you into battle, but also to watch for the preservation

vation of your honour and your welfare. I cannot, therefore, better show you my approbation, or better save your character from disgrace, than by continuing to deliver to the severity of the laws the promoters of insubordination, and their accomplices, if they should still dare, by their crimes, to tarnish your military glory. **BLUCHER."**

Another proclamation, issued by marshal Blucher five days subsequently, is addressed to the Prussian soldiers: it contains the following passage:

"Prussians!—Whatever disaffection may be shown by a part of the army which his majesty has done me the honour to place under my orders, I am confident that your fidelity will to the last remain unshaken, and that you will set a noble example of attachment and obedience upon this and every other occasion. It is with extreme regret that I have been compelled to adopt measures of severity towards any part of the troops employed in the common cause. The crimes already committed show how much may be accomplished by a few traitorous and disaffected individuals.

Liege, May 11. BLUCHER."

RUSSIA.

The following is an extract from an imperial proclamation published at St. Petersburg, on the 25th of April, addressed to the French nation:—

"April 25.

"You entered my territories unprovoked, with fire and sword; you plundered and destroyed wherever you came; you entered my capital, which you laid waste. I entered your territories, and took your capital, but destroyed nothing.—Again, unprovoked, you raise the sword, and destroy the peace of nations. I will now enter your territories

once more, to conquer peace; and wherever I meet with resistance, I will utterly destroy you for your perfidy."

GREAT STORM.

A most alarming storm took place at Addington, near Croydon, on the 2d of May. A water-spout descended on the hill, and burst about a mile above it. The water poured in torrents, and rushing into the valley, formed a stream of 50 feet wide. It took its way with irresistible force through the village, forced open the doors, and carried away the furniture of the habitations. A house and barn, torn from the garden-wall of the archbishop of Canterbury, were overwhelmed. This deluge, accompanied by thunder and lightning, continued for upwards of two hours; and has left a lamentable swamp in the neighbourhood. The damage occasioned on the land over which the waters rushed, is incalculable. Fortunately, however, no lives were lost.

A dreadful catastrophe occurred at Heaton colliery, near Newcastle, on the 3d. inst. by the breaking in of a quantity of water from one of the old workings, to which the pitmen had unhappily approximated too closely. By this calamity 80 men and 42 boys, it is feared, have perished! From a very faint gleam of hope, an attempt was made at an old pit, a little south-west from the other, with a view, if possible, to open a communication with the workings; but the sides of the pit fell in, and other difficulties presented themselves, precluding much hope of any of the sufferers being rescued alive, although no exertions were spared by the proprietors and their agents.

15.—The last standing remains of Bolingbroke Castle in Lincolnshire, the birth-place (in 1367) of king

king Henry IV. crumbled over their base last week, and came to the ground.

18.—A party, consisting of 16 persons, were returning from Sidmouth to Otterton by water; when, having sailed but a little distance, the hat of one of the men fell overboard, who, in hastily endeavouring to recover it, upset the boat, and the whole were plunged into the sea. Three boats immediately went off to their assistance; but they could only succeed in taking up six persons, who by medical aid were restored to health: the other ten (nine of them females) are totally lost: two of them were married in the morning, and with their company had spent the day at Sidmouth.

OLD BAILEY.

On Tuesday, Elizabeth Fenning was indicted for administering a quantity of arsenic in some dumplings, with intent to poison Mr. and Mrs. Turner and family. The case is as follows. The servant was continually pressing her mistress to let her make some yeast dumplings, at which she pretended to be a famous hand. She had lived seven weeks in the family of Mr. Turner, in Chancery-lane, and had received notice to quit for improper behaviour; but her mistress took compassion on her, and suffered her to remain in the family. On the 21st of March the brewer left some yeast; and instead of getting the dough from the baker's as usual, the prisoner made it herself. Mr. and Mrs. Turner and the father of the latter dined together. Mrs. T. ate very little of the yeast dumpling; but she was taken ill, before she had done dinner, with a violent sickness, &c. and the pains continued until the evening. The other persons who ate of the dumplings were affected in a similar manner. The

prisoner had got the poison out of a drawer: it was written upon "arsenic, deadly poison." Medical men proved that poison had been put into the pan where the dumplings were mixed.—Guilty—Death. [This young woman was executed upon extremely slight circumstantial evidence, without any sufficient motive being assigned why she should have perpetrated the deed.]

LORD COCHRANE.

STATEMENT OF MR. JONES.

Lord Cochrane having employed all the means in his power to create a belief in the public mind that he has been improperly treated during his confinement in my custody, as marshal of the King's Bench prison, I feel it a duty which I owe to myself, to give a full statement of the facts connected with my official conduct to his lordship, when the public will be qualified to determine whether he ought not to have entertained the most favourable, not to say the most grateful sentiments for my mode of acting on the occasion, instead of endeavouring to impute to me a severe exercise of my authority, by paragraphic statements in the public papers.

Lord Cochrane had repeatedly acknowledged to his most intimate friends, that, previous to his escape, every thing had been done by myself and my officers for his comfortable accommodation. I shall therefore confine myself to the circumstances which took place subsequent to his being brought back to the King's Bench from the House of Commons. At that time I thought it my duty to put him in a room called the strong room, being the only place of adequate security for such a prisoner, in such a peculiar situation, and openly making such declarations as he thought proper

to address to me; for he had not been many moments in the place to which my official duty had consigned him, when he, without the least reserve, informed me, that he could at his pleasure make his escape out of any prison, and that he had determined to leave the King's Bench on the anniversary of the day when he effected his escape at Malta from a much stronger place than the room which then inclosed him.

If a humane and kind concern for this unfortunate nobleman had not softened the solicitude I naturally felt for my own security, I could have committed him, on my own warrant for the escape, to the New Gaol in Horsemonger-lane, for the space of a month, and that power is still within my jurisdiction. Had I thought proper to exercise it, lord Cochrane would then have been confined in a solitary cell, with a stone floor, with the windows impenetrably barred, and without glass; nor would it have proved half the size of the strong room in the King's Bench, which had been so much complained of, and which has a boarded floor, and glazed lights. I had not recourse to this extremity, justifiable as it might have been; at the same time it imperiously became me, in the due execution of my duty, to use all possible means to prevent lord Cochrane from making a second escape; and not having any other place of immediate security but the strong room, I informed him that he must be contented to remain there for a few days, till I could make the necessary arrangements for his more comfortable accommodation. Nor was a moment lost in preparing and securing (in a temporary way) two very airy and commodious rooms above the lobby, at the entrance into the prison; but as they, after

all, might not be ultimately secure against any desperate resolutions of lord Cochrane to attempt another escape, I thought it right to use my endeavours towards obtaining a security from his lordship, or his friends, to indemnify me for the risk of that indulgence, for such, surely, it may be considered, which I anxiously wished to show him. With this view, I sent him several verbal messages, declaratory of the terms I proposed on the occasion; when he declined returning any satisfactory answer. But that there might not be any misunderstanding whatever respecting those terms, which I offered in the hope of his compliance with them, I communicated my expectation in the following letter, viz:—

“My lord,—being desirous of alleviating your imprisonment as far as I am able, consistent with my own safety and the duty I owe to the public, I beg leave to inform your lordship, that I have prepared rooms for your better accommodation above the lobby of the prison; but as those rooms are not fully secure against a prisoner who (like yourself) asserts a capacity of escaping at pleasure, I feel it incumbent upon me to require, that you should lodge the fine of 1,000*l.* with which you are charged, in some proper hands, and enter into a bond with proper sureties (whom you will be anxious to protect) to indemnify me against any other escape, until you are discharged by due course of law. Upon having such fine lodged, and upon having such a bond, I shall feel myself justified in permitting you to occupy those rooms, instead of confining you to the strong room.

“I therefore think it right to submit this to your consideration; and awaiting your determination upon
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the subject, I am, my lord, your most obedient servant,

"WM. JONES.

"To Lord Cochrane, &c. King's Bench, April 2d, 1815."

To this letter lord Cochrane did not think proper to return any written answer. I was, however, made to understand, that he had formed a fixed resolution to remain in the strong room rather than comply with my propositions. I then endeavoured to prevail upon some of his near relations to join in giving security for him (having on my part ceased to insist on the lodgment of the 1,000*l.* fine): but this proposition was answered by a peremptory refusal. In the meantime I had requested Messrs. Saumarez and Dixon, two gentlemen of medical eminence, to attend his lordship, with a view to receive their successive reports as to the progressive state of his health; and when Mr. Saumarez reported to me that a longer continuance in the strong room might be attended with dangerous consequences to lord Cochrane, I again tried to induce his friends and relations to give me any kind of undertaking against another escape; and on their refusal I determined myself to become his friend, and at my own risk to remove him into the apartments which have been already mentioned, and where I am confident he can have no just cause of complaint.—These apartments not being altogether safe against such a person as lord Cochrane, should he determine to risk another escape, I must look to the laws of my country as my safeguard, in the hope that the terrors of them will discourage him from attempting a repetition of his offence, and prevent him from incurring the penalties of another indictment, in addition to that now hanging

1815.

ing over him, with which I feel it my duty to proceed and let the law take its course, however my expenses may be augmented, which have amounted to between three and four hundred pounds.

Lord Cochrane in his address to his constituents has ventured to state—"That every engine was set to work to tempt or to frighten him out of the country, and to allure him back to the custody of the marshal; and that assurances were given that the doors should be kept open at any hour of the night, and that he should be received with secrecy, courtesy, and indemnity." The inaccuracy of this statement will appear from attention to the following facts:—

I was no sooner informed that lord Cochrane had effected his escape, than I made every possible exertion to procure his re-capture, and accordingly caused hand-bills to be very generally distributed, which contained the offer of a reward of 300 guineas for his apprehension. This step induced Mr. Basil Cochrane to visit me, and by that gentleman I was informed that he was in a state of communication with lord Cochrane, and expressed his belief that he should be able to prevail on him to return into prison. Nay, he gave me every reason to suppose that his lordship would certainly, in the course of a night or two, return into custody. I made known to Mr. Basil Cochrane my determination to remain in waiting for the purpose of receiving him, as I should not suffer him to be re-admitted within the walls of the prison without my seeing him. I accordingly sat up several nights, but he did not make his appearance. Mr. Basil Cochrane renewed his visit to me, and repeated the assurance that it was lord Cochrane's

(D) intention

intention to surrender himself; but as he was taking his leave of me, he particularly asked "whether I should go on with the prosecution for the escape, if his lordship should surrender himself?" When I told him in plain and positive terms, that whether he surrendered himself or not, I should think it my bounden duty to follow up the prosecution, and to let the law take its course, whatever the event might be. On my making this declaration to Mr. Basil Cochrane, I very plainly perceived that I must give up all expectations of lord Cochrane's return to the prison in the manner which had been suggested, though I have every reason to believe that his lordship was for several successive nights within a few yards of the King's Bench wall, with a view of getting back into the prison, and thereby, as Mr. Basil Cochrane acknowledged, to create a hoax against me, by a declaration that he had never quitted it. Aware as I was of the probability of such an attempt, I placed a sufficient number of watchmen both within and without the walls, to prevent such a scheme from being successfully executed.

This statement will, I trust, not only secure me from the accusation of having acted towards lord Cochrane with any the least degree of rigour or severity, but, on the contrary, will convince the public that he has been treated by me with that indulgence and humanity which have ever influenced my conduct during the twenty-four years I have possessed a very responsible, anxious, and difficult situation.

WM. JONES, Marshal.

King's Bench, 9th May.

LORD COCHRANE'S REPLY.

In noticing the statement of the officiating marshal of this prison,

which appeared in the public papers of the 10th instant, I am desirous to be as brief as possible. To his first charge, that I have employed all the means in my power to create a belief that he has treated me improperly during my confinement, and that I have imputed to him a severe exercise of his authority, by "paragraphic statements in the public papers," my answer is, that he is deceived, or that he attempts to deceive others. No paragraphic statement, or statement of any kind whatever, was ever inserted at my instigation, or with my knowledge, in any of the public journals, relative to the marshal, or his conduct; and I may add, that I never occasioned the insertion of any anonymous article in a newspaper on any matter connected with my case. Neither have I seen any comments in any of the public papers on the severity of the marshal towards me: but I have seen many slanderous paragraphs relative to myself; and also several paragraphs artfully worded, speaking of my confinement in the strong room in the past tense, long before the marshal had performed his promise of delivering me from that improper and noxious situation.

In my late address to my constituents, many of whom had been deceived by such last-mentioned paragraphs, I truly stated, that I had been detained in the strong room more than three weeks, to the great injury of my health, and was still there detained, notwithstanding the above-mentioned promise on the part of the marshal. This was the only complaint, and the only medium of complaint, used by me, as to the conduct of that individual; who was too well known as an instrument, to be in danger of more than his due proportion of blame from

from my representations. Since, however, he assumes more credit to himself for humanity and fair dealing than is strictly his due, I shall for the present leave his instrumentality out of the question, and treat with him as a principal.

After having informed me, as he admits, that I must be contented to remain in the strong room for a few days only, until he could make the necessary arrangements for my more comfortable accommodation, without a word of any conditions on which that accommodation was to be afforded, I contend, that he certainly was not entitled to impose such conditions afterwards. It is no new thing for a prisoner to escape, or to be re-taken: but to require of any prisoner a bond with securities not to repeat such escape, was, I think, a proposition without precedent; and such as the marshal knew could not be complied with by me, without humiliation, and therefore could not be proposed by him without insult. Besides, he had my assurance, that if I were again to quit his custody, (which I gave him no reason to believe I should attempt, and which, as I observed, and believe, it was as easy for me to effect from that room, as from any other part of the prison,) I should proceed no further than to the House of Commons; and that where he found me before, he might find me again: having had no other object in view, than that of expressing, by some peculiar act, the keen sense which I entertained of peculiar injustice; and of endeavouring to bring such additional proofs of that injustice before the house, as were not in my possession when I was heard in my defence.

The marshal states, that he sent me several verbal messages declaratory of his terms, and that he

renewed his propositions by letter. On this I have to observe, that although I received several such messages while the apartments which he had at first unconditionally promised were in a state of preparation; yet, when they were ready, which was within a week from my apprehension, I received no communication from him till after another week had elapsed; that is to say, on Saturday the 1st of April he sent me a verbal proposal; and on Sunday the 2d, the day before the meeting of parliament, he wrote me the letter which he has inserted in his statement.—But I am firmly persuaded that neither the message nor letter would have been sent, if the marshal had not apprehended that the subject was about to be mentioned in the House of Commons. Nor have I the least doubt that some member of that house was prepared with a copy of that letter to meet the occasion.

The marshal's declaration that he requested two medical gentlemen to attend me for the purpose of receiving their successive reports as to the progressive state of my health, is an acknowledgement, not only that he was conscious of the injurious effects of continued confinement in such a place, but that he intended to adhere to his conditions to the last extremity. It is, in effect, an admission that he adopted the military practice of ascertaining, by surgical inspection, the extent to which torture may be inflicted without immediately endangering the life of the victim.

He further admits, that it was not till Mr. Saumarez, the surgeon, had assured him that a longer continuance in the strong room might be attended with dangerous consequences,—nor even then, until after he had made another desperate at-

tempt to enforce his conditions, that he "determined to become my friend," as he familiarly expresses it, and to remove me to those apartments which I ought to have been permitted to occupy nearly a month before.

The truth, however, is—that it was not till after the urgent certificate which I received from Mr. Saumarez, as well as that of my own physician, Dr. Buchan, pointing out the absolute necessity of an immediate change of abode, had been transmitted to the honourable Mr. Bennet, chairman of the committee of inquiry into the state of prisons, and by him laid before one of the secretaries of state; and until Mr. Bennet and Mr. Lambton (member for the county of Durham) had remonstrated with the marshal, that he "at his own risk determined to become my friend."

Mr. Jones boastingly asserts, that if his humanity for an unfortunate nobleman had not lessened the solicitude he naturally felt for his own security, he could, by virtue of his own warrant, have committed me to a solitary cell in Horsemonger-lane, for the space of a month; and he has not forgotten to add, that such power is still within his jurisdiction. Mr. Jones, however, is not the only person in authority who has been taught, that vindictive punishments cannot be inflicted without exciting a degree of odium, which those who so "naturally feel a solicitude for their own security" do not deem it prudent to encounter.

Further, though a solitary cell in Horsemonger-lane may, as he says, be only half the size of the strong room, it could not, I apprehend, have been more gloomy, damp, filthy, or injurious to health, than the last-mentioned dungeon. And since he could only have confined

me in the former place for a month, and did confine me in the latter for twenty-six days, I can scarcely see that degree of difference which should entitle him to those "grateful sentiments for his mode of acting on the occasion" which he submits to the public that it is my duty to entertain.

The "glazed lights" mentioned by Mr. Jones were not put up till after I had been thirty hours in the place; and I have always understood that I was indebted for them to the good offices of Mr. Bennet and Mr. Lambton, who happened to be prosecuting their inquiry into the state of the prison at the time of my return. For this, and all other mercies of the said marshal, my gratitude is due to their friendship and sense of duty, and to his dread of their discoveries and proceedings.

It may further be observed, that if Mr. Jones had committed me to a solitary cell "by his own warrant for the escape," he could hardly have had the conscience to persevere in persecuting me for that escape, which, notwithstanding his "humane and kind concern for an unfortunate nobleman," he expresses his inflexible determination to do.

With respect to the expense of three or four hundred pounds, which the marshal complains that he has incurred on this occasion, he has, I hope, the consolation of knowing that the fortunate nobleman who does him the honour to share in the emoluments of his office (viz. 60,000*l.* annually wrung from the bowels of misery) will cheerfully contribute his proportion.

Mr. Jones is not a little impertinent in his expression of a "hope that the terrors of the law will discourage me from a repetition of my offence." I can hardly bring myself

myself to acknowledge the authority of this person, notwithstanding the virtue of his "own warrant," to denominate any action of mine an offence against the laws, till it has been proved upon me as such. Still less can I admit the propriety or decency of his insinuation, that if I have once violated the laws, it is by fear only that I am to be prevented from violating them again. Mr. Jones, with all his authority, is no adequate judge of my actions, and wholly incompetent to come to any accurate decision as to the nature or value of the motives in which they originate.

Part of a sentence contained in my late address, which Mr. Jones says is inaccurate, he has himself rendered so by his false and garbled quotation. He denies that any attempts were made to 'smuggle me in again,' if I may be allowed the expression—and I am assured that they are the very words used by the officiating marshal himself, when expressing his solicitude for my immediate and secret return. He denies that assurances were given, as stated in my said address, that the doors should be kept open at any hour of the night, and that I should be received with secrecy, courtesy, and indemnity. I repeat, however, on the authority of three persons, that such assurances were given, and that the marshal's account of the circumstances is essentially erroneous.

But the most flagitious misrepresentation contained in this unprovoked statement of Mr. Jones, is his assertion, that he has every reason to believe that for several successive nights I was within a few yards of the King's Bench prison wall, with a view of getting back into the prison, and thereby to create a hoax against him, by a decla-

ration that I never quitted it!—It is here necessary that I should tell Mr. Jones, that he is less indebted to the strength of his "warrant," than to the weakness of his age and his aforesaid instrumentality, for the impunity of his slander. A report that my object was not such as I alleged—that it was not to expose the injustice of my conviction of one fraud, but to perpetrate another, is precisely what my oppressors would wish to be believed: but fortunately it can be proved to be unfounded. The marshal is aware that almost as soon as I had left the prison, and before he knew that I had left it, I sent that letter to the speaker of the House of Commons, which is inserted in my late address to my constituents. How then can he assert that he has every reason to believe that the object of my departure was to return secretly, for the base and contemptible purpose of practising a hoax upon him! Must I not have known that the letter to the speaker would have evidenced the folly and falsehood of my conduct, and exposed me to detection and contempt? The truth is, that so far from being for several successive nights within a few yards of the prison-wall, I was never so near them, within an hour after my departure, down to the moment of being apprehended in the House of Commons, as I was when that apprehension took place. As soon as I had written to the speaker, I went into Hampshire, where I remained eleven days, and till within one day of my appearance in the House of Commons. During that period, I was occupied in regulating my affairs in that county, and in riding about the country, as was well known to the people in the neighbourhood; none of whom were base enough to be seduced by a bribe to

deliver an injured man into the hands of his oppressors.

In replying to such a statement as that of Mr. Jones, it is impossible not to call to mind the unfounded and mischievous report which was propagated at Bury St. Edmund's during the assizes of last summer, when the marshal of the King's Bench accompanied the lord chief justice through the circuit. For the particulars, I refer to the appendix (No. IV.) of my letter to lord Ellenborough.

When the master of the Crown-office visited me last week, in his official capacity, for the purpose of inquiring whether I had any complaint to make, I immediately answered, "None at all; I have no complaint to make of the marshal, nor of any of the officers of the prison." This demonstrates the falsity of Mr. Jones's assertion, that I have employed every means in my power to create a belief that I have been improperly treated by him during my confinement in his custody. Indeed, of Mr. Jones I have never entertained an angry thought, nor scarcely any thought at all. I have never considered him in any other light than as an instrument (rather unwilling than otherwise) in the hands of others; and my quarrel is not with him, but with his superiors.

COCHRANE.

King's Bench, May 12, 1815.

JUNE.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

THE KING v. GILBERT BURNET.

7.—The defendant, who is an apothecary residing in Great Mary-le-bone-street, had been indicted for causing children whom he had inoculated for the small-pox to be exposed improperly in the public streets and highways, to the immi-

nent danger of communicating the infection to others of his majesty's subjects. The defendant, it appeared, had suffered judgement to go by default, and was now brought up to receive the judgement of the court.

Affidavits of Sarah Milburne and of Sarah Shute were put in and read. They stated, that in June last they had children inoculated by the defendant, to whom they were attracted by his public advertisement. That during the progress of this disorder, they repeatedly applied to the defendant to visit their children at home, which he refused to do, and, in consequence, their parents were obliged to take them through the street; and that on their different visits they had seen numerous children there, and met them going to and returning from the defendant's house with the disease full out upon them. The children of both deponents died.

The affidavit of the defendant stated, that he had suffered judgement to go by default in consequence of the derangement of his affairs, although he had a good defence to the action; that so far from advising persons to expose, he had uniformly cautioned all parties not to expose themselves while labouring under the disease; that he was subject to a spitting of blood, and that imprisonment for any length of time would prove fatal to him.

Mr. justice Le Blanc, in passing sentence, said, the court was not called on to give any opinion as to the merits of the different systems of inoculation. It had always been illegal to inoculate in an infectious way, as this defendant had done. To deter others from committing the like offence, the sentence of the court was, that the defendant be committed to the custody

today of the marshal of that court for six calendar months.

Foreign-office, June 5.—Extracts of letters from Edward Cooke, esq. one of his majesty's under secretaries of state, dated Rome, al Via della Croci, May 20.

I inclose copies of military reports from col. Church, who is employed under gen. Nugent, to the 18th inst. by lord Stewart's directions. On Tuesday last I went to Civita Vecchia, with the view of communicating with lord Exmouth in his passage from Genoa to Naples.

On Thursday evening his lordship's flag appeared in the offing, with four sail of the line, and I went on board, and put him in possession of all details; upon which he proceeded forthwith to the Bay of Naples, where he must have arrived this morning.—The Berwick of 74 guns, capt. Bruce, came to Civita Vecchia on Saturday; finding that a French frigate had gone into Gaeta, probably with a view of carrying off the Bonaparte family, he proceeded by my desire, on Tuesday evening, in order to blockade Gaeta.—A Neapolitan general arrived at Civita Vecchia on Wednesday from Palermo, which he left on the 8th: he reported to me that the king had left Palermo for Messina; and that the British and Sicilian troops were ready to embark. Letters had been sent from gen. Nugent and lord Burghersh, by Terracina and Ponza, to gen. M'Farlane, advising the debarkation to be as near Naples as possible.

If lord Burghersh's dispatches have arrived, your lordship will have been informed that the duc de Gallo had surrendered two sail of the line, and the whole arsenal of Naples, by capitulation, to capt. Campbell of the Tremendous, on his threatening to bombard the city. The accounts herewith sent will prove satisfacto-

rily to your lordship that the war is on the eve of being successfully terminated. The Neapolitan army does not support the cause of Murat, much less the people, who receive the allied troops as liberators, and are merely anxious for the restoration of their ancient and legitimate sovereign, being exasperated and disgusted with all the vexations, deceptions, and perfidies of Murat.

ARMY OF NAPLES.

Head-quarters of gen. count Nugent, bivouack of Arce, May 15.

My lord.—My last report, dated Rome, the 11th inst. stated the march of gen. count Nugent's corps from Valmontone, in the Roman states, on Firentine, and towards the frontier of the kingdom of Naples. The enemy retiring before him, and only engaging in partial combat occasionally, has since that period been driven beyond the Garigliano, as far back as St. Germano, a distance of thirty miles from the frontier, followed by the advance guard, close to that town. On the 14th, marshal Murat having arrived in person at St. Germano, and the enemy being considerably reinforced, he advanced again from St. Germano, and drove back the advanced guard of this army: the same evening he attacked the out-posts at all points, and surrounded them with great superiority of numbers; notwithstanding which, the gallantry of the troops was such, that every detached guard not only cut its way through the enemy, but brought in a number of prisoners, to the amount of three or four hundred. The attack of the out-posts was not followed up, as we had reason to expect, by a serious operation against our position at Ceprano on the Garigliano, in expectation of which the troops remained the greater part of the day in order of battle. On the 15th the

(D 4) enemy

enemy began again to retire : his movement was then plainly ascertained to be a manœuvre to cover and facilitate the escape of marshal Murat to Capua, who arrived at St. Germano with only three or four officers and a few dragoons, and left it again in a couple of hours.

Towards sun-set on the same day gen. Nugent resumed the offensive, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, the enemy having* near 10,000 men : crossing the Gari-gliano on a bridge thrown over it to replace that burnt by the French general Manheis when he sacked and burnt the unfortunate town of Ceprano, he pursued his march on the road towards St. Germano, and bivouacked under the little town of Arce, whence this report is dated. Gen. Manheis has been joined by the minister at war, Macdonald, and it is probable that their combined force will occupy this night a position on the Melfa. I have the honour, &c. C. CHURCH.

Lieut.-gen. lord Stewart,

G.C.B. Vienna.

*Head-quarters of gen. count Nugent,
San Germano, May 17.*

My lord,—My last dispatch, dated from the bivouack of Arce, brought the details of the operations of gen. count Nugent's corps up to the date of the 15th instant. I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that since that period a series of bold and rapid movements on the part of that general have been crowned with the most complete success, and the enemy's army opposed to him defeated and totally dispersed.—On the night of the 15th the advanced guard moved forward from the camp of Arce on the road towards St. Germano, having the enemy in front strongly posted on the banks of the Melfa : during the night, however, he returned to St. Germano, break-

ing down the bridge across that river. No time was lost in throwing a bridge over the Melfa, and at ten o'clock on the morning of the 16th it was crossed by the infantry ; the cavalry in the meantime having passed it where it was fordable for horses. On the same day, before daylight, gen. Nugent advanced his whole corps to the Melfa ; and having there received a reinforcement of hussars and chasseurs, he marched forward in order of battle to attack the enemy at San Germano, where the united forces of Macdonald, Manheis, and Pignatelli had taken post. A small corps of advance had marched from Ponte Corvo to turn the enemy's left flank, and which had already got behind his position ; and the armed inhabitants of the village of Piedemonte, with a few soldiers, possessed themselves of the strong position of the convent of Monte Casino, upon the mountain which protects the right flank of San Germano : the army at the same time advanced upon the high road, preceded by the whole of the Tuscan cavalry and some squadrons of hussars. On the approach of the troops the enemy declined the combat, and hastily abandoned his position, leaving behind him many prisoners and deserters, and fell back to the village of Mignano, nine miles distant from this place : San Germano was in consequence immediately occupied by the allied troops.—The taking of San Germano was but the prelude to a movement which terminated gloriously for this army, in the total annihilation of the enemy's corps opposed to it. In the position of Mignano, where his whole force was again united, he was attacked at midnight by the advanced guard, commanded by baron d'Aspre, with about seven or eight hundred men : the darkness of the hour preventing him from ascertaining

ing the strength of the attacking corps; the enemy's troops, after a few discharges of musketry, were totally routed, saving only his cavalry and artillery. In this attack, singularly successful; and highly creditable to baron d'Aspre and the troops under his orders, above 1000 prisoners have been made, a quantity of arms and military equipments taken, and the whole of the enemy's infantry dispersed. Deserters in companies of hundreds have come in, and are hourly joining this camp. This brilliant affair has concluded the operations of count Nugent in this quarter, in which he has destroyed the army called the army of the Interior, with a force originally very inferior to that of the enemy.—— During the last ten days the Neapolitan army has lost at least from six to seven thousand men; and the whole number of this army (alluding solely to the army opposed to gen. Nugent), escaped from the general overthrow, cannot amount to more than 700 men. In the course of this general's movements, commencing at Pistoia, he has at different periods defeated the enemy's generals, Carrascosa, Manheis, Livron, Macdonald, and the two Pignatellis, besides others; and not even the presence of marshal Murat himself at San Germano on the 15th could prevent the destruction of his army, and consequently the ruin of his authority.

I have, &c. C. CHURCH.

Head-quarters, bivouack of Cajaniello, near Calvi, May 18.

My lord,—I had the honour to transmit to your lordship a report, dated yesterday, with details of the occupation of St. Germano, and of the defeat of the enemy at Mignano; I have now to report the junction of the whole Austrian force under the command of gen. baron Bianchi

at this camp. Cajaniello being the angle of the junction of the high-roads leading from Rome, Aquila, and Pescara, to Capua and Naples, the different divisions commanded by the generals Nugent, Mohr, Nieperg, and D'Eckart, form for the moment but one corps, the advanced guard of which under gen. Stahremberg is at Calvi. The shattered and wretched remains of the enemy's army, which little more than a month ago marshal Murat published to the world as consisting of 80,000 combatants, is now reduced to a corps perhaps not amounting to 8000 effective men, including the detachments of invalids, gendarmerie, civic guards, &c. drawn from Naples and the provinces: with this force broken in spirit, the majority of which detest the cause of the usurper, it appears that marshal Murat will take post in and about Capua, until finally overwhelmed by the superb and victorious army which will now surround him in every direction. Having but this moment reached the general headquarters with gen. Nugent's corps, I cannot yet state which of the Austrian corps will march on Naples by Caijagga and Caserta, nor which will blockade the enemy's position of Capua, and in the present state of affairs it seems immaterial; the great object now being to save the capital from any rising of the populace, and the consequences that might follow an event so much dreaded by all classes of the inhabitants. The organization of the Neapolitan volunteers has gone on amazingly well; and it is even probable that a detachment of them may be sent to pass the Volturno at its mouth, and push on to Naples by the road of Pozzuoli; in that case, I believe I shall be intrusted with this operation. I am very happy to state, that although the

the whole of the country through which we have passed has risen in arms against the usurper's forces, no act of excess or disorder has been committed by the armed inhabitants, who have on no occasion been allowed to act in independent bodies under the denomination of Massa; on the contrary, they have been obliged to act according to military discipline, and under the direction of regular officers.—I have, &c. C. CHURCH.

Lieut-gen-ld. Stewart, G.C.B. &c.
Foreign-office, June 7.—Copy and extract of dispatches from lord Burghersh, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Florence.

Rome, May 16, 1815.

My lord,—I have received a letter from capt. Campbell, of the Tremendous, dated Naples the 13th inst., in which he states, that in consequence of the arrangements made with me at Florence, and transmitted to your lordship in a former dispatch, he had proceeded off the Bay of Naples. He stated, on his arrival there, to the Neapolitan government, that unless the ships of war were surrendered to him, he would bombard the town. A French frigate appearing at that moment, capt. Campbell proceeded towards her, and followed her into Gaeta. He returned on the 11th with his squadron consisting of his own ship the Tremendous, the Alcmena frigate, and the Partridge sloop of war. By a letter from the duke de Gallo, he was requested not to proceed against the town; prince Cariati was sent by madame Murat to negotiate for the surrender of the ships, and capt. Campbell dictated the following terms, which were agreed to: 1st The ships of the line in the bay to be given up. 2d. The arsenal of Naples to be delivered over, and commissioners appointed to take an inventory of its

actual state. 3d. The ship of the line on the stocks, with all the materials for its completion, to be also given up and guarantied. These captures to be at the joint disposition of the government of England and of Ferdinand the Fourth of Naples. In return capt. Campbell engaged not to act against the town of Naples.—Capt. Campbell was in possession of the two ships of the line when he wrote to me at eight p. m. on the 13th; they were to proceed the next day to Palermo or Malta.—I beg to congratulate your lordship on this success; it reflects the highest credit on capt. Campbell, by whose energy and activity it has been obtained. The feeling of the inhabitants of Naples is excellent; a riot in the town against the government had been feared, but since the arrival of the British squadron order had been established.

Extract of a dispatch from lord Burghersh to viscount Castlereagh, dated Teano, May 21:

I have the honour of congratulating your lordship on the termination of the war with the government of Naples, closed by the military convention I herewith transmit, by which the kingdom, its fortresses, arsenals, military force and resources are, almost without exception, surrendered to the allies, to be returned to the lawful sovereign of the country, Ferdinand the Fourth.—After the successes obtained by gen. Nugent, and stated in my last dispatch, gen. Bianchi received on the 18th a message from the duke de Gallo, requesting an interview, to communicate to him propositions he was charged with from marshal Murat. A meeting for the next day was appointed: on the part of England, gen. Bianchi requested me to attend it, and in the absence of the British commanders in chief, both by sea and land, I consented. I met therefore

fore the duke de Gallo with gen. Bianchi on the morning of the 19th. The conversation which ensued with that minister led to no other result than in having given the allies an opportunity of stating to him the grounds on which alone they would engage to arrest their military movements. Having stated that he had no authority to treat on any basis, of the nature so announced to him, the duke de Gallo returned to Naples, having received, however, an assurance, that any propositions gen. Carrascosa might wish to make, should in the course of the following day be received.—The meeting with gen. Carrascosa took place this morning. Gen. Niepperg, on the part of Austria; gen. Colleta, on that of Naples; and myself, in the absence of the British commanders in chief, negotiated the military convention. On the part of Naples, propositions were at first made totally inadmissible: on our part, the abdication of marshal Murat was insisted upon. Gen. Colleta wished to secure for that person a safe retreat to France; but finding that such was totally impossible, and having declared that he had no authority from marshal Murat to treat with regard to him, the convention, such as your lordship will receive it, was agreed to. It is impossible to conclude this dispatch without calling your lordship's attention to the manner in which the campaign now terminated has been carried on by gen. Bianchi. The activity with which he has pushed his operations is almost without example. The constant successes which have attended his arms are crowned in the satisfaction of his being able to re-establish the authority of the legitimate sovereign, without those misfortunes to the country attendant on protracted military operations. With regard to

marshal Murat, he is stated to be in Naples; gen. Bianchi has declared that he must consent to go to the Austrian hereditary states, where his future situation will be fixed: no answer has been received from him.

[The military convention follows here: it consists of 13 articles.

The first declares an armistice between the allied and the Neapolitan troops in the kingdom of Naples. The second declares, that all fortified places, sea-ports, and arsenals, shall be surrendered to the allied powers, in order to be made over to Ferdinand the Fourth, with the exception of Gaeta, Pescara, and Ancona, which although blockaded by the allied forces, not being in the line of the operations of the army under the general in chief Carrascosa, he declares himself unable to decide upon their fate, as the officers commanding them are not under his orders.—The third article fixes the following periods for the surrender of the fortresses, and the march of the Austrian army upon Naples; Capua to be given up on May 21, on which day the Austrian army will take its position on the canal de Reggi Lagni: on May 22, the Austrian army will occupy a position on the line of Averse, Fragola, Meleto, and Juliano. The Neapolitan troops will march on that day upon Salerno, which place they will reach in two days, and concentrate their quarters in the town and its environs, in order to wait the decision of their future destiny. On May 23, the allied army will take possession of the city, citadel, and all the forts of Naples. The convention is signed on one part by gen. Carrascosa and Colleta; and on that of the allies by count Niepperg, gen. Bianchi, and lord Burghersh.]

Foreign-office, June 13.—Dispatch received from lord Burghersh, his majesty

majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Tuscany.

Naples, May 23.

My lord,—Prince Leopold of Sicily, greeted by the general applause of the people, made his entry into this city, at the head of the Austrian troops, on the 22d. The passage of that prince through his father's state to the capital has been most gratifying. The inhabitants from considerable distances flocked to meet him, and, having reassumed the national cockade, brought him proofs of their attachment to his family, and their detestation of the rule they were escaped from, imposed upon them by conquest and maintained by force. By the convention transmitted to your lordship in my last dispatch, the allied arms were to have been placed in possession of Naples on this day. The popular feeling had, however, so strongly manifested itself against the then existing government on the 20th and 21st, that marshal Murat left the town in disguise, and his wife sought the security which had been assured her, on board a British man of war.—Gen. Carrascosa sent to gen. Bianchi, requesting he would prevent the misfortunes with which the town was menaced, by entering it immediately; and madame Murat, by the same request to adm. lord Exmouth, prevailed upon him to land a body of 500 marines to maintain tranquillity. Marshal Murat appears to have been fully aware of the little support his usurped dominion, when menaced, would receive, either from the army or the inhabitants of this kingdom; his children were already placed at Gaeta.—Gen. Bianchi sent forward his cavalry, under count Niepperg, on the evening of the 21st. It occupied this city during the night, and preserved it from disorder.—

Prince Leopold has requested all the authorities of the kingdom, the ministers of state, and the officers of the army, to remain at their post, to await the orders of the king.—Adm. Penrose sailed from hence to Melazzo, to bring his majesty to his capital. In a few days his majesty's arrival may be expected.—Lord Exmouth arrived in the bay of Naples on the 20th. The expedition from Sicily arrived this morning.—Madame Murat will sail tomorrow on board his majesty's ship *Tremendous* towards Gaeta, to receive her children on board, and will then proceed to Trieste.—No disturbances of any serious nature have taken place.

The enmity against such as are supposed, from their employments, to have been attached to the late government, is great; but the activity with which gen. Bianchi has carried assistance to the points where it might be required, has retained the country quiet.—I have, &c.

BURGHERSH.

Last Sunday se'nnight, five young women and six young men, amongst whom were two sailors, went on a cruise of pleasure, at Hayle, in a boat with sails, without oars. The sailor who had the management being intoxicated, imprudently ventured outside the harbour, on the ebb tide, in a most dangerous situation, being almost half a mile eastward of the bar. In endeavouring to return against wind and tide, which was impracticable, the boat was upset, and the whole party was plunged into the water. One young man regained a place in the boat, which soon righted, and drifted far to the east. Captain Dodd, of the steam passage vessel, was very fortunately entering the mouth of the harbour at the time in his boat, which he directly steered to the spot, and made

made every exertion to rescue these victims of imprudence from a watery grave; he succeeded in saving one of the girls, and one of the sailors. The others were taken up lifeless. The bodies were carried to a neighbouring public-house, and every effort was made to restore animation, but without success. By the above melancholy event, eight persons, four young women and four young men, lost their lives; three of the former were sisters.

8.—A melancholy accident, by the firing or blasting of a coal-pit belonging to Messrs. Nesham and Co. in the vicinity of Newbottle, co. Durham, took place the 2d inst. when upwards of 70 persons lost their lives. This disastrous event was occasioned by means of foul air. For some time no person could be found hardy enough to descend into the pit, to save any persons who might still remain alive. At length, Thomas Robson, of the village of Houghton-le-spring, volunteered his services, and actually got up six of the sufferers, who were still alive, but with very small hopes of their ultimate recovery.

12.—The curiosity of antiquaries has been very much excited by the discovery of many Roman remains, lately turned up by the labourers employed in erecting a malt-house on the premises of Messrs. Sainsbury and Acres, in Walcot-street, Bath. They consist of fragments of Roman British pottery; of various descriptions of differently-coloured glass vessels; of domestic and culinary earthenware utensils; together with several coins; a tintinnabulum, or little bell; a Roman libra, or pound weight; some Roman nails, and other articles. Fortunately for the admirers of such vestiges of classical antiquity, they have been

collected together by Mr. John Cranch, of Queen-street, who, with an activity and perseverance highly meritorious, attended the labourers during the progress of their excavations, secured most of the articles worthy preservation; and has since assorted and arranged them with much judgement and discrimination, for the inspection of the curious. There can be little doubt, from the character of these remains (all of which relate to household ornament or convenience), from the foundations of walls which have exhibited themselves, and the traces of a tessellated pavement discovered on the spot, that a Roman villa once covered the site of the intended malt-house; a residence (as may be inferred from the beauty of the fragment) characterized by the refinements of luxury, and the elegancies of taste. The patterns, figures, and decorations, on the specimens of finer pottery (usually denominated Samian, but probably the production of a British manufactory) display rich invention, exquisite grace, just design, and strong expression; and prove that the arts in Britain must have been in a high state of culture at the time when these different articles were formed.—Mr. Cranch's collection is, upon the whole, exceedingly interesting, and well deserves to be deposited in that repertory of Bath antiquities, which the corporation of Bath, with equal liberality and good sense, have established, for the preservation of these memorials of its ancient splendour; and for the gratification of a laudable and improving curiosity among its modern visitors and present inhabitants.

FRANCE AND BRABANT.

15.—Hostilities between the allied powers and the French have at length

length commenced, under auspices so favourable to the former, as to justify a conjecture that the contest cannot be of long duration. The duke of Wellington, for the first time opposed personally in combat against Bonaparte, has totally defeated that great captain in a most sanguinary action near Waterloo; acquiring thus the only laurel-wreath wanting to his fame, and covering the British arms with immortal glory.—But we must commence with a retrospect.

On the 7th inst. Bonaparte went in state to the palace of representatives, to open the session of the chambers. The oath of fidelity to the emperor and the constitution having been taken, the emperor uncovered himself a moment—afterwards covered himself, and said:

“Gentlemen of the chamber of peers, and gentlemen of the chamber of representatives!—Within the last three months, existing circumstances, and the confidence of the nation, have again invested me with unlimited authority. The present day will behold the fulfilment of the wish dearest to my heart. I am now going to commence a constitutional monarchy.—Mortals are too weak to insure future events; it is solely the legal institutions which determine the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France to guaranty the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people.—Our constitution and laws have been scattered; one of our most important occupations will be, to collect them into a solid body, and to bring the whole within the reach of every mind. This work will recommend the present age to the gratitude of future generations. It is my wish that France should enjoy all possible liberty; I say possible, because anarchy always re-

solves itself into an absolute government. A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers.—The frigate *La Melpomene* has been attacked and captured in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English ship of 74 guns. Blood has been shed in time of peace!—Our enemies reckon on our internal divisions. They excite and foment a civil war. Assemblages have been formed, and communications are carried on with Ghent, in the same manner as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are, therefore, become indispensably necessary; and I place my confidence, without reserve, in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.—The liberty of the press is inherent in our present constitution; nor can any change be made in it, without altering our whole political system; but it must be subject to legal restrictions, more especially in the present state of the nation. I therefore recommend this important matter to your serious consideration.—My ministers will inform you of the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state, except from the increase of expense which the present circumstances render necessary; yet we might face every thing, if the receipts contained in the budget were all realizable within the year. It is to the means of arriving at this result that my minister of finances will direct your attention. It is possible that the first duty of princes may soon call me to fight for the country. The army and myself will do our duty. You peers and representatives, give to the nation an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the Roman senate, swear to die rather than

than survive the dishonour and enslaving of France.—The sacred cause of the country shall triumph."

This discourse was followed by loud acclamations and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur ! Vive la Patrie ! Vive la Nation !*" In the sitting of the house of representatives the next day (8th) Messrs. Dumolard, Clement, and Carnot, were elected secretaries. M. Lepelletier proposed, that as the title of Louis *le Désiré* was given to Louis XVIII. that of "*Sauveur de la Patrie*" (saviour of the country) should be given to Napoleon. He was three times interrupted by calls for the order of the day; and the president was compelled to tell him that he ought to obey them. Even M. Garnier, another adulator, who said that the emperor was "become the man of liberty, the man of the nation," could not obtain an order for asserting in the *procès verbal*, that the proceedings of the 6th instant (when the oath of fidelity to the emperor was voted) had been unanimous. The president objected to it, and three members rose to oppose it; though another had been so very energetic in his servility as to declare, that there could be no doubt upon the subject, for the proceedings of that day had been "an explosion of consciences!"

NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION ACCEPTED.

The Paris papers have described the ceremony of the assembly of the Champ de Mai, which met on the 9th inst. in buildings prepared in the Champ de Mars. "Never did a festival more national," says one of the journals, "or a spectacle at once so solemn and touching, attract the attention of the French people—every thing that could interest and elevate the soul—the prayers of religion—the compact of

a great people with their sovereign—France, represented by the select of her citizens, agriculturists, merchants, magistrates, and warriors, collected around the throne—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection."—Yet this is about the tenth constitution which has been presented and accepted in a similar manner. The throne appears to have been erected in the centre of a semicircular inclosure, two thirds of which formed, on the right and left, grand amphitheatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated. Bonaparte having taken his seat, mass was celebrated by the archbishop of Tours, cardinal Bayanne, and four other bishops. A deputation of 500 members of the electoral colleges then advanced to the foot of the throne, and were presented by the arch-chancellor. M. Duboys d'Angers (one of the members, and representative of the department of the Maine and Loire,) then pronounced the following address in the name of the French people:

"Sire, the French people had decreed the crown to you; you deposited it without their consent; its suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it. A new contract is formed between the nation and your majesty. Collected from all points of the empire around the tables of the law on which we are about to inscribe the wish of the people—in this wish, which is the only legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to utter the voice of France, of which we are the immediate organs; not to say, in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, and what he is to expect from it. What is the object of the league of allied kings,

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with that warlike preparation by which they alarm Europe and afflict humanity? By what act, what violation, have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression? Have we, since peace was concluded, endeavoured to give them laws? We merely wish to make and to follow those which are adapted to our manners. We will not have the chief whom our enemies would give us; and we will have him whom they wish us not to have. They dare to proscribe you personally; you, sire, who so often master of their capitals generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were they to proscribe the most obscure of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy. He would be, like you, under the ægis of French law and French power. They menace us with invasion! And yet contracted within frontiers which nature has not imposed upon us, and which, long before your reign, victory and even peace had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties which you had not signed, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass that narrow boundary. Do they ask for guarantees? They have them all, in our institutions, and in the will of the French people henceforth united to yours. Do they not dread to remind us of a state of things lately so different, but which may still be re-produced? It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe armed against us. Because France wishes to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered; and must the fate of Poland be reserved for us? It is in vain to conceal insidious designs under the sole pretence of separating you from us, in

order to give us masters with whom we have nothing in common. Their presence destroyed all the illusions attached to their name. They could not believe our oaths, neither could we their promises. Tithes, feudal rights, privileges, every thing that was odious to us, were too evidently the fond objects of their thoughts, when one of them, to console the impatience of the present, assured his confidants, that 'he would answer to them for the future.' Every thing shall be attempted, every thing executed, to repel so ignominious a yoke. We declare it to nations: may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will look to your vigorous, liberal, and paternal administration for grounds of consolation for the sacrifices made to obtain peace; but, if we are left no choice between war and disgrace, the whole country will rise for war. The nation is prepared to relieve you from the too moderate offers you have perhaps made in order to save Europe from a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: victory will follow your eagles; and our enemies, who rely on our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us."

At the conclusion of this address the whole Champ de Mars resounded with cries of "*Vive la Nation! Vive l'Empereur!*" At this moment the arch-chancellor proclaimed, that the additional act to the constitution of the empire had been accepted almost unanimously, the number of negative votes being 4,206. The herald then declared, in the name of the emperor, that the act was accepted by the French people. Bonaparte then, seating himself on another throne, which was in the centre and overlooked the assembly, spoke in the following terms:

"Gentlemen

"Gentlemen, electors of the colleges of the departments and districts;—gentlemen, deputies of the army and navy, at the Champ de Mai:—emperor, consul, or soldier, I derive all from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the king of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of realizing the promise given to preserve to France her natural integrity, her honours, and her rights. Indignation at seeing those sacred rights, acquired by twenty years of victory, disavowed and lost forever; the cry of French honour tarnished, and the wishes of the nation, have replaced me upon that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people. Frenchmen, in traversing, amidst the public joy, the different provinces of the empire to reach my capital, I had reason to rely on a lasting peace. Nations are bound by treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then all occupied with the means of establishing our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of the people. I convoked the Champ de Mai. I soon learned that the princes who have disregarded all principles, who have trampled on the sentiments and dearest interests of so many nations, wish to make war against us. They meditate the increasing of the kingdom of the Netherlands, by giving it as barriers all our northern frontier places, and the conciliation of the differences which still exist amongst them, by dividing Lorraine and Alsace. It was necessary to provide for war. But, before personally encountering

the hazards of battles, my first care has been to constitute the nation without delay. The people have accepted the act which I have presented to them. Frenchmen, when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and independence of 28 millions of people, a solemn law, drawn up in the forms required by the constitutional act, shall combine together the different dispositions of our constitutions now dispersed. Frenchmen, you are about to return to your departments; inform the citizens that circumstances are grand! that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall return victorious from this contest of a great people against their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all, when she has lost her independence. Tell them, that foreign kings whom I have raised to the throne, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns, who all, during my prosperity, sought my alliance and the protection of the French people, now direct their blows against my person. Did I not perceive that it is the country they wish to injure, I would place at their mercy this existence, against which they show themselves so much incensed. But tell the citizens, that while the French people preserve towards me the sentiments of love, of which they have given me so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be powerless. Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are theirs; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

In conclusion, Bonaparte swore upon the Gospels to observe the constitutions of the empire. The

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assembly swore obedience to the constitutions, and fidelity to the emperor. The eagles were next delivered to the national guards, and to the regulars, who swore to observe them as rallying signs; and, if necessary, to die in their defence against the enemies of the country and the throne. The troops about 50,000 men, including 27,000 national guards, then defiled, the emperor returned, and the ceremony concluded. Next day, amusements—such as theatricals, rope-dancing, horsemanship, ascension of balloons, &c. were given gratis. Along the avenue of the Champs Elysées 36 fountains flowing with wine, and 12 buffets for the distribution of patties, pullets, sausages, &c. were placed.

Bonaparte received, on Sunday the 11th, addresses from the two chambers, in reply to his opening speech. Next day (Monday), at four in the morning, he left Paris, having nominated gens. Sebastiani, Grenier, Beaumont, Compans, &c. to the command and defence of that capital. He slept the same night at Soissons. On the morning of the 13th he passed through Laon for Avesnes. He appears to have contemplated an immediate attack on the allies; as at Avesnes he issued an order of the day, reminding his troops that the 14th was the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland; and that "to every Frenchman who had a heart, the moment was arrived to conquer or perish."

GENERAL ORDER.

"*Avesnes, June 14, 1815.*

"Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the

throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

"Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six!

"Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered!

"The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany.

"The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will find their tomb.

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but with steadiness, victory will be ours—the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered!

"To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

"(Signed) NAPOLEON.

"(A true copy.) The marshal duke of Dalmatia, major-gen."

With these appeals to their passions, he put his army in motion. The Prussian posts were established

on the Sambre. These he attacked at day-light in the morning of the 15th; and in the course of the day he drove them from the river, and made himself master of the ground from Thuin to Fleurus, a distance of about 16 miles, on the Namur road; whilst on the Brussels road he forced back a Belgian brigade to Quatre Bras, about 12 miles from the river. The Belgians, however, being afterwards reinforced, were enabled to regain part of the ground they had lost; but at the close of the day the advantage rested clearly with Bonaparte, who established his head-quarters at Charleroi.—In this affair, gen. Bourmont, an ancient Vendean chief, with the officers of his staff, deserted to the allies. The result of these various contests, according to Bonaparte, was a loss of 2,000 men to the Prussians, and of only ten men killed, and 80 wounded, to the French! Advice of these events was not brought to the duke of Wellington at Brussels till the evening; when he instantly put his troops in march. Sir Thomas Picton's division, the corps of the duke of Brunswick, and the Nassau contingent, reached Quatre Bras about half-past two in the afternoon of the 16th; when they were attacked there by the corps of D'Erlon and Reille, and a cavalry corps under Kellermann, and the duke of Brunswick was slain. The Prussians were at the same time attacked in their position near Ligny. Both the Prussians and English repulsed the enemy after a severe contest, which lasted till night; but, as neither of them had collected their whole force, they thought it proper to fall back on their reinforcements; the former about 14 miles to Wavre, the latter about the same distance to Waterloo; thus keeping up their communication, and being ready

either to support each other in case of a renewed attack, or to move forward together in pursuit of the enemy. Bonaparte claims a victory on the 16th. He admits that he lost 3,000 men on that day; but he says that he took several thousand prisoners, and 40 pieces of cannon; facts not very reconcileable with the circumstance that both the Prussians and the English remained in their positions till long after the action, and did not march off to their new ground, the Prussians till night, and the English till near noon the next day. The 17th inst. passed without any very remarkable occurrence. Still the plan of Bonaparte had failed. He had not been able to separate the British from the Prussians; still less to penetrate between them to Brussels. On the 18th, therefore, the grand struggle was made. The whole weight of the French force, with the exception of Vandamme's corps, was thrown upon the army of the duke of Wellington, whose line was within about 15 miles of Brussels, crossing the high roads to that place from Charleroi and Nivelles a little before their junction. The battle began about 10 o'clock in the morning, with a furious attack on a post occupied by us in front of our right. This was supported by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, and with repeated attacks of infantry and cavalry, until seven in the evening; when the enemy made a desperate attempt to force our left; in which, after a severe contest, he was defeated, and retired in great disorder. This was the happy moment, seized by the genius and resolution of our unrivalled hero, to advance his whole line of infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, against the enemy, who was unable to resist the English attack. The first line was

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driven back on the second, and the second line was almost instantly broken. All was now total rout and confusion: artillery, baggage, every thing was abandoned; and the true British perseverance of general and soldiers was crowned with a success so much the more precious, as it had remained long in a state of the most awful suspense. "Never before," said the duke, "was I obliged to take such pains for victory, and never before was I so near being beaten."

Bonaparte brought 130,000 men into the field. He deserves praise for the celerity with which he organized such a force, and took the field. An old saying in the French armies is, "That the British are the only troops upon earth who do not know when they are beaten:" this was lamentably verified to the enemy. The French fought with greater desperation than was ever before witnessed; but it may be added, that, after their rout, they became more completely broken than ever, threw away their arms by whole regiments, and were, in short, wholly dispersed and disorganized. On all sides was seen a total disregard of personal dangers. The leaders were mingled in the heat of the fray like the meanest soldier. The duke of Wellington was in close conversation with lord Uxbridge, when the latter received the ball in his knee. His lordship had been throughout the day foremost in danger and glory. Marshal Blücher, it is said, was for some moments a prisoner. As to Bonaparte, he was more than once inclosed among the British troops, and disentrangled as it were by miracle. He led on the guard himself to the charge, and seemed to feel that there could be no hope for his power, but in the absolute jeopardy of his life.

Had not gen. Bulow most judiciously placed himself on the enemy's flank, the duke of Wellington would probably not have risked that well-timed attack which decided the fate of the day. The Prussian cavalry (16 regiments, 12,000 men) gave the fugitives no rest. They pursued them the whole night. All the roads were choked with the dying and the dead, with cannon, baggage, &c. Bonaparte's carriage, plate, and correspondence, fell into our hands. There were several thousand proclamations found, dated [by anticipation] from the palace of Lacken, near Brussels. The loss of the French in killed and wounded is estimated in some accounts at 50,000 men; and from 12 to 14,000 prisoners were to be in Brussels by the 21st. The number of cannon taken exceeds 300. The French imperial guard is said to have been nearly destroyed. Of the loss of the allies scarcely any thing like an accurate estimate can yet be made; but it is loosely conjectured that the whole number put *hors de combat* may amount to 30,000; of whom a very considerable proportion belonged to that invaluable body of men, the infantry of the British line, whom it is impossible to conquer without first destroying them.

The foregoing sketch of most mighty and important operations has been framed from the perusal of a London gazette extraordinary which shall now be given.

Downing-street, June 22.

Major the hon. H. Percy arrived late last night with the following dispatch from field-marshal the duke of Wellington, K. G.

Waterloo, June 19.

My lord,—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the imperial

imperial guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts of Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at daylight in the morning.—I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroy was the real attack.—The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and gen. Zeiten, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroy, retired upon Fleurus; and marshal prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sambrev, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.—The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroy towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.—The prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under gen. Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles with marshal Blucher's position.—In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras; and the 5th division, under lieutenant-gen. sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the

contingent of Nassau. At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon prince Blucher with his whole force excepting the 1st and 2d corps, and a corps of cavalry under gen. Kellermann, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras. The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army under gen. Bulow had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived. We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery: he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair his royal highness the prince of Orange, the duke of Brunswick, lieutenant-gen. sir Thomas Picton, major-general sir James Kempt, and sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as lieutenant-gen. Charles baron Alten, major-gen. sir C. Halket, lieutenant-gen. Cooke, and major-generals Maitland and Bang, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians. Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the inclosed return; and I have particularly

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cularly to regret his serene highness the duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.—Although marshal Blücher had maintained his position at Sambref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged; and as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night, after the action was over.—This movement of the marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock. The enemy made no effort to pursue marshal Blücher. On the contrary, a patrol, which I sent to Sambref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the earl of Uxbridge. This gave lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st life guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment. The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high road from Charleroy and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the

return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with marshal Blücher, at Wavre, through Ohain; and the marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.—The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th, and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from gen. Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of lieutenant-col. Macdonel, and afterwards of col. Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it. This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them. The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry; but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry

cavalry to charge, in one of which, lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life guards, royal horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of major-gen. sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle. These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which after a severe contest was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of general Bulow's corps by Enschermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as marshal prince Blucher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohaim, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning that he has taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, bag-

gage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe.—I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.—Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In lieutenant-gen. sir Thomas Picton his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service, and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated. The earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services. His royal highness the prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket-ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field. It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards under lieutenant-gen. Cooke, who is severely wounded, major-gen. Maitland, and major-gen. Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer nor description of troops that did not behave well. I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness's approbation, lieutenant-gen. sir H. Clinton, major-general Adam, lieutenant-gen. Charles baron Alten, severely wounded; major-gen. sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; colonel Ompteda, col. Mitchell commanding a brigade of the fourth division; major-generals sir James Kempt

and sir Denis Pack; major-gen. Lambert; major-gen. lord E. Somerset; major-gen. sir W. Ponsonby; major-gen. sir C. Grant, and major-gen. sir H. Vivian; major-gen. sir O. Vandeleur; major-gen. count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to general lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this as upon all former occasions. The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by col. sir G. Wood and col. Sinyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the adj.-general major-gen. Barnes, who was wounded, and of the quarter-master-gen. col. Delancey, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of lieutenant-col. lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-col. the hon. sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service.—Gen. Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did gen. Trip commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and gen. Vanhope commanding a brigade of infantry of the king of the Netherlands. Gen. Pozzo di Borgo, gen. baron Vincent, gen. Muffling, and gen. Alvoa, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and gen. Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.—I should not do justice to my feelings, or to marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful

result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of gen. Bulow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attack should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.—I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.—I have, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a report that major-gen. sir Wm. Ponsonby is killed; and in announcing this intelligence to your lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief for the fate of an officer who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession.

2d P. S. I have not yet got the returns of killed and wounded; but I inclose a list of officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as the same can be made out without the returns; and I am very happy to add, that col. Delancey is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

Downing-street, June 23.

Dispatch from the duke of Wellington, K. G.

Brussels, June 19.

My lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship, in addition to my dispatch of this morning, that we have already got here 5000 prisoners taken in the action of yesterday, and that there are above
2000

2000 more coming in tomorrow, and there will be probably many more. Among the prisoners are the count Lobau, who commanded the 6th corps, and gen. Cambrone, who commanded a division of the guards. I propose to send the whole to England by way of Ostend. I have the honour, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c.

Downing-street, June 29.

Extracts of dispatches from the duke of Wellington.

Le Cateau, June 22.

We have continued in march on the left of the Sambre since I wrote to you. Marshal Blucher crossed that river on the 19th in pursuit of the enemy, and both armies entered the French territory yesterday; the Prussians by Beaumont, and the allied army, under my command, by Bavay.—The remains of the French army have retired upon Laon. All accounts agree in stating that it is in a very wretched state; and that, in addition to its losses in battle and in prisoners, it is losing vast numbers of men by desertion. The soldiers quit their regiments in parties, and return to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country. The 3d corps, which in my dispatch of the 19th I informed your lordship had been detached to observe the Prussian army, remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th: it then made good its retreat by Namur and Dinant. This corps is the only one remaining entire.—[It afterwards appeared that this corps suffered considerably in its retreat, and lost some of its cannon.]—I am not yet able to transmit your lordship returns of the killed and wounded in the army in the late actions.—It gives me the greatest satisfaction to inform you,

that col. Delancey is not dead; he is badly wounded, but his recovery is not doubted, and I hope will be early.

Joncourt, June 25.

Finding that the garrison of Cambray was not very strong, and that the place was not very well supplied with what was wanting for its defence, I sent lieut.-gen. sir C. Colville there, on the day before yesterday, with one brigade of the 4th division, and sir C. Grant's brigade of cavalry; and upon his report of the strength of the place, I sent the whole division yesterday morning. I have now the satisfaction of reporting that sir C. Colville took the town by escalade yesterday evening, with trifling loss; and from the communications which he has since had with the governor of the citadel, I have every reason to hope that that post will have been surrendered to a governor sent there by the king of France, to take possession of it in the course of this day. St. Quentin has been abandoned by the enemy, and is in possession of marshal prince Blucher; and the castle of Guise surrendered last night. All accounts concur in stating, that it is impossible for the enemy to collect an army to make head against us.

Downing-street, July 3.

A dispatch from his grace the duke of Wellington, dated Orville, June 29.

My lord,—being aware of the anxiety existing in England to receive the returns of killed and wounded in the late actions, I now send lists of the officers, and expect to be able to send this evening returns of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The amount of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, British and Hanoverian, killed, wounded, and missing, is between 12 and 13,000.—Your lordship

ship will see in the inclosed lists the names of some most valuable officers lost to his majesty's service. Among them I cannot avoid to mention col. Cameron of the 92d, and col. sir H. Ellis of the 23d regiments, to whose conduct I have frequently drawn your lordship's attention, and who at last fell distinguishing themselves at the head of the brave troops which they commanded.—Notwithstanding the gloomy of the occasion, it is impossible not to lament such men, both on account of the public, and as friends.—I have, &c. WELLINGTON.

[Here follow the names of officers killed, wounded, and missing.]

ASIA.

The latest letters from India state, that in consequence of the failure of an expedition against the Nepaul rajah, Sindiah has collected an immense army, pretending that it is merely for the purpose of securing himself; but it is perfectly understood that his intentions are to attack our territories with the overwhelming force which he is collecting under that pretext. We also learn that the rajah Barahr has taken the field; and that general Doveton with a strong detachment of the Madras army has moved his camp to watch his motions.

A letter from capt. Nichols, of the late Bengal East Indiaman, states the following particulars of the loss of that valuable ship:—"The Bengal had completed her lading, had all her passengers on board, and was ready to sail and join the first fleet at Point de Galle, under convoy of the Malacca frigate. Owing to there not being sufficient space in the spirit-room, four or five small casks of liquor had been stowed in the gun-room, and covered with bags of rice for security. As a measure of precaution, the gun-

ner was directed to look at these, and ascertain if they were all safe, and he since reports them to have been all tight and dry. The largest cask, however, containing about 20 or 25 gallons of rum, and standing on its end, did not seem, as the gunner thought, to have its bung quite firmly in, and he struck it a blow to drive it further into the cask: instead of going in, the bung flew out, and the spirit, rushing forth, caught fire from a candle in a lantern which he held in his hand at the time: all was instantly in flames! and though every possible exertion was promptly made to arrest the progress of the flames, in less than an hour the ship was so far destroyed that she sunk in a blazing ruin! The ship's company behaved admirably; not a man quitted the ship, or relaxed from duty to the last moment. The number of sufferers was unhappily great. I fear, upwards of 20; occasioned principally by the sinking of boats alongside, although some perished in consequence of the dreadful rapidity with which the fire swept through the ship. Captain Newel, of the Alexandria, was among the sufferers; as also Mr. Barker, second mate of the Surrey; and Mr. Müller, midshipman of the Bengal: the master and a lieutenant of the Malacca were drowned. After this melancholy detail, it is some consolation to reflect, that all the females and children were saved. Not a paper preserved."

The annexed inscription on the pedestal of marquis Cornwallis's marble statue at Bombay is said to be written by George Harding, esq.

"Inflexible and steady courage,
a sacred fidelity in political trust,
purity and singleness of heart—
a temper, the mirror of that purity,
a reflecting & well-disciplined judgement in

in the most arduous conflicts;
 a dignified simplicity of manners,
 and the most elevated sense of honour,
 every public virtue and spirit,
 every gentle and graceful affection,
 made him universally
 admired, revered, and beloved;
 the ornament of his country & of the age;
 a model to posterity."

AMERICA.

Letters have been received from Buenos Ayres, to the date of the 12th of April, *via* Guernsey; and a most important change has occurred in the situation of the provinces of La Plata. Artigas, being in possession of the left bank of the river, and being incapable of crossing it in the neighbourhood of Montevideo, on account of the superiority of the navy of Buenos Ayres, has ascended the shore 300 miles, with 5000 horsemen and 20,000 horses, and passed the stream at a ford at Santa Fe. From this situation he is descending along the right bank, and has cut off the provisions and other supplies, which Buenos Ayres entirely procures, for the subsistence of the inhabitants, from the interior of the country. Artigas further threatens an attack upon the place. Under these difficulties, Alviar, who commands the Buenos Ayres troops, on the 4th of April issued a proclamation, in which he calls upon the people to rise *en masse* for the protection of their homes, and every thing that is valuable in life; he describes Artigas as a mischievous and profligate adventurer; and he declares to the people, that they can be indebted for their security only to their courage. The royalists generally adhere to the party of Artigas, and many of them have deserted to his standards. The next accounts will probably be of a most important character.

Dispatches from the vice-roy of Peru state the important fact of the re-conquest of Peru by the king's troops, after a decisive battle fought on the 2d of October at Kancagua.

JULY.

Downing-street, July 3.

Extract of a dispatch from the duke of Wellington, dated Orville, June 28.

The city of Cambray surrendered on the evening of the 25th inst. and the king of France proceeded there with his court and his troops on the 26th inst. I have given that fort over entirely to his majesty.—I attacked Peronne with the 1st brigade of guards under major-gen. Maitland on the 26th in the afternoon. The troops took the hornwork, which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme, by storm, with but small loss; and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms and be allowed to return to their homes.—The troops on this occasion behaved remarkably well; and I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of a battery of artillery of the troops of the Netherlands. I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the king of the Netherlands.—The armies under marshal Blucher and myself have continued their operations since I last wrote to your lordship. The necessity which I was under of halting at Cateau, to allow the pontoons and certain stores to reach me, and to take Cambray and Peronne, had placed marshal Blucher one march before me; but I conceive there is no danger in this separation between the two armies. He has one corps this day at Crespy, with detachments at Villars Coterets,

terets and La Fertè Milon; another at Senlis; and the fourth corps under general Bulow, towards Paris; he will have his advanced guard to-morrow at St. Denis and Gonnasse. The army under my command has this day its right behind St. Just, and its left behind Taub, where the high road from Compeigne joins the high road from Roye to Paris.—The reserve is at Roye.—We shall be upon Oise to-morrow.—It appears by all accounts, that the enemy's corps collected at Soissons, and under marshal Grouchy, have not yet retired upon Paris; and marshal Blucher's troops are already between them and that city.

Foreign-office, July 5.

Extract of a dispatch from Wm.

A'Court, esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary to the king of the Two Sicilies, to viscount Castlereagh, dated Naples, June 17.

His Sicilian majesty made this day his public entry into his capital, after an absence of nine years. The crowd that thronged the road all the way from Portici was immense, and nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the people on the appearance of the legitimate monarch. It was impossible to mistake the public feeling upon this occasion. The theatrical processions of Murat drew crowds, as I am told, of curious spectators; but curiosity was not the inducement here: in every countenance might be read the honest expression of heartfelt joy at the return of a beloved and native sovereign. His majesty was received, on his arrival at the palace, by all the principal nobility of the country, the great majority of whom appeared to partake of the enthusiasm which had been previously demonstrated by the lower

classes. In fact, never was national joy so unequivocally and so universally displayed.

Extract of a dispatch from lord Berghersh to viscount Castlereagh, dated Naples, June 17.

Having received the commands of his majesty king Ferdinand IV. to attend him from Portici in his entry into his capital, I had this day the honour of being present with his majesty, and of witnessing the enthusiasm with which he was received by his people. The king entered Naples at the head of his own troops, together with the Austrians and British, who defiled before him on his arrival at his palace. The constant attachment the Neapolitan people are known to have ever borne their legitimate sovereign, makes it unnecessary to detail to your lordship their joy at his return. His majesty re-assumes the government of his country, beloved and respected by all classes of his subjects.

Downing-street, July 7.

Captain lord Arthur Hill arrived last night with dispatches, of which the following are an extract and a copy, addressed to earl Bathurst by the duke of Wellington, dated Gonnasse, 2d and 4th inst.

Gonnasse, July 2.

The enemy attacked the advanced guard of marshal prince Blucher's corps at Villars Coterets on the 28th; but, the main body coming up, they were driven off, with the loss of 6 pieces of cannon and about 1000 prisoners.—It appears that these troops were on their march from Soissons to Paris; and having been driven off that road by the Prussian troops at Villars Coterets, they got upon that of Meaux. They were attacked again upon this road by general Bulow, who took from them

them 500 prisoners, and drove them across the Marne.—They have, however, got into Paris.—The advanced guard of the allied army under my command crossed the Oise on the 29th, and the whole on the 30th; and we yesterday took up a position with the right upon the height of Rochebourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy.—Marshal Blucher, having taken the village of Aubervilliers, or Vertus, on the morning of the 30th of June, moved to his right, and crossed the Seine at St. Germain as I advanced; and he will this day have his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles.—The enemy have fortified the heights at Montmartre and the town of St. Denis strongly, and by means of the little rivers Rouillon and la Vieille Mar they have inundated the ground on the north side of that town: and water having been introduced into the canal de l'Ourcq, and the bank formed into a parapet and batteries, they have a strong position on this side of Paris. The heights of Belleville are likewise strongly fortified, but I am not aware that any defensive works have been thrown up on the left of the Seine.—Having collected in Paris all the troops remaining after the battle of the 18th, and all the dépôts of the whole army, it is supposed the enemy have there about 40 or 50,000 troops of the line and guards, besides the national guards, a new levy called les tirailleurs de la garde, and the fédérés. I have great pleasure in informing your lordship, that Quesnoy surrendered to his royal highness prince Frederic of the Netherlands on the 29th of June. I inclose the copy of his royal highness's report upon this subject, in which your lordship will observe with satisfaction the

intelligence and spirit with which this young prince conducted this affair.—I likewise understand that Bassaume has surrendered to the officer sent there by the king of France to take possession of that town.

[TRANSLATION.]

Petit Wagnies, June 28.

On the day before yesterday I had the honour of receiving your grace's letter, dated Joncourt, 26th inst. sent by your aide-de-camp captain Cathcart, whom I have requested to inform your excellency, that marshal count Rothallier had arrived this morning to summon the place in the name of Louis XVIII. He entered into a negotiation with lieut.-gen. Despreaux, governor of Quesnoy. The only result, however, produced by this, was a very singular reply from the governor, from which it appeared to me that he might possibly be induced to capitulate; and I determined at once on firing some shells and shot into the town, and of advancing our tirailleurs to the very glacis, to annoy them in every quarter, with a view of making some impression on the commandant, and of endeavouring by that means to excite to revolt the national guards and inhabitants, who are said to be well disposed towards us. From the information collected as to the fortifications, there appeared to me no reasonable chance of taking it by escalade, the ditches being filled with water, in addition to the inundation which had been made. At 11 o'clock at night I ordered five howitzers and six 6-pounders to open on the town, and I continued the fire until three o'clock at daybreak. The town was at one time on fire in three places, but the fire was shortly extinguished. Some men were killed

in the town, and several wounded, which appears to have produced exactly the effect which I wished. Last night general Anthing, who commands the Indian brigade, sent an officer with the proposals to the commandant, according to the authority which I had given to him, and coupled with a threat of bombardment and assault.—Upon this a negotiation was entered into, which ended in the signing of the following capitulation this night; that is to say, that he would send an officer, with an aide-de-camp of general Anthing, to Cambray, to ascertain the fact of the residence of the king of France in that town, and the abdication of Bonaparte in favour of his son, and that thereupon he would give us this night at six o'clock possession of the Porte de Forets to be occupied by a company of artillery; and that the next morning the garrison should march out of the town; the national guards to lay down their arms, and return to their homes; the commander, and that part of the garrison who were not national guards, were to go and receive the orders of Louis XVIII. in whose name we shall take possession of the town.

Gonasse, July 4.

My lord—Field marshal prince Blucher was strongly opposed by the enemy in taking the position on the left of the Seine, which I reported in my dispatch of the 2d inst. that he intended to take up on that day, particularly on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon; but the gallantry of the Prussian troops under general Ziethen surmounted every obstacle, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights of Meudon and in the village of Issy. The French attacked them again in Issy at three

o'clock in the morning of the 3d, but were repulsed with considerable loss; and finding that Paris was then open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was opened between the two allied armies by a bridge which I had established at Argenteuil, and that a British corps was likewise moving upon the left of the Seine towards the Pont de Neuilly, the enemy sent to desire that the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, with a view to the negotiation, at the palace of St. Cloud, of a military convention between the armies, under which the French army should evacuate Paris. Officers accordingly met on both sides at St. Cloud; and I inclose the copy of the military convention which was agreed to last night, and which had been ratified by prince Blucher and me, and by the prince d'Echmuhl on the part of the French army.—This convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, and touches nothing political.—General lord Hill has marched to take possession of the posts evacuated by agreement this day, and I propose to-morrow to take possession of Montmartre.—I send this dispatch by my aide-de-camp capt. lord A. Hill, by way of Calais. He will be able to inform your lordship of any further particulars, and I beg leave to recommend him to your favour and protection.

I have, &c. WELLINGTON.

This day, the 3d of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders in chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the baron Bignon, holding the portefeuille of foreign affairs; the count Guilleminot, chief of the general staff of the French army; the count de Bondy, prefect of the département of the Seine, being furnished with the

the full powers of his excellency the marshal prince of Echmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on one side; and major-gen. baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of marshal prince Blucher, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army; col. Hervey, furnished with the full powers of the duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief of the English army, on the other side; have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies commanded by prince Blucher and the duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.—2. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire.—Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.—3. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field-artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depôts shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of the administration which belong to the army.—The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.—5. The military and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.—6. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the

purpose of re-joining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.—7. The officers of the line employed with the fédérés, or with the tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army, or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.—8. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.—9. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gens d'armes.—10. The commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.—11. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected; and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.—12. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.—13. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.—14. The present convention shall be observed, and shall

shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms at least ten days beforehand.—15. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.—16. The present convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependant.—17. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.—18. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

The baron Bignon.—Count Guille-mont.—Count de Bondy.—The baron de Muffling.—F. B. Hervey, colonel.

Approved and ratified the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3d of July, 1815. Approved, marshal the prince D'Echmuhl.

Downing-street, July 11. From field-marshal the duke of Wellington. K.G.

Paris, July 8, 1815.

My lord—In consequence of the convention with the enemy, of which I transmitted your lordship the copy in my dispatch of the 4th, the troops under my command and that of field-marshal prince Blucher occupied the barriers of Paris on the 6th, and entered the city yesterday; which has ever since been perfectly quiet. The king of France entered Paris this day.

I have, &c. WELLINGTON.

July 11.

The first dispatch is from lord Stewart, dated from the imperial head-quarters at Manheim, the 25th of June.—He details the different movements to be made by the Bavarian marshal Wrede, by count Langeron and the Russians, by the prince of Wurtemberg, and the archduke Ferdinand. All were to unite at Nancy.

The second dispatch from lieutenant. Stewart dated Manheim, June 25, reports that Saargemines was carried by storm with trifling loss. At Saarbruck there was more opposition by general Menigi with some cavalry and 400 peasants; but the bridge was saved. Prince Charles of Bavaria had pushed on to Bouckemont with the advanced guard. The prince royal had made the passage of the Queich. The mayors of the different villages had orders to sound the tocsin, and make the country rise; but they would not resort to this fatal measure.

The third dispatch from the same is dated the 26th of June, and states that Bitsch has been summoned, but refused to surrender. Marshal Wrede was advancing with 50,000 men to Chateau Salines.

The fourth is from the headquarters at Rheinzabern, on the 28th of June at night. Marshal Wrede had received a proposal for an armistice, which he had referred to head-quarters, but it was not attended to. The prince of Wurtemberg attacked and drove the enemy through the forest of Haguenau. Lieut.-gen. Walmoden drove the enemy over the Selz. The archduke Ferdinand passed the Rhine at Basle on the 26th. General Rapp is supposed to have thrown himself into Strasburg.

The fifth is from colonel Jenkin-

son to lord Stewart, dated June 25, announcing the retreat of Rapp towards Strasburg with 11,000 men, with whom it was supposed he meant to join Suchet at Besançon. Rapp makes known to the prince of Wurtemberg Bonaparte's abdication in favour of his son; but as this notification is made subsequent to orders being given for the union of Suchet's and Lacourbe's corps at Besançon, it is suspected to be merely to gain time.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th dispatches are also from colonel Jenkinson, and detail the movements of the prince of Wurtemberg in pursuit of Rapp. The 9th dispatch, dated Vendenheim, June 19, from colonel Jenkinson, contains an account of the attack and storm of general Rapp's position near Strasburg. He was pursued under the guns of the fortress, and Strasburg was then invested.

The 10th dispatch is from brigadier-general Upton, dated Chateau Salines, June 27, announcing a deputation to field-marshal Wrede. Nancy and Luneville were to be occupied the next day.

[The remainder is as follows:]

*Imperial head-quarters, Saarebourg,
July 3, 1815.*

My lord,—The head-quarters of the sovereigns and the prince field-marshal, arrived yesterday at this place; the necessity of the close investment of Pfalzbourg, which is on the grand road from Strasburg to Paris, and the march through the defile and passage of the Vosges with so large a part of the army, and nearly all the artillery, made the undertaking of yesterday almost Herculean; the guns and carriages were drawn up, by parties of soldiers, rocky steep, that appeared inaccessible; the road had been made in the space of some

few hours, to avoid the fortress, and to shorten the march; but the difficulties were too great, added to the intense heat of the weather, to get the trains and guns through, and the field-marshal has found himself under the necessity of halting this day. The accounts from field-marshal prince Wrede state his belief of his having some corps of the enemy on his left, or in the direction of St. Diez or Bruyeres. The marshal has received directions from prince Schwartzenburg, in consequence of the joint request of the duke of Wellington and marshal Blucher, to advance rapidly. It appears the authorities at Nancy request prince Wrede to maintain order in the town. General Czernicheff fell in with a detachment of the enemy, on the left of the Moselle, between Metz and Longvion, consisting of between two and three thousand men, one squadron of cuirassiers, and some artillery, which he attacked and drove back into Metz. General Colloredo's (the 1st) corps was sharply engaged on the 28th ult. between Donnemarie and Befort with Lacourbe's rear-guard, in which affair he took a great number of prisoners, driving the French before him in all quarters: his loss was 300 men killed and wounded. The archduke Ferdinand pushed forward to Remiremont, to operate on the flank and rear of Lacourbe, if he should remain near Befort. It is reported that Rapp's cavalry from Strasburg, with two regiments of infantry, are endeavouring to make their way to Lacourbe. The commandant of Toul has refused to surrender the place; that of Maresall made a sortie with 200 men, but was driven back with loss. The communication is completely established between the prince royal of Wurtemberg

berg and the archduke Ferdinand. The desertion out of Strasburg is very great. The armies will continue their movements forward as rapidly as possible between the Seine and the Marne. The Bavarian army will be directed from Nancy on Ligny, Vetry, Les Franeves, and Fere Champenoise. The Russian army follows in two columns; the right on Chateau Salinet, by Pont a Mousson, St. Michael, Chalons, and Epernia. The left and the head-quarters of the sovereigns, by Ligny, St. Dizier, Vetry, and Montmiral. The Austrian or left wing of the army operates also in two columns. The 1st corps d'armée supports the Russian left, and follows Lacourbe from Befort towards Langres and Chaumont, or whatever direction he may take.—The 2d corps, as your lordship already knows, continues its operations in the Vallée du Rhin, and blockades Strasburg.—The 3d corps, being relieved there, marches by Mutzig, Mirecourt, Joinville, Vitry, and on Fere Champenoise.—The reserve from Colmar directs itself on St. Diez and Mirecourt and unites with the 3d corps, taking care of the blockades of Schlettstadt and St. Maurice aux Mines. — Gen. Manassay commands the blockade of Hunningen and Befort; gen. count Hoxberg, Neu Breysach; and count Stuhbaymer, Schlettstadt.—I fear I may intrude on your lordship's time by a repetition of detail; but to point out the marches clearly, it is necessary continually to revert to the operations of the main corps. Your lordship will observe, that by the separation of Lacourbe and Rapp, and the possible detachments that either may have made, as also the uncertainty of Suchet's line of retreat, together with the number of strong places we have to blockade,

we shall be liable to have small corps and detachments of the enemy starting up in different quarters; they may even gain partial successes in our rear; but the best precautions have been taken by the prince field marshal, consistent with our scale of operations, and nothing essential can affect the great movement. The armies will be assembled at Fere Champenoise on the 14th. I have, &c.

STEWART, lieutenant-gen.

P. S. Intelligence has just arrived that the archduke Ferdinand in investing Neubrisach had a sharp action. The village of Wickelsheim was strongly occupied by the enemy, but they were driven out by the Austrian regiment of Wurtemberg. The archduke's advance was to be at St. Maurice aux Mines, the 1st July, on which day the investment of Schlettstadt was to take place. Count Colloredo had another sharp action on the 29th in the neighbourhood of Befort. In consequence of the nature of the ground, the opposition was great, but the Austrian loss is trifling.

FRANCE.

The second abdication of the throne of France by Napoleon Bonaparte already alluded to, has since received full confirmation. We must, however, take up the thread of our abstract at the period immediately following the great battle of Waterloo.

After witnessing the irretrievable rout of his troops in the dreadful engagement on the 18th ult. Bonaparte returned in haste to Paris, where he arrived at eleven o'clock on the night of the 20th, at the very time when the Parisians were exulting at the reports of his success on the 15th and 16th. His sudden and unexpected return, coupled with rumours of the great defeat of the 18th,

16th, changed their ill-founded exultation into a sullen grief.

The next morning the arrival of Bonaparte was known throughout Paris, and the public consternation became general. In the course of the day he summoned his ministers, and stated to them explicitly that his army was no more, and that he required their assistance in the formation of another.

According to the account of this affair officially given in the Paris papers, the battle was decidedly with Bonaparte at eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th, and promised a brilliant triumph for the following day. But we shall here quit our abstract for a moment, and quote the French account verbatim:

"After eight hours fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.—At half after eight o'clock four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the platform on the other side of St. John, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by their fire, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank by several English squadrons put them in disorder, and obliged them to re-cross the ravine. Several regiments near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and, in consequence, fled in disorder. The cry, 'All is lost, the guard is driven back,' was heard on every side. The soldiers pretend, even, that on many points several ill-disposed persons cried out, '*Sauve qui peut.*'—However that may be, a complete panic spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw them-

selves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoniers, cassoons, all hurry to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was attacked and completely cut up.—In an instant the whole army fell into disorder; all the soldiers and arms were mingled *pel-mel*, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this great confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error.—Thus was a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day, all lost by means of a momentary panic. The squadrons placed on the side of the emperor were disorganized and destroyed by an overwhelming force, and there was nothing left but to follow the torrent. The park of reserve, all the baggage which had re-passed the Sambre, in short every thing in the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy."

The assembly of representatives, on being made acquainted with Bonaparte's official report of the battle, declared their sitting permanent; and the most energetic expression of public opinion on the danger that threatened France was manifested, in which there did not appear any disposition to connect the interests of Bonaparte with those of the country. The emperor was at the palace of Elysée, and there all his ministers assembled in council. The event had transpired; a multitude of persons assembled round the palace, and a faint cry of "*Vive l'empereur*" was heard. The impatience of the assembly of deputies was at its height. A message was sent to them from

the council, to say that in six hours a communication would be made to them. To which they replied, that they would only allow one hour for a message to know the determination of the emperor. Upon which Regnault de St. Jean Angely, as the organ of the council of ministers, stated to the emperor, in plain but respectful terms, that the interests of France demanded that his majesty should abdicate the throne. Bonaparte said, "What! do you say so? *Et tu, Brute!*" To which Regnault answered, "Your majesty may believe that it is with grief of heart I announce to you the fatal necessity; but the well-being of France demands this sacrifice at your hands." Napoleon finally signed his abdication in favour of his son, whom he proclaimed under the name and title of Napoleon the Second. He particularly impressed upon the two chambers this condition, repeating it to the chamber of peers, through Cambaceres, the president, "Remember! I abdicate only in favour of my son." This point was discussed violently in both chambers. At length, the abdication was accepted, and a complimentary message returned by the chamber; but with regard to the title of young Napoleon the question was evaded. A commission of five was chosen, in conjunction with the other chamber, to exercise provisionally the functions of government; and the individuals named were Fouché, Carnot, Grenier, Caulincourt, and Quinette. In the course of the debates, Carnot having stated that the imperial guard had reached Rocroy, and that Soult was rallying the army, and had already collected 60,000 men on the frontiers, Ney got up and flatly contradicted him: "It is time," said he, "that the truth should be spoken.

Instead of 60,000, it is utterly impossible to collect 25,000 men; and even those cannot again be brought to face the enemy, after such a defeat as they have sustained. With respect to the imperial guard, I myself commanded it under the emperor; and I aver that it is totally destroyed. Nothing now remains to be done, but to treat for peace with the enemy." This speech produced a strong sensation in the assembly.

The chambers, after much discussion, adopted resolutions incident to the extraordinary situation of France. Having declared their sittings permanent, and resolved to support the independence of the nation, they voted that an attempt should be made to negotiate an armistice with the duke of Wellington in conjunction with marshal Blücher.—The allied army had entered France by Bavay, the Prussians by Beaumont. The remains of the French army had retired upon Laon. All barriers between Waterloo and Paris seemed to disappear, and our army penetrated unopposed into the very heart of France. The town of Cambrai was taken by escalade by sir C. Colville. St. Quentin was abandoned to marshal Blücher; and Guise surrendered on the 24th. Various military operations were undertaken, and executed with the greatest success, by different brigades of the allied army. Among these, not the least brilliant, was the storming of Peronne, which was called *La Percelle de France*, because it had never before been taken.

The subsequent occupation of Paris by the immortal Wellington and Blücher, diminishes the interest that would else be attached to the proceedings of the other allied forces. Having concerted a grand scale

scale of combined movements, the several armies under prince Wrede, the prince of Wurtemberg, the archduke Ferdinand, prince Schwartzenberg, and general Frimont, marched directly forward to the great object in view; overthrowing the enemy's troops under Rapp, La Courbe, and Suchet, wherever they made a stand, and disregarding small bodies of French which might infest their rear or injure their communications.

In consequence of a convention, the troops under the command of the duke of Wellington and that of field marshal prince Blucher occupied the barriers of Paris on the 6th, and entered the city on the 7th inst.

On the same day the provisional government dissolved itself, and made a notification accordingly to the king and the two chambers. It was proposed by M. Manuel that the chamber should continue to sit, until the representatives were removed at the point of the bayonet. The meeting, however, soon after separated; and the two chambers were declared dissolved by Louis XVIII. who entered his capital on the 8th. The procession was attended with the usual accompaniments of a Parisian spectacle—the enthusiastic acclamations of a delighted populace!!

On the 9th the king appointed his ministers; introducing a new regulation, which brings the practice of the French government nearer than before to that of the English. According to this arrangement, there is a privy council, comprehending the princes, the ministers, and such others as the king may name; and a cabinet council, or council of responsible ministers. The latter are in number eight; and the departments

over which they preside are those of foreign affairs, finance, police, justice, war, the marine, the household, and the interior. All the ministers are named, except the last. M. Talleyrand is president of the council, and secretary for foreign affairs; baron Louis has the finances; the duke of Otranto (Fouche) the police; baron Pasquier, the department of justice and keeper of the seals; marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, the department of war; count de Jaucour, the marine; and the duke de Richelieu, the household.

The allied sovereigns arrived at Paris on the 10th, in the following order: the king of Prussia at seven in the evening; the emperor of Russia at half past eight; the emperor of Austria about nine.—Louis visited all these sovereigns upon their arrival, and remained with the emperor Alexander three hours. This latter sovereign seems to be a great favourite with the people, who hope, through his intercession, to avoid the evils of war which they so justly merit. Not only the Prussian troops were quartered in great numbers on the Parisians, but contributions to a great amount had been laid on Paris, Versailles, and other places near the capital. Prince Blucher had made preparations to destroy the bridge named after the battle of Jena; when the allied sovereigns stopped him, through (it is supposed) the intercession of Louis the Eighteenth. The bridge of Jena, and that of Austerlitz, are, however, to receive new names. The Parisians seemed seriously alarmed by these severe measures of the Russians; their tone was quite humble and submissive; and they at length feared that they themselves would be made to suffer part of the miseries which they had inflicted on other nations. It is said that

that they will be compelled to surrender the pillaged pictures and statues.

Lisle, Valenciennes, Lyons, and many other places, have surrendered. At Montpellier and Amiens there have been sanguinary scenes between the royalists and Bonapartists. The cause of the latter, however, must now be hopeless; since Bonaparte has surrendered himself to the British government, solicited its protection, and has actually arrived at an English port.

The case was this:

The ex-emperor, on leaving Paris after his abdication, retired to Rochefort, with an intention (if practicable to elude the vigilance of the British naval force lying off that port) to sail for the United States of America. After long watching in vain for such an opportunity, he came at last to the resolution of throwing himself on the British for protection.

By dispatches from the hon. captain Maitland, dated July 14, we learnt that count Las Cases and gen. L'Allemand were commissioned by Bonaparte to inform capt. Maitland of his desire of throwing himself on the protection of England. But capt. Maitland, with cautious prudence, made Las Cases and L'Allemand clearly understand, that he could engage for nothing more than simply to convey Bonaparte to England, there to be received as it might seem best to his majesty's government. With this intimation, the ex-emperor was received on board the *Bellerophon*; having acknowledged his submission to be pure, absolute, and unconditional.—The *Bellerophon* has since arrived in Plymouth Sound with Napoleon Bonaparte and his suite on board; and there, we understand, he will remain till the

allied powers determine how he shall be disposed of. It is, however, confidently stated, and we believe truly, that he will be sent to St. Helena.

Bonaparte, it is said in the French papers, wrote from Rochefort the following letter to the prince regent of England:

“Altesse royale,

“En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitié des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma carrière politique; et je viens, comme Themistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses lois; que je reclame de V. A. R. comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus genereux, de mes ennemis.

“NAPOLEON.

“Rochefort, Juillet 13.”

[We annex a verbal translation of this very remarkable epistle:

“Your royal highness,

“Exposed to factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to place myself on the hearths of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws; which [protection] I demand of your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.”

Bonaparte has always been remarkable for expressing himself in classical language, nor does the present letter yield to any of his former compositions in that characteristic attribute. But in his historical allusion he is not equally happy; the circumstances of Themistocles' political degradation differ widely from those of Napoleon's: and the relative condition of their respective enemies is equally dis-

dissimilar. Themistocles had not only been the greatest enemy of the Persians, but he had been victorious over them. What victories did Bonaparte ever gain over us? What Themistocles did to Xerxes we effected against Bonaparte. We destroyed his navy. Themistocles, after being the saviour of his country, improved her fortifications, rebuilt her Piræus, and filled her harbours with a numerous and powerful navy, which rendered her the mistress of Greece. Yet in the midst of that glory the conqueror of Xerxes incurred the displeasure of his countrymen, which had proved so fatal to many of his illustrious predecessors. He was banished from the city; and as he had sought in vain a safe retreat among the republics and barbarians of Thrace, he threw himself into the arms of a monarch whose fleets he had defeated, and whose father he had ruined. The character of the illustrious Athenian was, besides, noble and virtuous; and we believe it will not be pretended that in this respect, any more than in the nature of their exploits, a resemblance will be found between Themistocles and Bonaparte. We may add, that as little similitude exists between the characters and circumstances of the British and Persian nations.

By an official report of the proceedings of Bonaparte, from the time of his arrival at Rochefort to his embarkation on board the *Bellerophon*, we find that he continued to encourage hopes of being recalled by the two chambers, until he heard of their dissolution, and the entrance of the king into Paris.

The king of Prussia has issued a decree, convening a national representation on the 1st of September, who are to have the power of legislating on all objects which concern

the personal rights and property of their fellow citizens, including taxation.

GERMAN ACT OF CONFEDERATION.

This act, which is just published, consists of 19 articles. It provides that the affairs of the confederation shall be managed by a general assembly, in which all the members of the confederation shall be represented by their plenipotentiaries, who shall each have one vote, either severally, or as representing more than one member, as follows:—Austria 1 vote; Prussia, 1; Bavaria, 1; Saxony, 1; Hanover, 1; Wurtemberg, 1; Baden, elector of Hesse, 1; Grand Duchy of Hesse, 1; Denmark for Holstein, 1; the Netherlands for Luxembourg, 2; the Grand-Ducal and Ducal Saxon Houses, 1; Brunswick and Nassau, 1; Mecklenburg Schwerin and Mecklenburg Strelitz, 1; Holstein, Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwartzburg, 1; Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Rens, Schaumburg Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck, 1; the free cities of Lubeck, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburgh, 1; total, 17 votes.

Where the propositions relate to alterations in, or an abolition of, fundamental laws of the confederation, the diet then forms a committee, in which the members vote according to the extent of their territories, in the following proportion:—Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemberg, four votes each; Baden, electorate of Hesse, Grand Duchy of Hesse, Holstein, and Luxembourg, three votes each; Brunswick, Mecklenburg Schwerin, and Nassau, two votes each; Saxe Weimar, and a great number of minor German princes, with the free towns, one vote each; total, 89 votes.

The questions on ordinary occasions

sions are to be decided by a small majority of votes; but in full committee by a majority of at least three-fourths.

Every member engages to assist in the protection of Germany, and of every separate state of the league, against any attack; and they reciprocally guaranty to each other their possessions. After war has been declared, no member can enter into separate negotiations with the enemy, or conclude a separate peace or armistice. The members also bind themselves not to make war on each other, but to bring their differences under the consideration of the diet. It is also agreed, that the diversity of the christian faith shall occasion no difference as to the enjoyment of civil and political rights. The state of the Jews is to be taken into consideration; and in the mean time the professors of that faith continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them. The confederate princes and free cities are to secure to their subjects the right of possessing landed property out of the state—the right of free emigration from one confederate state to another, with a right of entering into the civil and military service of any confederate state, if no previous obligation to military service in their native country stand in the way.—The diet, at its first meeting, is to take into consideration the commercial intercourse of the different states, and to occupy itself with the formation of some uniform regulations relative to the freedom of the press, and securing the rights of authors and publishers against oppression.

AMERICA.

The American government has fixed its peace establishment, the details of which have been published. The army list includes only

eight regiments of infantry, a rifle regiment, a corps of engineers, a corps of artillery, and a regiment of light artillery.

Stereotype-printing has been introduced into America. A bible with marginal notes has been stereotyped at New York, and is to be followed by those lexicons and dictionaries used at schools. Hitherto these works have been imported from England.

The Indians residing in the vicinity of the Missouri still continue their hostilities against the United States; and this warfare is marked by all those atrocious features of barbarity so peculiar to Indian hatred. A party of these savages recently surprised the village of Cole San Dessein, on the Missouri; and, having burnt the houses, massacred all the men, women, and children in the place—200 souls!

Our commercial treaty with the United States is, we learn, in a complete state, the ratification being only wanting, in the hands of Mr. Q. Adams, the American minister at this court. It is short in the form, but comprehensive in the substance. By the first article, the navigation laws of the two countries are for mutual benefit dispensed with; and British vessels trading to American ports, and American vessels trading to British ports, have equal privileges with regard to duties and exemptions with native vessels, respectively. This benefit not only extends to the ships, but to the cargoes. Thus cotton-wool, which on coming to England in British ships from the United States is liable to a duty of only one penny per pound, and if imported in American vessels is subject to a charge of three pence in the pound, will incur the same duty if conveyed in the bottoms of either of the two countries.

The

The second article admits of free trade to Calcutta, and to all the British settlements of the peninsula of Hindostan. With regard to China, there is no regulation, because that trade is exclusively with the India company; and this company has no power or authority to obstruct the trade to China, either with regard to the Americans or any other foreign state.

A third article, and not the least important in the view of the American government, restricts the British from entering into any trade with the numerous tribes of Indians occupying any part of the country within the jurisdiction of the United States.

“ Windsor Castle, July 1.

“ The king has passed the last month in uniform tranquillity, and his majesty continues in good bodily health, but without any diminution of his disorder.”

We have already noticed the dreadful accident at Heaton Colliery on the 8d of May last. The miners were taking precautions at the time, it appears, to let off the expected influx of water from some ancient collieries in the neighbourhood, long since abandoned, by driving a drift in a direction to perforate the old workings near Heaton Burn. At four o'clock on the fatal morning, Mr. Miller, the resident or under-viewer, visited the men engaged in this operation; and a dripping of water from the roof being pointed out to him, he gave directions that the work should be squared up; and said he would send in the borers to ascertain whether the water proceeded from the waste of the old collieries or no. In less than a quarter of an hour after, the water began to run more freely through the chink; and the two drifters becoming rather alarmed,

sent their boy to apprise two other men who were working near them, with the state of the mine, and to acquaint all the men in the pit with their danger. The youth, probably impelled by fear, made the best of his way to the shaft, and escaped. The two workmen first mentioned had now quitted the face of the drift, and presently after, a frightful crash, accompanied by a violent gust of wind, which extinguished the candles, warned them that an immense torrent of water was rushing into the mine: they fled precipitately towards the working shaft, distant about a mile; and, as the water of course flowed first down the lowest level, reached it just in time to save their lives. The two men who were working near them, the boy just mentioned, and fifteen other men and boys who were on the rolyway, were so fortunate as to make their escape, but not till the last was up to his waist in water. Every possibility of retreat to those left behind was now cut off; and seventy-five human beings, including Mr. Miller, were shut up in the workings towards the rise of the colliery, either to perish by hunger, or die for want of respirable air. The sufferers who thus found a living grave, have left twenty-four widows and seventy-seven orphans, besides Mrs. Miller and her eight children, to deplore their unimely fate.

A melancholy catastrophe has also since taken place at Newbottle colliery, situated on the river Wear, by an explosion of inflammable gas. At present the proprietors are working the Hutton main; the deepest and best of five beds of coal within the royalty, its thickness being six feet two inches, and, like most seams subjected to carburetted hydrogen, nearly destitute of water. At five o'clock

o'clock in the afternoon of June 2d a cloud of dust and smoke was seen to issue from the mouth of one of the three shafts, called the Success pit, 108 fathoms deep; and in a few minutes one of the trappers, not above six years of age, cried out to be drawn up; he was quickly followed by fourteen men and boys, most of whom were shockingly scorched, four only having escaped the effect of the inflammable gas. Several intrepid pitmen soon descended into the mine, and found the corpses of fifty-seven men stretched on the floor; some appeared to be burned to death, but the greater number to have been suffocated by the after-damp. A few still retained signs of life, but expired on being brought into the atmospheric air. The blast was partial; for many of the men had quitted the boards where they had been at work apparently unhurt, but met their fate on the waggon-way, being suffocated before they could reach the shaft. Of nineteen horses in the mine six only were killed; those in the stables having survived, for the air-courses were soon restored.

7. In the afternoon, about four o'clock, as colonel Poyntz, his two sons, and their tutor, miss Parry and miss Emily Parry (daughters of the late admiral Parry, of Fareham), a fisherman, and his son, were returning to land at Bognor in a pleasure yacht, a sudden gust of wind upset the boat, when the whole party, except colonel Poyntz and the boatman, were drowned; the latter saved the colonel by swimming with him on his back. Mrs. Poyntz was looking from the drawing-room window the moment the accident happened.

9. A form of prayer and thanksgiving for the late victory, ordered to be read in all the churches

in England, Scotland, and Ireland:

"O God, the disposer of all human events, without whose aid the strength of man is weakness, and the counsels of the wisest are as nothing, accept our praise and thanksgiving for the signal victory which thou hast recently vouchsafed to the allied armies in Flanders.—Grant, O merciful God, that the result of this mighty battle, terrible in conflict but glorious beyond example in success, may put an end to the miseries of Europe, and stanch the blood of nations.—Bless, we beseech thee, the allied armies with thy continued favour. Stretch forth thy right hand to help and direct them. Let not the glory of their progress be stained by ambition, nor sullied by revenge; but let thy holy spirit support them in danger, control them in victory, and raise them above all temptation to evil, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory now and for ever. Amen."

A subscription for the relief of the widows and orphans of the brave men who fell at the battle of Waterloo is opened in the metropolis. [Upwards of 300,000*l.* have been already subscribed.]

A handsome monument has recently been erected by the fellows of the Linnæan and Horticultural Societies of London, in Chelsea churchyard, to the memory of Philip Miller, the author of *The Gardener's Dictionary*, who died in 1771, in testimony of their gratitude for the eminent services rendered to the sciences of botany and horticulture by his industry and writings.

26. The body of a black man, nearly naked, was discovered on the beach beyond Southsea Castle, with his throat cut in a most shocking manner.

manner. By the great exertions of the police officers, Joseph, a man of colour, was apprehended, and being informed that Antonio and Philip were also apprehended (though at this time it was not known that they had any knowledge of each other) he said "Oh! Antonio is a bad man,"—and then voluntarily confessed that he did not murder the deceased, by name Dilly Jeromi, but that he held his legs. It seems that Joseph, Antonio, and Philip, are three Africans, and that they were shipmates of the deceased. Dilly Jeromi is represented to have been a good-natured fellow, and he was rather free in occasionally treating the three murderers. Previous to the day they went on the common, it appears they had formed a plan to rob him; and when they had got a certain distance beyond the castle, at about seven o'clock, in full day-light, they asked him for his money: he declared he had none: they then insisted upon robbing him of his clothes: this he resisted, when two of them proposed to murder him; to this the other objected, but agreed to rob him, for which purpose Joseph held his legs; and Philip, in attempting to strip his jacket from his shoulders, (which, when half way down his arms, confined them behind him,) discovered to Antonio, who was in front; a knife suspended by a string from the deceased's neck, but concealed at first by his clothes. Antonio instantly seized it, and immediately with a back-handed stroke nearly severed his head from his body. The poor creature fell, and they stripped him almost naked, and then attempted to cover him with shingle, a quantity of which was found on the body, and the dreadful wound in the neck was filled up with sand and small stones. They took the clothes to Portsea,

and sold them to a Jew for 14s. who questioned them as to their being wet (they having, we suppose, attempted to wash the stain of blood out): they said the bundle had fallen overboard in coming ashore.—A verdict of wilful murder against Joseph, Antonio, and Philip, has been returned.

15. Last night a dreadful catastrophe occurred in the neighbourhood of Leicester. Two coaches that run daily from Hinckley to Leicester had set out in the evening. The first having descended the hill that leads to Leicester, was obliged to stop to repair the harness. The other coachman from the top of the hill saw the accident, and seized the moment to give his antagonist the go-by, and immediately flogged his horses into a gallop down the hill. The horses in the midst of their speed took fright at something lying on the road, and became so unmanageable, that, in their sweep to avoid the object of alarm, the driver could not recover them so as to clear the post of the turnpike gate at the bottom of the hill; and the velocity was so great that in an instant the coach was split into two, and three persons were dashed to pieces and instantly expired; two others survived but a few hours in the greatest agony; four were conveyed away in chaises for surgical aid with fractured limbs; and two that were in the dickey behind were thrown with that part of the coach to a great distance, and not much hurt by falling in the hedge. The coachman fell a victim to his fury and madness.

Foreign Office, July 21.

Extract of a dispatch from viscount Castlereagh, dated Paris, July 15.

Since closing my dispatches, I have received the accompanying communication:—"I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that Napoleon Bonaparte, not being able

to escape from the English cruisers, or from the guards kept upon the coasts, has taken the resolution of going on board the English ship *Bellerophon*, capt. Maitland.

"Le Duc D'OTRANTE."

DESTRUCTIVE FIRES.

29. On Fridayse'night, about nine o'clock, the neighbourhood of Spitalfields was thrown into universal terror by an explosion in the house of one Leschilles, in John-street. The proprietor was a hair-dresser and a manufacturer of fire-works. In his house were deposited several barrels of gunpowder, which had exploded. Mr. Leschilles had but a few moments returned from a walk with his wife, with whom and his family he was just sitting down to supper when the event took place.

The effects in his house were truly heart-rending; it was literally blown up from its foundation, and all its inmates buried in the ruins. A number of persons in the neighbourhood were dreadfully hurt by pieces of glass, brick, timber, and other articles, falling upon them, or being forced into the windows by the effects of the explosion. Huge beams of timber were tossed into the air, others carried an incredible distance over the tops of houses, while a great many habitations have been shook and shattered to a most frightful degree; the whole exhibiting a terrible picture of havoc and destruction. Windows broken, window-frames smashed and forced in, doors knocked from the hinges, and even furniture displaced and shattered to pieces!—On Monday an inquest was held on the bodies of Gasper Leschilles, his wife Penelope Leschilles, his sister Susannah Leschilles, William Oldham, an aged gentleman who was an inmate in the family, and Mary Blake, a servant with Messrs. Broom and Tay-

lor, silk-weavers, next door.—Mr. Robinson stated, that he called at Mr. L.'s house about a quarter before nine o'clock on Friday night; he was then behind the counter; Miss L. and Mr. Oldham were in the back parlour, where a cloth was laid for supper; witness was invited to wait for supper, but he declined it; two boys were in the shop buying crackers; no light was in the first shop, but a pair of candles were on the supper table; he was only a very short distance from the house when he heard a report; another instantly succeeded it, which he supposed was the firing of guns, and he proceeded to Bethnal-green, when he was informed of the dreadful calamity, and he then returned back. He was intimately acquainted with Mr. L., who told him that about a fortnight ago he sold out 50*l.* in the Navy fives, and purchased a quantity of salt-petre, and witness thinks gunpowder. He is positive he was quite sober at the time of the unfortunate circumstance. It further appeared from the evidence of Henry Potts, aged eleven years of age; W. Thomson, seven years of age, G. Burch, twelve years old, all of whom happened to be in the shop, purchasing serpents and crackers, a few minutes before the catastrophe occurred, that Mr. Oldham had taken a candle into the cellar, which he left there, and brought up a great quantity of fire-works, with a part of which they were served, and which they let off within fifty yards of Mr. L.'s house: in a few moments after, they perceived a vast quantity of rockets, serpents, &c. come out of the shop door, which was instantaneously followed by an explosion, as before mentioned, the shock of which knocked some of them down in the street, and then the fire spread in a most destructive manner as already mentioned.—Verdict, Accidental Death.

Another

Another fire took place at Shadwell early on Saturday week. It broke out in a range of buildings between Bell and Sail Wharfs, at the commencement of Cock-hill, Upper Shadwell. The flames spread with furious rapidity, and in a few minutes the whole of the buildings between the street and the river were in a blaze. These chiefly being warehouses, and filled with combustibles, such as wood, pitch, tar, oil, coals, sail cloth, and other inflammable goods, the fire at once became general and irresistibly terrible. The shops and houses in front in the street soon caught the contagious element, and eventually shared the fate of the rest. The tide was at the moment upon an ebb; and no water being obtained, the fire raged without resistance for nearly two hours, notwithstanding that several engines had arrived. No less than twenty-one concerns were wholly reduced to ashes. In one of the premises, some vats of beer burst, and in another a quantity of powder also exploded. These, however, only had the effect of hastening the work of destruction, by throwing down several walls, and smashing some windows of the adjoining houses. In this dreadful conflagration no life was lost. The principal sufferers on this melancholy occasion were Messrs. Barber and Co. dealers in marine stores; Mr. Hooper, slopseller; Mr. Ward, block and mast maker; Mr. Steadman, coal-merchant, who in the confusion of his escape left even his pocket book containing nearly 300*l.* in bank notes; Mr. Welch, a linen-drapeer, not insured, whose loss is estimated at from 6 to 7000*l.* Mr. Knight, a cooper; and Mr. Hill, a baker, not insured; the proprietor of the King of Prussia public-house, and several others, besides the destruction of six or eight private

houses, in Bell Wharf-street, in the rear of these buildings. The population of this quarter, and the closeness of the situation, rendered the scene awful and terrifying; nothing but piercing screams and exclamations was heard for a considerable time; little or no property was saved in the general wreck; and it is painful to reflect, that many of the sufferers were not insured.

20. On Thursday week, at noon, information was received by William Henry Gell, esq. coroner for Middlesex, that Mr. Whitbread had put an end to his own existence, and a jury was instantly summoned to sit on the body in the evening. At eight o'clock the inquest had assembled at the house of the deceased, in Dover-street, Piccadilly.

The first witness examined was J. Wilshire, esq. from whose deposition it appeared that he was a most particular friend to the deceased. He resided in Hertfordshire. A few weeks since he received an application from the family and friends of Mr. Whitbread to come to town, for the purpose of soothing their afflicted feelings, and, if possible, by fellowship, to rouse and restore the deceased from the lethargy and dull melancholy that was then operating upon him. On his arrival in town, he found his friend in a low desponding state, and notwithstanding every exertion, he could but occasionally succeed in shaking off the melancholy which seemed to have seized fast hold of him, or cause him to retract or give up the irregular notions and incoherent expressions he had continually adopted. He entreated Mr. Whitbread also to retire from those pursuits and that intense application which apparently disturbed his imagination to a degree bordering on despair. Mr. W. listened on all occasions to his advice, and in many instances promised to adhere to it. He

He complained; however, bitterly that he felt he had become completely unfit for business—that his public life was extinct—that he was derided; in short, that he had become “an outcast of society.” An evening or two before the fatal transaction, his friend and he dined together. Mr. W. was in excellent health, and conducted himself in that clear and energetic way by which he has always been distinguished. After dinner, however, his mind at once forsook him, and he commenced an argument of a most idle and ridiculous nature. On this he expatiated with as much warmth as though it were a great national question. His friend on this occasion endeavoured to restore his reason, and pointed out to him the absurdity as well as improbability of his statements. Mr. W., however, persisted in his phrensiad declarations; and, among other things, stated that charges of a serious nature were exhibited against him, as well by the public voice as by communications: this was also resisted as erroneous by his friend. Mr. W. however, with much warmth, undertook to prove it by his secretary, who, he said, could produce documents to the fact. The secretary being in the house, was instantly called, and confronted with him, when the whole of what he, Mr. W., had stated, turned out to be a mere fabrication of the brain. The reason of the deceased seemed again restored for a short time, and he bowed in silent admission of his error.—The evidence of Mr. Wilshire went to prove a variety of other incidents relative to the deceased for several months, all of which went to establish a settled derangement of the mind of his lamented friend.

Mr. Holland, a magistrate, residing at Epsom, corroborated the

account of Mr. Wilshire, as far as it related to the general conduct of the deceased for several months. He was also his particular acquaintance and friend. Some weeks since he had noticed an extraordinary stupor and dullness about him; and imagining that it arose from intense study and application, he entreated him to spend a few days in the country, at his (Mr. Holland's) seat. After much difficulty he succeeded, and Mr. W. accompanied him to Epsom. On the day of their arrival Mr. W. was in apparent good health and spirits, talked rationally, and retired to rest cheerfully. On his appearance, however, the following morning, being asked by Mr. H. how he did, and how he slept? Mr. W. replied, he was “very ill indeed, and had not enjoyed half an hour's rest during the night.” He then added, he must “forgo the kind invitation of his friend, and go to town; a vast deal of public business remained to be done; and though he was incapable of performing it, he would struggle at it, and do the best he could.”—Mr. Holland further related, that he had accompanied Mr. W. to a meeting of the proprietors of Drury-lane theatre, where he was called to the chair. The business was for the purpose of electing a member of the committee in the room of the hon. Cavendish Bradshaw, who had resigned. On that occasion, however, Mr. W. scarcely opened his lips, and sat in the chair in a senseless state, looking with vacant melancholy upon all around him. On their retiring from the meeting, Mr. W. observed to his friend, “You have now an opportunity of seeing my incapacity for public business; eight or ten years ago I could pretend to do business, but now I feel a total incompetence, and I am only despised for my services.”

In

In addition to various other facts related by Mr. Holland, which demonstrated in the strongest manner the mental derangement of the deceased, he added, "Never did there exist a man upon whose judgement and integrity I should have sooner relied, upon any case, either public or private, as a counsellor or friend. In these relations I had consulted him for many years. But from what I have observed of his conduct for a considerable time past, he would have been the last person in the world to whom I would have committed the slightest subject for consideration."

John Weir deposed that he had lived in the service of the deceased for 27 years. His master had retired to rest on Wednesday night about half past ten in apparent good health. On the following morning he observed him come down stairs and go into his dressing-room, which was situated on the ground floor and looking into the garden. It was then half past nine o'clock, and the witness, as was his daily custom, went to bring some hot water to shave him. On reaching the door of the dressing-room, however, he found it fastened, and immediately knocked. He received no answer, but retired, supposing his master was particularly engaged. On his going through the passage, however, he met the private secretary of Mr. Whitbread, to whom he related the singularity of the dressing-room being locked; a circumstance never before known! The secretary replied, it was equally strange to him, as he himself had been trying to see Mr. W. and to receive some orders; when he found the door fast; and no answer given either to his call or knocking! They both then determined upon peeping in at the window from the yard; which

having passed, and not distinguishing the deceased in an upright posture, they looked more narrowly, and beheld with terror the body of their lamented master weltering in his blood. The witness instantly burst in the window, and entered the room, where he found the deceased with his throat cut from ear to ear, and the vital spark completely extinguished. Medical aid, though called in, was quite useless. Perhaps no instance of self-destruction was ever more complete. A razor, with which he effected the dreadful act, was found by his side on the floor.—The private secretary of the deceased confirmed the account given by the last witness; but such were the terror and temporary confusion into which he was thrown by his first view of the shocking spectacle, that he could not recollect whether he entered the room through the door or by the window. This witness also deposed to many circumstances, which led him to believe that the deceased had long laboured under strong symptoms of derangement.—An eminent physician proved the fact which had caused the death of the deceased; and after some other corroborative evidence the coroner left it to the jury to decide, whether, under the strong and respectable testimony they had heard, they could for a moment hesitate upon the verdict. In his opinion and the exercise of his unpleasant duties, a clearer instance of derangement had never come before him.

The jury, after a moment's consideration, concurred, and returned a verdict of Insanity.

AUGUST.

Windsor Castle, Aug. 5.

His majesty has continued in a state of tranquillity and comfort during

ring the last month, and is in good health, but without any diminution of his majesty's disorder.

6. His royal highness the duke of York, on coming out of a shower bath at his seat at Oatlands, fell, on account of the slippery state of the oil-cloth, and broke the large bone of his left arm half way between the shoulder and elbow joint. Sir Henry Halford and Mr. McGregor the surgeon were sent for express from London to attend his royal highness, and Mr. M. put the displaced parts into their natural position. His royal highness was the next morning free from fever, and has since been going on favourably; and he had so far recovered on the 12th instant, that the daily bulletins of his health were discontinued. We are happy to add, that his royal highness is now able to attend to business.

7.—A melancholy accident happened at Brixham, Torbay. A party that was at Torbay lodging, consisting of Mr. Litters, Thomas Harris of Totnes, a miss Allen, sister of Mrs. H., miss Edwards a young lady about nine years of age, with three or four other persons, had been out for the purpose of seeing Bonaparte, when the boat was unfortunately run down by a cutter, by which accident miss Allen and miss Edwards were both drowned. A lieutenant of one of the frigates, at the risk of his own life, jumped overboard, and succeeded in bringing up Mrs. Harris, but almost in a lifeless state. The bodies of the young ladies have not been found.

14. A beautiful monument to lord Rodney, in St. Paul's cathedral, by Mr. Charles Rossi, of Lissongrove, R.A., was opened for the first time for the inspection of the public. The monument is a

national one, and represents lord Rodney standing, with his left hand resting on a rudder, and his right on a sword; behind are laid across the pedestal on which he stands the three flags taken by him from the French, Spanish, and Dutch. On his left is the figure of the historic Muse, and on his right that of Victory—History is in the attitude of recording his victories.

Viscount Chetwynd, as clerk of the council, lately presented to the prince regent in council a new great seal of England, which is of silver, about eight or nine inches diameter, of a round form, representing the king on horseback on one side, and on the other side his majesty in his robes, seated on his throne, and surrounded by his ministers and attendants of state. At the close of the council the regent delivered it to the lord chancellor, as the lord keeper of the great seal of England; after which, the brass seal which has been used as a temporary instrument since the great seal of England was stolen, about twelve years ago, from the lord chancellor's house, was destroyed in the presence of the council, by obliterating all the impression on it.

ETON.

The long contested cause between the fellows of Eton College and those of King's college Cambridge, regarding the right of the former to hold livings with their fellowships, has been decided by the bishop of Lincoln in the following manner:—The visitor has maturely, deliberately, and by and with the advice of his assessors, the right honourable sir W. Grant and the right honourable sir W. Scott, pronounced against the appeal; and declared that the fellows of Eton College were enabled to hold one benefice, by virtue of the dispensing statute

statute of queen Elizabeth. He further enjoins all future fellows of Eton college not to exceed the indulgence granted to the said dispensing statute, by attempting to hold more than *one* benefice, whether taken before or after their conjunction with their fellowships.

15.—The very singular phenomenon of a water-spout was observed at Marsden, near Huddersfield. It appeared to be formed of a dense black cloud, and resembled a very long inverted cone, the lowest part of which seemed nearly to touch the ground; above it the clouds were white and fleecy, forming a striking contrast with it, but they appeared strongly agitated.—Our correspondent concludes his description with stating, “that the spout, when completely formed, appeared to be round and smooth, and hollow within, and there appeared a stream of water running down the inside, part of which in its descent passed to the outside, and was carried up again very rapidly by a spiral motion. The whole duration of this phenomenon was about 20 minutes.”

COURT OF CHANCERY.

CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE.—WADE v. BASELEY AND OTHERS.

16.—An application was made for an attachment to issue against Charles Henry Baseley, for carrying off and marrying Anne Wade, a ward of the court, and also against the other defendants for aiding and assisting him.—It appeared that an injunction had been directed to be issued by the lord chancellor, directed to the defendant Baseley, restraining him from all intercourse with the young lady, who, a short time before, had eloped with him, but was pursued and overtaken by her guardian before the marriage had taken place. At that time this

young lady, who is only 18 years of age, an heiress to an estate of 5,000*l.* per annum, wrote to the lord chancellor, protesting that she had been carried off by the defendant contrary to her inclination, and that she never would have further intercourse with the defendant Baseley, and that he would never let her rest if he was allowed to be at large. The lord chancellor then gave her his assurance, that if Baseley could be found within his jurisdiction, he should be imprisoned. The defendant Baseley, however, avoided his lordship's order and on the 25th of May last carried her off from the seat of her guardian, Thomas Broughton, esq. Woodhatch, Riegate, assisted by the other defendants, viz. Simon Marie, a Frenchman, Mary Julia Marie, his wife, a native of England, and governess to miss Wade; Margaret Ramsay, her servant, and Matthew Barrow, servant to the defendant Baseley. The marriage ceremony was performed at Gretna Green, and afterwards at Edinburgh.

After counsel had been heard,

The lord chancellor said, “The defendant Baseley petitioned, but I ordered him to appear; I cannot act till he personally appears. It may be necessary to out-law the parties. The defendant, Baseley, will find the law too strong for him, if he comes in my time; if not, I have no doubt but my successor will do ample justice. He shall never get a farthing of the lady's property.”

GENERAL LABEDOYERE.

The following is the article which occasioned the suppression of the Paris paper called the Independent:—

“The arrest of M. Labedoyere is described as an event which must

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be followed by his immediate trial and even his condemnation.—Some journals, regardless of the situation in which a man suspected, accused, and imprisoned, is placed, seem to wish to outrun the march of justice, and to communicate their hateful passions to men who are bound to be the unalterable organs of the law. It may therefore be allowable to make, on the delicate and important questions whence the charge at issue originates, some impartial observations connected with the public welfare, and the political interests of the king, the nation, and the allied powers.—First observation.—However great may appear, or really be the crime attributed to M. Labedoyere, namely, the having abandoned his legitimate king to range himself under the colours of an usurper, that crime became within eight days common to all the civil and military authorities, who from necessity, seduction, or persuasion, followed the same course. A great part of the nation and the army consecrated by assent the unforeseen revolution which took place, and the result of which only a small number of wise and clear-sighted men calculated with precision. According to Grotius, when the number of criminals is infinite, a full and entire amnesty becomes legitimate and necessary, and clemency is inspired by justice. It is not in a moral point of view, which never permits us to tolerate the violation of principles and the infraction of duties, but under a political point of view, when a man has millions for his accomplices, that a justification exists.—Second observation.—The old and faithful servants of the king can perceive in the act of colonel Labedoyere, who joined Napoleon with his regiment, only a criminal rebellion, unworthy of

pardon, a treason long meditated and prepared against the sovereign and the country. But let them imagine themselves for a moment in the situation of the accused. Still young, he had never served except under the colours of Napoleon. He had known Louis XVIII. only ten months. This first sovereign, whose abdication appeared to him only a sacrifice dictated by necessity, reappeared suddenly before him. A habit contracted during fifteen years of considering the emperor, whom all the monarchs of Europe had acknowledged, as his legitimate chief, resumed all its force. It awakened affections which had been but ill extinguished. The illusion of the military glory—of the former power of the prince, rendered in the eyes of some of his partisans greater by his misfortunes and exile, acted on an ardent and elevated imagination, which easily fancies the dictates of duty to be obeyed even at the very moment in which the most sacred of duties are trampled on. It must be confessed, that the multiplied vicissitudes of our revolutions, and frequent changes of government, have shaken, and have sometimes had the effect during these 25 years, of rendering doubtful in France the notions of morality on the legitimacy of princes and the fidelity of subjects. Led away by false ideas, M. Labedoyere disturbed a possession of eleven months to respect a prior possession which had existed for fifteen years. Prejudices, opinions, and habits, ideas well or ill-founded, which have been received, and which time has strengthened, are not changed in a day. Doubtless M. Labedoyere is inexcusable for having taken and then violated his oath of allegiance. That is his real crime: but that crime, we repeat, has been generally

generally committed. The first example of its breach was not given by M. Labedoyere, for Napoleon had already advanced forty miles on the French territory before he arrived at the point where the regiment commanded by M. Labedoyere joined him.—Third observation.—The king's ordinances direct, that the lists of the persons accused of conspiracy and treason shall be previously submitted to the two chambers, not to try them (for representative and legislative chambers cannot exercise judicial functions), but to refer to the tribunals such of the individuals inscribed on these lists, as it may appear to be the duty of the nation specially to accuse."

20.—On the 12th inst. col. Labedoyere was tried on the charges of treason, rebellion, and seducing his troops from their duty. His treason and rebellion were clearly proved, and he was found guilty, and sentenced to suffer death. It appears, that on the news of Bonaparte's landing, he was ordered with his regiment, by general Devilliers, from Chambéry to Grenoble, where the troops were assembled to stop the progress of the usurper. He was placed in bivouac on the ramparts, where he incited his soldiers to revolt, and led them out to join the unprincipled invader. He had scarcely left the town, when he drew his sword, and cried out, *Vive l'Empereur*. He then broke open a chest, whence he took an eagle, placed it at the top of a branch of a tree, marched under it to join Napoleon, and returned with him the same evening to take military possession of Grenoble. His superior officer, general Devilliers, followed, and tried in vain to bring him back, having already persuaded about 100 of the soldiers to return to their

duty.—In the preliminary proceedings of the trial, he admitted these facts, but denied having taken the oath of allegiance to the king; saying, that he had not joined his regiment when the oath was administered to that corps.

After the ruin of Bonaparte's cause, Labedoyere joined Exelmans' corps, which had hoisted the white flag. He did not himself hoist a white cockade, but joined it as a simple citizen. He wished to escape to America; but found it impossible to embark, or even to proceed to Switzerland. He then returned to Paris, and surrendered himself. The counsel against the accused remarked in aggravation, that Labedoyere had given the first signal of revolt—it was to his defection that all other defections were owing.

M. Labedoyere read his defence, which appeared to be written in haste and without method, upon slips of paper.—"Gentlemen, if on this important day my life alone were compromised, I should abandon myself to the encouraging idea, that he who has sometimes led brave men to death, would know how to march to death himself like a brave man; and I should not detain you. But my honour is attacked as well as my life, and it is my duty to defend it, because it does not belong to me alone,—a wife, the model of every virtue, has a right to demand an account of it from me. Shall my son, when reason comes to enlighten him, blush at his inheritance? I feel strength enough to resist the most terrible attacks, if I am able to say Honour is untouch-
ed! I may have been deceived—
misled by illusions, by recollections,
by false ideas of honour: it is possible that country spoke a chimerical language to my heart."—[He
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declared that he had no intention, nor the possibility of denying facts public and notorious; he was ready to sign the act of accusation drawn up against him; but he would justify himself from the charge of having been concerned in any plot that preceded the return of Bonaparte; and he protested that he was convinced no relation ever existed between the isle of Elba and Paris.]

M. de Labedoyere made a tardy but touching reparation to the king. —“I see all promises fulfilled, all guarantees consecrated, the constitution perfected; and foreigners will see again, I hope, a great nation in the French united round their king. Perhaps I shall not be called upon to enjoy the sight; but I have shed my blood for my country; and I persuade myself that my death, preceded by my error, may be of some use: that my memory will not be held in horror; and that when my son shall have reached the age at which he shall be able to serve his country, that country will not reproach him with his name.”

The president, after a long deliberation of the council, declared the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to suffer death. He was allowed to appeal to a court of revision. The council of revision (consisting of the baron de Conchy and other officers) assembled in Paris at eight o'clock of the 19th instant. The reporting judge stated, that having considered the documents, it did not appear to him that the objections to the proceedings were sufficiently serious to afford ground for annulling the judgement; and the council declared unanimously, that the said judgement is confirmed, and that it shall have its full and entire execution.

When the family of Labedoyere

heard that the council of revision had confirmed his sentence, his wife, clad in deep mourning, appeared before the king as he was getting into his carriage, and, falling at his feet, exclaimed, “Pardon, pardon, sire!” —“Madame,” said the king, “I know your sentiments and those of your family, and never was it more painful for me to pronounce a refusal. If M. Labedoyere had only offended me, his pardon should be granted; but all France demands the punishment of the man who has brought upon her all the scourges of war. I promise my protection to you and to your child.” —The mother of the unfortunate man was prevented from seeing the king by those around him.

Col. Labedoyere displayed in the last moment the most touching fortitude. His appeal was heard on Saturday morning; at half past one his judgement was confirmed; at half past six on the same evening he underwent his sentence. He was led to the plain of Grenelle; where, after receiving on his knees the benediction of his confessor, he rose up, and, without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, laid open his breast to the veterans who were to shoot him, and said, “*Surtout, ne me manquez pas.*” (Above all, do not miss me.) In an instant he was no more.

Marshal Ney was taken up in the department of Lot, and sent to Aurillac, from whence he has been conveyed to Paris by gens-d'armes, has been lodged in the Abbaye, and is to be tried by a council of war. He underwent his first examination on the 20th, at the Conciergerie, before the prefect of police.

The Paris papers of the past month have contained many ordonnances. The most important is that which refers to a proceeding or
ordonnance

donnance issued by the king on the 23d of March last, when he was compelled to fly from his capital, declaring the army in consequence of its treason, disbanded; and not only confirming that declaration, but announcing the organization of a new army, sufficiently strong to secure independence without and tranquillity within. This ordonnance was followed by a second, declaring that as the actual force of the army exceeds a peace establishment, and is out of proportion to the revenues of the kingdom, the officers least capable of active service will be permitted to retire on half-pay. By this provision, most of the officers who served under Bonaparte a certain period will be dismissed, while those who come within its operation are precluded from re-entering the army at any future period. This edict, which mitigates the severity of the previous order for their total disbandment, is not only humane in its present operation, but politic in its consequences.

Louis XVIII. has at length had recourse to measures for punishing the most signal of the adherents of Bonaparte. We have seen two ordinances, the first of which degrades from their rank the peers who accepted seats in the chamber nominated by Bonaparte, after being raised to the peerage by Louis; the second directs the arrest and trial of eighteen general or other officers, who betrayed the king before the 29d of March (the day of his quitting Lisle); and it also ordains that thirty-eight other persons shall retire from Paris, to reside, under inspection, in such parts of the interior as the police shall indicate to them, till the chambers shall decide which of them shall quit the kingdom, and which be brought up to the tribunals.

NETHERLANDS.

The states-general of the United Netherlands was opened on the 6th instant by his majesty in person, at the Hague. In the address made by his majesty, he observes, that it was not sufficient for the provinces of the Netherlands to be placed under one sovereign; it was necessary that they should be bound together by the same laws and the same institutions. The party-walls which other circumstances had raised between them had to be removed, that they might now regard each other as inhabitants of one house and children of the same family. The allied powers concurred in these views; and, faithful to the principle of maintaining and preserving what is already established, the plan of the existing constitution is continued, and only altered as far as circumstances render necessary. —After alluding to the glorious result of the short campaign which had occurred while the constitution was under revision, his majesty proceeded to state the principal securities for public liberty presented by that code, viz.—The inviolability of the judicial authority—liberty of conscience—no property can be confiscated, no opinion or thought checked—the meanest citizen can make his voice be heard even at the throne—the people retain their representation, and the provisional assemblies a suitable degree of power. The burthens of the state are freely voted, and equally borne. The revenues are accounted for according to fixed rules, and can be applied to no other end than services useful to the state, to public instruction, and the defence of the country. The regal power is rendered, by a constitution, sufficiently great to secure the welfare of the community, but incapable of oppressing or injuring a individual.

This speech was answered by Mr. Van Hogendorp, who, as president of the late assembly, officiated as president in the present meeting of the states-general. Mr. Van Hogendorp, in the course of his reply, panegyrized the enlightened understanding, mature judgment, and unappalled firmness of his sovereign, and paid a warm eulogium to the military skill and bravery of the prince of Orange. In conclusion, Mr. Hogendorp anticipated the most solid advantages from the union of the Netherlands with Holland.

The king of the Netherlands, following the example of prince Blucher, has ordered 150 of the Dutch and Flemish pictures, taken from his subjects to adorn the Louvre, to be sent home.

The king of the Netherlands has conferred the title of prince of Waterloo upon the duke of Wellington, and marquis of Heusden upon the earl of Clancarty.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The king of Spain is said to have abolished all the edicts against the Jesuits which have been in force since 1767, and restored this order to the possession of its former rights throughout Spain.

Extract of a letter from Madrid, dated July 19, 1815:—"Preparations are making at Batres, and several other old castles of the Moorish era, now almost in ruins, for confining a considerable number of *Liberales*, who have just been arrested. The number of prisoners who groan in dungeons for their political opinions is estimated at not less than 51,000."

Letters from Carthage, dated July 18, state, that a courier had arrived with the intelligence that the Algerines had declared war against Spain, and that their cruiz-

ers had made several captures. Immediately on receiving this news, an Algerine frigate and a brig, which had been taken by the Americans and delivered up after the peace, and which were both lying at Carthage, were seized at that port by orders from the Spanish government.

Lord Beresford sailed from Lisbon for Rio de Janeiro on the 10th inst. on board the Portuguese ship *Fama*, captain Mazza. His lordship's mission has for its object the arrangement of certain differences existing between the Portuguese government and the prince regent of the Brazils; and great hopes are entertained of the affair being brought to a satisfactory issue by his lordship's mediation.

BOW-STREET.

On Saturday week, Francis Harvey, of Tavistock-row Covent-garden, was charged with committing a violent assault on the body of Harriet Stratford, a girl who has just attained her sixteenth year, who was in his employ as a servant: she stated, that on Thursday the prisoner ordered her to go into the garret, where he wanted her; she accordingly went there, and after waiting some time, he entered the garret with a cord and a new birch broom, which he had sent her to purchase for the occasion. He ordered the girl to strip, which she refused to do. He then proceeded to take off her clothes by force, and continued to do so till he had stripped her entirely naked; afterwards he tied her wrists together with the cord he had brought with him, and then tied her up by the cord to an iron staple at the top of the room, and then began to flog her with a large rod, and continued to flog her most severely for about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes: the

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excruciating pain inflicted by such continued violence, caused her to twist and turn her body about very much, till her hands worked through the loop of the cord with which she was tied up, which caused her body to fall on the floor, the noise of which, together with the girl's cries, brought the lodgers in the house to her assistance. The prisoner then left off his flogging.—The defence set up for this extraordinary violence, and the explanation given by the girl, are, that some days since the prisoner's wife gave the girl some meat for her dinner, which had been kept till it had become so bad that she could not swallow it. Her mistress told her she should have no more victuals till she did eat it; and she kept her threat. On the following day the girl was sent out with sixpence to purchase some cat's and dog's meat; when the girl being extremely hungry, having been kept without food for such a length of time, was tempted, instead of buying the cat's and dog's meat with the sixpence, to purchase some rolls and butter for herself. On this being discovered by the prisoner, he applied to a magistrate to prosecute the girl as a felon for stealing the sixpence: but the magistrate refused to take up the business in such a serious manner, but observed, that he thought he had better give her a flogging and turn her out of doors, not of course suspecting that he would resort to such an outrageous act.—Harvey was ordered to find bail or be committed, and the magistrate informed him he should expect very good bail. Some time after, it was understood that the prisoner had offered the girl 5*l.* to make it up, but it was said that the lodgers in the house had said, if it cost 100*l.* the prisoner should be prosecuted.

GUILDHALL.

THE GHOST OF ST. ANDREW'S.

25.—James Carness, a youth about sixteen years of age, was on Friday brought before the magistrate upon the following charge:—Lee, the officer, stated, that for a considerable time past the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's, Holborn, was kept in a constant state of inquietude and alarm, by the nightly assembly of a number of the lower orders, who fancied they had seen, or were to see, "a ghost;" and so far had their credulity been imposed upon, that many of them were ready to make affidavit of the appearance of this aerial form. The crowd and disturbance, however, had increased to such a degree, and the light-fingered gentry had become so numerous and successful, that it required the utmost vigilance of the police to prevent these disgraceful proceedings. On Thursday night, as usual, the place became nearly impassable, and at about nine o'clock shouts of terror and alarm suddenly burst forth on every hand, and the cry of "The ghost!" became general! Hundreds now fled; while others, braving the supernatural horrors of the supposed spirit, kept their ground. The imaginary ghost, who had been observed skipping from one tombstone to another, now advanced to the gate, and having ascended the railing, gave first a hysteric laugh, and then three sepulchral groans. The officers, however, were not to be imposed upon, and the pretended shadow was summoned into the street. To this little attention was paid; but sufficient assistance being obtained, he was dragged down and secured, when at length the spell was broken, and "airy nothing received a local habitation and a name." The prisoner was dressed

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in a white jacket and trowsers, and wore on his head a white cotton cap. Upon being called upon by the magistrate for his defence, he stated, that a few evenings since he had been induced, at the request of a gentleman, to enter the churchyard, and ascertain the truth of the story respecting the ghost. For this being liberally paid, he accepted the proposal, and soon ascertained that the object of all the curiosity and terror which had prevailed, was nothing more than a tombstone, upon which the moon had shone for several nights! He was himself then induced to "keep up the joke," more, however, with a view to undeceive, than to impose upon the credulous multitude. The father of the youth, a most respectable man, appeared on the behalf of his son, and undertook to guaranty his future conduct. With this promise, after a suitable warning, the magistrate discharged him.

FRANCE.

THE PRESS.—REPORT TO THE KING.

Sire,—Your majesty, by your ordinance of the 2d of this month, took off all the restrictions which the law of the 21st October, 1814, had placed on the liberty of the press: but in all times, perhaps, it is impossible to give the same extent of liberty to the publication of journals and periodical works; and in the existing state of France and of Europe, in the midst of so many passions which the powers wish to tranquillize, the journals which foster those passions and excite them ought to be submitted to another legislation.—The operation of those writings in effect is much more rapid; they come in an instant to thousands of readers. A whole people read them gratuitously in the public places; and as their number is limited, they cannot of-

fer the remedy which is found in the mass of literary productions, where the liberty of the press serves to correct itself. These same writings containing news, advertisements, complaints, articles which their editors receive from all quarters, are like an open arena for all the passions: even cupidity finds its advantage in giving to them the exclusive colour of such or such a party. Every day they embroil us with the foreigners, and rekindle distrust; they disconcert the generous efforts which your majesty is making to unite minds, and to close the wounds of the state. I propose to your majesty to submit all the periodical writings to the superintendence of a commission of enlightened and moderate men, who, in receiving their nomination from your majesty, will acquire independence and consideration. I have the honour to present to your majesty an ordinance on this subject.

Duke of OTRANTO.

Paris, Aug. 8, 1815.

ORDINANCE OF THE KING.

Louis by the grace of God, &c. &c.

To all to whom these presents come, greeting:—

Having heard our ministers, and on the report of our minister of general police, we have ordered as follows:

Art. 1. All authorisations given to public journals, up to the present moment, whatever the nature of these journals may be, are revoked; and none of the said journals can appear without receiving fresh authority from our minister general of police, before the 10th of this present month of August, for the journals of Paris; and before the 20th of August for those of the departments.

2. All periodical writings shall be submitted to the examination of a com-

a commission, whose members shall be appointed by us on the presentation of our minister of general police.

Our minister of general police is charged with the execution of this ordinance.

Given at the Thuilleries, Aug. 8, 1815.

(Signed) Louis.
(Countersigned)

Duke of OTRANTO.

ROYAL ORDINANCE.

Louis by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:—

Considering that it is urgent to organise a new army, while that which existed shall be, according to our ordinance of the 23d of March, disbanded: considering also that the new organization ought to rest on bases which may secure to France its independence without, and its tranquillity within; that as much as it has been endeavoured to detach the army from the interests of the country, in order to make it the mere instrument of a personal and inordinate ambition, so much it is fitting for the public order to maintain that which is about to be formed in the principles which constitute a truly national army: wishing for these purposes to form a military force, and to put it henceforth in harmony with the liberal dispositions of our constitutional charter, by establishing in the army a discipline sufficiently strong to guarantee success in war, and to maintain our institutions invariably, if new factions should again threaten to trouble the state, we have ordained and do ordain as follows:—

1. The active military force of France shall consist of 86 legions of infantry, of three battalions each: eight regiments of foot-artillery;

four regiments of horse-artillery; a regiment of royal carabineers; six regiments of cuirassiers; ten regiments of dragoons, and twenty-four regiments of chasseurs, and six regiments of hussars.

2. There shall be formed a royal corps of engineers, to be in proportion with the general organisation of other arms.

3. Our war secretaries shall present to us as soon as possible the detailed organisation of the different corps.

Given at Paris, the 16th day of July. (Signed) Louis.

(Countersigned)
Marshal GOUVION ST. CYR.

SUICIDE.

An inquest, was held at Portsmouth, on Friday se'night, on the body of Frances Colvill, who died in consequence of taking a quantity of arsenic. The deceased, who was about 24 years of age, was a mantua-maker. She had received the addresses of a young man for some time; but he at length perceiving an irritability of temper in her, abandoned all his intentions concerning her, formed a similar connexion with another young woman, and a few days since was married. This last act, it would appear, unseated the mind of the deceased, and she conceived a dreadful act of revenge. On Thursday morning she purchased a pen-knife, and in doing so, requested to have one as long in the blade as possible. She then went to a neighbour's house, and sent a message to the young man to come thither, as a gentleman wished to speak to him. When he came, she said, "I am going to London—will you not drink with me?" He just tasted of the cup, and returned it. She said, "I wish it had been poison—I understand (she continued) you are married; are

are you not sorry for it?" He replied, "No." Instantly she shuffled the pen-knife from under her gown sleeve, and made a blow at him, inflicting a deep wound on the shoulder. The knife was broken three parts off by the violence of the thrust; but with the remaining part she continued to strike at the head, until, by his efforts, she was disarmed. She then left the house, proceeded to a druggist's shop and bought a quantity of arsenic, (under pretence that it was to poison rats,) and went to her home at Green's field, Green-lane. There she put the arsenic into a cup, filled it up from the pump, and drank the principal part of the contents. In a few minutes afterwards she informed her parents and neighbours of what she had done. Medical assistance was sent for; but she had taken so large a quantity of the poison, that it was found impossible to make her void the whole of it from her stomach. At half-past five in the evening she died. Coroner's verdict—Lunacy.

Thomas Foster, a cutler, and James Low, a hair-dresser, both residing in the vicinity of Wellclose-square, were a few days back drinking together at a public house in Well-street, within the liberties of the Tower, and appeared as usual on the best terms of friendship, having been acquainted a considerable time; but after leaving the house, they differed about some subject introduced in conversation, when an altercation took place, and Low, without any previous notice, struck the other a violent blow and knocked him into the kennel, when the wheels of a cart which happened to be passing at the time, passed over his body, and injured him so much that he was taken in a senseless state to the hospital, where he ex-

pired. A coroner's inquest has been held on the body, who returned a verdict of Manslaughter against Low, who has absconded.

At the Chester assizes, John Harrison was found guilty of violating his own daughter, a child of eleven years of age. When sentence of death was pronounced, he fell from the bar in a state of insensibility.—At these assizes, William O'Neil was also found guilty of a highway robbery; he too was sentenced to death, and was told by the judge (sir W. Garrow) to expect no mercy.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, August 2.

Dispatch received from lieutenant-sir R. Brownrigg, K. B. dated Feb. 25th, addressed to earl Bathurst.

British Head-quarters, Kandy, Feb. 25.

My lord,—For some days subsequent to the date of the last dispatch, which I had the honour to address to your lordship on Kandian affairs, dated Jan. 16, no circumstance occurred of sufficient consequence to be reported to your lordship, the several divisions of the invading force being partly in movement, and partly preparing to move.—It was found, however, that great and apparently insurmountable difficulties would occur in provisioning the troops, on so many routes, with our scanty means of conveyance; and I determined in consequence on a modification of the plan. This alteration consisted chiefly in disposing the march of the troops in such a manner, that the 1st and 2d divisions, the 3d and 4th, the 6th and 7th, should arrive on the same line, and, at certain convenient points, unite together; an arrangement which, I am happy to say, brought the supplying of the army within our means, and laid the groundwork of a successful progress toward;

towards the several assigned places of destination above the hills.—On the 1st of Feb. I learnt, by a letter of the 30th Jan. from major Hook, that the 1st division, under the command of that officer, had reached Ganiteyenne situate at the foot of the Balani Mountains, and on the great road leading through the pass or Gravat of that name towards the city of Kandy.—Lieut. O'Connell, with the 2d division, was close in the rear, advancing to the same point, from which major Hook was then to diverge to the left towards Weywode, in the Seven Korles, to co-operate with captain de Bussache, already in that quarter with a small force, formed to supply the absence of the auxiliary corps originally expected from Madras.—No serious opposition was made to the advance of these divisions. The first adikar of the king of Kandy, by name Molligodde, brother to the dessave of the Three Korles, who had previously come over to the British territory, and himself dessave of the Four Korles, kept hovering in front of major Hook's march, with some followers, but had intimated, both to major Hook and Mr. D'Oyley, that he was desirous to join the British standard, and was only prevented from doing so by his apprehension for the fate of his family, who were under the king's power in the capital, but whose liberation or escape he expected as soon as the troops should advance sufficiently near to Kandy to induce the king to retire from that place: he further gave it to be understood, that although he was obliged to keep up the appearance of firing, he would do no harm; and in all these points, although his assurances could not in prudence be fully confided in at the time, he afterwards faithfully kept his word. In the evening of

this day (the 1st of February) I left Colombo to join the army, and proceeded by the route of Avissahavella (usually called Sittawakka), and through the Three and Four Korles towards lieut.-col. O'Connell's camp at Ganiteyenne. While at Kooroonagodde, on the 3d of February, a letter from the lieutenant-colonel, dated at Ganiteyenne on the 2d, informed, that the advance of that division, under major Moffatt, of the 1st Ceylon regiment, having been detached to support a patrol which was conceived to be in danger, had advanced so near the fortified post which commands the Balani pass, that it was deemed advisable to attack it; and it had been carried, after a trifling opposition. At Attypittya, on the 4th, I received major Hook's report, dated from Gerigamme the preceding day, apprizing me that he had taken possession of that strong position and the neighbouring hill-fort of Galgederah, with hardly any resistance, and no loss. On the 6th I reached Ganiteyenne, where it became necessary to halt for some days, to give time for the concentration of the divisions advancing from Trincomalee and the east side of the Kandian territory. Lieut.-col. O'Connell was encamped here, and major Moffatt posted at Amenooopora, one mile and a half beyond the pass, and a free communication open between the two corps. Here the adikar Molligodde, by a message through Mr. D'Oyley, requested permission to surrender himself with the banners and records of the Four Korles, of which he is dessave, having received intimation of the escape of his family from Kandy. My consent being signified to him, he on the 8th of February came into camp in state, attended by a number of chiefs of the Four Korles,

Korden, who had not previously appeared, and formally gave up the insignia and records of his desave into the hands of Mr. D'Oyley, whom I had deputed as commissioner on the part of the British government to confer with him. Learning by reports from major Kelly, commanding the 3d division, and proceeding through the province of Saffragam and Ourah towards the Indulgasinha pass, that he could be sufficiently advanced to support a forward movement on the part of lieutenant-col. O'Connell and major Hook's divisions, I on the 10th directed lieutenant-col. O'Connell to ascend the pass, and occupy major Moffatt's position, sending his detachment a little in advance; and on the evening of the same day I joined the camp at Amenoopora.—The adikar Cheylapola, who had followed my progress as far as Ganiteyenne, proposed to take a different route from thence; and being furnished with an escort of about 50 men, proceeded up the mountains, by a road to the right, leading into the province of Oudinoora, the inhabitants of which he was desirous to communicate with. Late in the evening of the 11th a report was brought to Mr. D'Oyley, that a division of the British troops, supposed to be that commanded by major Hook, had reached Kattugaslotte, a ferry of the great river called Mahavilliganga, about three miles distant from Kandy; that the king had quitted the capital; and that the defences at Gonaroocha, another ferry of the same river, about an equal distance from the city, were abandoned. A patrol, sent forward during the night, under the command of major Brownrigg, reached Gonaroocha early in the morning, and, fording the river, ascertained the truth of the intelligence in all its

parts. Batteries of greater extent were erected here, reaching from the common place of crossing for a considerable distance along the opposite bank, and commanding the ford; but were entirely desitute of either men or guns. Hideous objects of the king's resentment here presented themselves, in the remains of poor wretches stuck up on poles on both sides of the river, seven of which were full in view at the ferry, and the whole number counted in that neighbourhood was nineteen. Major Moffatt, with the advance of the 2d division, being a few miles in front of the general encampment, was by major Brownrigg, on his return with the patrol, directed to proceed forward to Gonaroocha, in consequence of my orders to that effect.—On learning the foregoing particulars, I on the 12th dispatched major Willerman, deputy quartermaster-general, towards Kandy, with instructions to prevent the possibility of injury to persons or property, by prohibiting the entry of the troops within the gates of the city, otherwise than as guards, under such disposition as major Willerman might judge advisable.—Mr. D'Oyley, who had accompanied the patrol the preceding evening, remained at Gonaroocha until joined by major Moffatt's detachment, with which, before the arrival of major Willerman, he had advanced to the city, which was found entirely deserted of inhabitants, and stripped of all property; empty chests, baskets and mats, were the only things found, except some few articles of furniture, not portable enough nor of sufficient value to be removed.—The detachment encamped without the gate.—On the 13th in the morning I left the position at Amenoopora with lieutenant-col. O'Connell's division, which I caused to halt at a convenient

nient place on the other side of the river, proceeding myself to the king's granary, between Gonarookha and the town, where I passed the night, and on the following day entered Kandy with my personal suite, and fixed my head-quarters in the palace.—In the mean time I had learnt by reports from major Hook, that he had been induced to advance, in prosecution of a plan formed with captain de Bussache, who with his detachment had ascended the Jaltowre Graver, and was in communication with the first division, at a short distance to the left.—Information which those officers had received rendered it probable that the king was about to fly, and that the only remaining hope of securing him was by a rapid and secret movement of those two corps. I was apprized by major Kelly that he had, after a faint resistance by the enemy, possessed himself of the batteries commanding the Idalgazinha pass, and ascended the mountains. A subsequent letter of the 18th announced the further progress of this division as far as Maturate, and by one dated in the afternoon of the same day, at Maugala Dobbada Ganeure, one day's march from Haugeraukette, received by me on the 14th, soon after the reaching the palace, I was informed of major Kelly having seized (together with a great deal of treasure) a number of women and children, whom he considered to be of the king's family; but this idea was afterwards found erroneous, though several of the women proved to be related and allied to persons of the king's retinue. The treasure is reported to consist of silver coins of different descriptions, household implements and ornaments of silver, to the weight of about 1000lbs.

No report had been received of major Mackay's approach, with the 5th division, from Trincomalee; but I calculated with confidence that he must be within two or three days march. I had learnt by reports from major-gen. Jackson, that notwithstanding the most zealous and anxious exertions on his part, the movement of the 6th division had been retarded much beyond the appointed time, by unavoidable and insurmountable difficulties in the means of carriage; and conceiving that the strength and disposition of the troops already in the field would prove sufficient to accomplish the objects of the campaign, I addressed gen. Jackson on the 16th inst. countermanding the march of the 6th division, and the return of any portion of it that might be on the march.

It resulted from this situation of the troops, that the king, who was known to be in the dessavany of Dombera, with a small number of adherents, was so environed as to render his escape extremely difficult; and if he did succeed in getting through the pass leading to his last place of refuge, the mountains of Bintenni, capt. Anderson of the 19th regiment, commanding the 7th division from Batticalao, would arrive at that point, with every probability of intercepting him.

I now made a claim on the adikar Eheylapola, for the performance of his promise to raise the people of these provinces, so as to prevent the king's escape, and to ascertain the precise place of his retreat, to which a detachment might be sent to make him prisoner. This task the adikar undertook with alacrity and confidence, offering to proceed to Dombera in person: dispositions were made for the proposed purpose, by preparing a detachment to accompany

risoners of the colony. I am now occupied in returning to their former stations such parts of the troops as will not be required to remain for the maintenance of the British government in the interior.—I am not yet prepared to present to your lordship any connected view of the complicated and important considerations, of a political and civil nature, which arise out of this great change: these I shall therefore reserve for a separate dispatch, and conclude the present with soliciting your lordship to do me the honour of presenting to his royal highness the prince regent the expression of my humble congratulations, in being enabled, by the speedy and happy issue of a campaign ending with the unparalleled good fortune of not losing a single life, to tender for his royal highness's acceptance the duties of a new and industrious hardy race of people, and the possession of a territory bountifully endowed with natural gifts, and requiring only the blessings of a just government, an equitable administration of justice, and the indulgent care and countenance of a humane and gracious prince. My son, major Brownrigg, is charged with the banner of Kandy, to be laid, with my most respectful duty, at the feet of his royal highness the prince regent.

The force of the allied troops now in the territory of France is said to be as follows:—Austrians, 250,000; Prussians, 250,000; Russians, 200,000; English, Hanoverians, &c. under the command of the duke of Wellington, 80,000; Bavarians, Wurtembergers, &c. 110,000; in all, 890,000. If we add the staff officers, and persons belonging to the retinue of the sovereigns, the suites of the gene-

rais and officers, &c. &c., the number of the allies in France will amount to near 1,000,000.

SWITZERLAND.

The affairs of Switzerland appear to be at length settled, by the re-admission of the Canton of Lower Unterwald into the confederation.

SEPTEMBER.

SPAIN.

1.—The allied sovereigns at Paris have strongly remonstrated with Ferdinand VII. respecting his past conduct to the members of the cortes, and those other of his deserving subjects who aided so much in the liberation of Spain. The last persons condemned by the inquisitorial tribunal of Ferdinand for being *Liberales*, have, in consequence, been lighter dealt with than any of those before condemned.

WEST INDIES.

4.—It is with much pleasure we announce the surrender of Guadaloupe, on the 10th of August, to a British military and naval expedition fitted out in the West Indies under the command of sir James Leith and admiral Durham. The principal article of the capitulation is that the governor (admiral count Linois), the second in command (general Boyer), and all the troops of the line, shall be sent to France as prisoners of war, to be at the disposal of the duke of Wellington. This service was performed with very inconsiderable loss on the part of his majesty's forces: the shipping got so near to the shore, that the troops were enabled to land under their cover, without loss; and in the attack only 16 men were killed, and captain Lynch, 63d foot, severely, lieutenant Reickards, 96th foot, slightly, and 47 men wounded. The enemy had about 200 killed and wounded, but no officer

ficer of distinction was among the number. Both in this and in the affair of Martinique, sir James Leith appears to have conducted himself, in very critical circumstances, with admirable promptitude, spirit, and decision.

NETHERLANDS.

THE INAUGURATION OF THE KING.

Brussels, Sept. 21. Last evening the proclamation of the heralds, a salute of 101 cannon, and ringing of bells, announced the ceremony of this day. This morning at seven the same salute was repeated. At half past nine, the states-general were assembled in the hall prepared for the purpose, to wait for his majesty. At eleven the king left his palace, with a numerous and brilliant suite. His majesty having taking his seat upon the throne delivered the following speech :

"High and mighty lords,

"The day on which I behold states-general, chosen from all the provinces of the Netherlands, assembled round this throne, fulfils one of the most ardent desires of my heart. The intimate and solid union of these provinces was, near three centuries ago, the object of a prince, who, more happy than many of his ancestors and his successors, had been educated in this country, and who was never denied to possess profound knowledge of its wants, and a sincere attachment to its interests. Charles V. was convinced that the Netherlands, to be happy and independent, should not only obey the same sovereign, but also be governed by the same general laws. He, however, was not allowed to dedicate his life to this salutary work ; and instead of the union so much desired by him, as well as by his disciple William I. it was necessary to submit to melancholy separation. At what pe-

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riod were the results of this separation more shocking, more fatal, than in these latter years, and what generation has been in a higher degree than ours the witness and the victim of them? The supreme authority had passed into foreign hands ; even the shadow of our political existence had disappeared, and the name of the Belgic people was effaced no less than their power. But our characteristic manners, good faith, respect for religious ideas, attachment to the institutions and customs of our fathers, were preserved, and formed a scarcely visible, but durable bond of union between all these provinces. And thus it was, that immediately after these ever-memorable events, which permitted the establishment of the Belgic monarchy, its divers elements seemed voluntarily to present themselves, and in all the parts was seen a certain tendency to unite in one and the same centre. Now that this edifice exists, it is we, high and mighty lords, who are answerable to our country and to posterity for its preservation. In the important duties which are my lot, I depend upon your co-operation and your patriotic zeal. Difficulties may arise ; but no really great work is free from them ; and how can they alarm Belgium, to which Providence has granted such signal favours? Free from internal dissensions and agitations, my subjects have been able, to give themselves up, without constraint, to their ancient industry. Commerce flourishes. Tranquillity reigns in the country as in the towns ; the temples and public worship are every where honoured. The ease spread over almost all the parts of the kingdom has served to animate and relieve those which have suf-

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fered by the effects of war; and one would even say that this war itself has burst forth in our neighbourhood only to render Brussels a witness of the courage of our defenders, and of their intrepid allies, to make the virtues of charity and beneficence shine there with a lustre hitherto unknown: in a word, to inspire us to cherish every where mutual sentiments, benevolence, confidence, and esteem. It is for you, high and mighty lords, to cultivate these precious seeds. Let us never forget that concord is the best guarantee of common security. Manifest, on every occasion, that desire of good, that devotion to the general interests of the kingdom, which characterize the enlightened patriot; and by the influence of your example, let the love of liberty, and of the institutions which protect it, be soon cemented in every heart. Happy will be then the monarchy of the Belgians, and happy the sovereign, who, strong in their confidence and their affections, shall guide them in the career of prosperity and of glory."

Count de Thiennes, president of the first chamber, made a suitable reply.

As soon as the sitting had been opened, his majesty repaired with his suite to the Place Royale, where he arrived at 1 o'clock. The streets, filled with immense crowds, resounded with acclamations and cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" The platform where the inauguration took place was richly adorned, a magnificent canopy of crimson velvet embroidered with gold was placed upon it, as well as elegantly adorned seats for the persons who attended this august ceremony. The queen, and the princesses dowager of Orange and Brunswick were at the balcony of an hotel opposite the platform.

After the oath (which was pronounced with an energy that did not escape notice), the solemn declaration fixed by the 54th act of the constitution was delivered in the two languages by the presidents of the first and second chambers. Then the king-at-arms cried "*Long live the King!*" which was repeated by the multitude. Medals struck for the occasion were thrown among the people; they are well executed, having on one side his majesty's bust, with the inscription, "*Wilh. Nass. Belg. Rex, Luxemb. M. Dux.*" (William of Nassau, king of Belgium, grand duke of Luxemburg;) and on the reverse, "*Patr. Sal. Reg. et Ord. Solen. Sacram. asseria.*" (The public happiness confirmed by the solemn oath of the king and the states.) M.DCCC.XV.

The procession then repaired on foot to the cathedral. His majesty wore the cloak of the ancient sovereigns, a noble and magnificent costume.—A canopy was erected for his majesty, while the principal personages of the monarchy were ranged in the choir, which was adorned with the famous tapestry so renowned in that country, and which retains all the splendour of its colours. After the *Te Deum* the king returned to the palace; and having the queen on his right hand, and on his left the princesses of Orange and Brunswick, the prince royal, and his brother prince Frederick, a little behind (the company *d'élite* of the city guard being placed opposite the palace, and the other companies on each side), his majesty saw from a balcony the troops of all arms file off before him; and this review was interrupted only by cries of "*Long live the King!*" "*Long live the Queen!*" In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated.

6. The marquis of Anglesea, on his way to his family-seat, was received with triumphal honours at the city of Lichfield. The corporation addressed him in suitable terms of eulogy, and the recorder with appropriate congratulations presented the sword voted to him. His lordship made a grateful and modest reply, of which the following is the most interesting passage:

—"In respect to that great, illustrious, and beloved commander, under whom I have the honour to serve, I am quite unable to speak of him in any thing like due terms of praise. If I were to attempt it, I feel conscious that I should be obliged to abandon such an intention. In that arduous contest which has led to such important results, our troops, under any other commander, must, I conceive, have failed. With any other troops under that great chieftain, the struggle must have been unsuccessful. It required and tried equally the skill and the valour of our resources.—

For myself, gentlemen, I had little more than a plain duty to fulfil. With such zeal in my officers, and devotion in my soldiers, I had only to lead them into combat.—Gentlemen, I shall ever regard this token (the sword) of your esteem and approbation with the proudest feelings of grateful remembrance; and shall gird this sword on my side with just emotions of pride. Though in future I cannot look forward to the hope of that activity and vigour which I have formerly enjoyed, but must in a degree calculate on an impaired state of bodily health, and an occasional languor and feebleness of mind consequent upon such indisposition; yet when I feel this sword by my side, I shall derive new strength and vigour from the recollection it will

excite.—Gentlemen, I can add no more than that I shall ever remember with the liveliest emotions of pleasure, the honour which your kindness has conferred upon me."

9. The chapel at the East India college has been lately consecrated by the bishop of London, who was accompanied to that institution by the earl of Buckinghamshire, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the right hon. John Sullivan; and was met there by the chairman and several of the directors of the East India company. After the usual service on such occasions, at which several of the neighbouring clergy and ladies attended, and an able appropriate discourse preached by the rev. Dr. Batten, the principal of the college, a good part of the students received confirmation from the bishop.

12. As some workmen were employed in digging a cellar at Mr. Simms's, at the King's Holm, near Gloucester, they discovered a stone coffin of large dimensions. On removing the lid (ten inches in thickness) they found inclosed therein a leaden coffin, containing a complete skeleton, with the arms folded across the breast. Several coffins of the same kind have, at different times, been found on these premises; also urns filled with ashes, ancient military weapons, Roman steel-yards or balances, and coins of the latter empire. There is no doubt of King's Holm having been a station of considerable importance; and it is generally understood that the principal part of Gloucester lay there in the time of the Romans.

16. The 72d annual conference of the Wesleyan Methodists commenced in Manchester on the 31st July, and concluded on the 18th of August. Mr. John Barber was chosen president, and Mr. Jabez

Bunting, secretary. — Upwards of 360 preachers attended. On examining the state of the numerous societies in this extensive connexion, it appears that there is an increase of 8000 members. The reports from the missionaries who sailed with the late rev. Dr. Coke to Ceylon, as well as the other accounts from the West Indies, Canada, &c. were satisfactory to the society. Nearly fifty preachers were admitted into full connexion, after passing the time of their probation (four years); and more than that number are taken on trial. The number of methodists at present in the connexion is 180,661.

At the late Northumberland assizes, in the case of *Grey v. the duke of Northumberland*, in which a verdict was found for the plaintiff, Mr. justice Bailey laid it down, that the lord of a manor owned the mines in the copyhold estates in that manor, but then that lord could work only under ground; he could not break the surface without the consent of the copyholder, unless he could prove his right by custom.

21. It having been deemed necessary for a re-marriage to take place with the duke and duchess of Cumberland in England, in the case of succession to the crown, arrangements were made for the solemnization as soon as it was known that they were approaching towards England; for which purpose the prince regent, the lord chancellor, &c. had been detained in London for some time. The ceremony took place on August 29. Although it was considered a private ceremony, yet some of the splendour of the court was observed. The company invited began to arrive soon after five o'clock, including the dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent. At

six o'clock two of the prince regent's carriages went to Cumberland House, to fetch their royal highnesses. They arrived at Carlton House at a quarter past six o'clock. Their royal highnesses were attended by the duke of Mecklenburg, colonel Thornton, and a foreign countess who accompanied the duchess to England, and madame Deberg. The duchess wore a white satin robe embroidered with gold, with an immense train supposed to be five yards. Her head-dress was a tiara and ducal coronet, with a profusion of diamonds and other jewels. The prince regent handed her from the carriage through the state rooms. In a short time after, every thing being arranged for the ceremony to be performed under the throne, a temporary altar covered with crimson velvet having been put up, the regent entered the room, handing the duchess, followed by the duke of Cumberland and their suite, the dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Mecklenburg; the lord chancellor, the lord president of the council, the first lord of the treasury, the chancellor of the exchequer, the secretaries of state, and the great officers of the household; baroness Whittingham, and other persons of distinction. The archbishop of Canterbury then proceeded to read what is called the long service upon this occasion: and the responses were made by the bishop of London and the rev. Mr. Blomberg, the clerk of the closet. The regent did what is generally termed give away the bride. — After the marriage, the regent entertained his royal relatives and other distinguished characters with a most sumptuous dinner.

28. Thomas Bell and William Lewis, esqrs. were this day elected to serve the offices of sheriffs of London

London and Middlesex.—William Rayer, Thomas Hodson, Thomas Chapman, and John Gladstone, esqrs. have been excused, by the payment of the usual fine, or otherwise.

OCTOBER.

IRELAND.

1.—The disturbed state of various districts in Ireland has called for serious attention from the seat of empire. The cause of the disturbances arises from a determination of the disaffected to resist the alleged evil of tithes.—Notwithstanding several baronies of the county Tipperary are proclaimed, the rioters continue their depredations in the collection of fire-arms, and in other outrages. A young man was killed at Burrisaleagh, in defence of a house against a body of armed men, who attacked it ineffectually.—A proclamation by the insurgents was lately posted on the bridge of Clonmel, commanding the Irish people to abolish all the little mischievous distinctions and party feuds of Caravats and Shanavests, at the peril of their lives, and to stick to the one great cause, to cut down the tithe proctors, and those that gain by the tithes. In several instances the rioters have been foiled, and some of them killed in attempts to procure arms from the farmers and gentry; though in too many cases they have succeeded.—The counties of Limerick, Waterford, Monaghan, and Kilkenny, are also in so disturbed a state as to require the enforcement of the insurrection act.—In the county of Waterford several aggressions have occurred: and armed bands go about, compelling the inhabitants to swear not to pay more than 2s. an acre for tithes, and to swear the next parish to the same obligation. The restoration of tran-

quillity, however, may be looked for very shortly, as government has at least 30,000 effective firelocks in Ireland at present, regulars and militia.—At the special sessions under the insurrection act at Clonmel, Oct. 5th, three men were convicted of those crimes which have so long afflicted and scandalized the country; and immediately after conviction were taken from the dock, under a military escort, to be conveyed to the prison-ship at Cork, whence they are to be transported to Botany Bay for seven years.—Wm. Harty, of Clonmel, who had been employed to serve processes for tithes upon some persons in the neighbourhood of Lowe's Green, has been barbarously murdered by three armed men: he was accompanied by his wife and brother, who were unable to assist him, and themselves escaped almost miraculously from their vengeance.

4.—During Sunday (Sept. 25th) and the two following days there was an uncommon fall of rain, accompanied with very high wind, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries. The devastation, in consequence of the swelling of the different rivers and rivulets, is incalculable: great quantities of grain have been carried away, embankments destroyed, &c. On the river Nith, in particular, there was not an embankment for upwards of twenty miles, which the river has not encroached on, and of course seriously injured. The damage cannot be estimated at less than twenty thousand pounds. From the Drumfries bridges, immense quantities of corn and other property were seen carried down by the flood. The dreadful effects of these torrents of rain extended to all the surrounding country, in which rivers and rapid streams are very numerous. At Newabbey (stewartry of Kirkcudbright) (H 3)

bright) the bridge which had stood the buffetings of the winter-storm for centuries, was carried away. The elegant new bridge over the Dee, at New Galloway, within a month of being finished, has been swept away; it has cost 7000*l*. Several bridges in the neighbourhood of Moffat have also been carried off, and a number of farmers, whose corn lay in the vicinity of Annan Water, have been great sufferers. The great flood on the 15th and 16th of November, 1807, was truly awful, both in the neighbourhood of Carlisle and in this district; but we have had nothing of this sort to be compared with the present, since Feb. 1780.

7.—The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of a new church at Weymouth took place, with appropriate pomp and solemnity. The bishop of Salisbury, by special command of the princess Charlotte, assisted in placing the corner-stone, and pronounced a prayer prepared for the occasion. An anthem was then sung, after which the procession returned to the town-hall. The business was concluded with a dinner, with much festive enjoyment.

A new spa, resembling the waters of Harrowgate, has been discovered near Doncaster, in Yorkshire, at a place called Askham; and two commodious hotels are now erecting for company in future seasons.

DISTURBANCES IN THE NORTHERN PORTS.

10.—Extract of a letter from Newcastle.—“About seven weeks ago, 30 or 40 seamen met together for an advance of wages; their number was soon augmented to 3 or 400, when they formed into an association, and compelled the crews of ships coming into Sunderland, Shields, Newcastle, Hartley, and

Blythe, to join them, or be tarred and feathered, &c. About the 3d inst. the combination amounted to near 7000 men, and a system was adopted to obtain pecuniary assistance. Newcastle and the two Shields are the source and centre of operations of these refractory seamen. Early in October the sailors in the Wear made a slight modification in their demands, going lower than those in the Tyne. This is supposed to be a scheme, owing to the diminution of their funds, that they might appropriate a part of their wages to the Tyne fund. This plan has not succeeded. The keelmen of the Tyne, about 6000 in number, have been out of employment for a month. The carpenters, block-and mast-makers, who are partially unemployed, probably amount to 2000; and should the pitmen, who are variously estimated at from 15 to 20,000, be obliged to stop working, from the inability of the coal-owners to pay them, we shall be in a sad state. Among all these classes there appears a perverse attachment to the seamen's claims. The head committee has received various sums of money from the mechanics' benefit-societies, from the wages of servant-girls, and even from their mistresses. The number of combined seamen is now estimated at 10,000 at least: more are daily expected from other ports. The seamen have been on some occasions remarkably insolent.”—On the 7th inst. the ship-owners at North Shields came to the unanimous determination of resisting the combination as they had hitherto done, and not to be compelled to take on board any specified number of men in their ships; though they would man their ships with one or two extra hands, if left to their discretion. The seamen, however,
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continued obstinate in their demands. At Newcastle the combination assumed a more alarming aspect. A complete chain of boats was thrown across the river Tyne, and no vessel was allowed to proceed to sea without a regular permit. To obtain a permit, the vessel must not belong to Shields, and must be loaded only with merchandise.—The refractory spirit having extended to Aberdeen, and the seamen having assembled and prevented several vessels from sailing, the magistrates interfered, called in the military, and the refractory were reduced to obedience.—A spirit like that prevalent at the ports of Shields, Newcastle, and Sunderland, has been manifested at Hull, where attempts have been made to form an unlawful combination among the sailors. The object there professed is to prevent any but sailors being employed in discharging the cargoes of vessels.—A proclamation appeared in the gazette of Oct. 19, in order to the suppression of these alarming combinations; and several ships of war and a strong body of troops have been sent to overawe the rioters. The accounts last received, we are happy to say, afford a hope of the immediate return of these misguided men to their duty.

15.—As a Berwick smack was proceeding down the river, some distance above Woolwich, a lady and gentleman, who were taking leave of some friends going to Scotland, hailed a young man with a boat at some distance, and earnestly requested him to take them ashore at Woolwich. The boat being made fast to the vessel, which was going at a great rate, capt. Davidson stepped into it to assist the lady: they had no sooner stepped upon the gunwale, than the young man, apprehending

some danger, took hold of a block which hung over the side of the smack; he had scarcely time to do so when the boat was dragged under water, and was turned bottom upwards: the captain and lady were precipitated into the water;—the lady was gone instantly—the captain seized the boat, which was turned adrift for that purpose, but was so weak that he could not keep his hold till assistance could be afforded, and he sunk to rise no more. The husband of the lady, who was also coming into the boat, stood on the deck, and witnessed the dreadful catastrophe.

THE TREATY BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND FRANCE.

20.—The terms of the treaty were agreed upon before the emperor of Russia went to Brussels. A rough draft was then signed by the ministers of all the powers. France cedes in perpetuity—Landau, Sarre-Louis, Philippeville, Marienberg, and Versoye, or Vesaix, near the Lake of Geneva. The fortifications of Huningen are to be destroyed, and no fortifications are to be erected within three leagues of Basle. France returns the territory in the Netherlands and Savoy ceded by the treaty of the last year. France shall pay to the allies 700 millions of francs (29 millions sterling). During five years she shall maintain 150,000 allied troops, to be stationed within her own territory, in and near the fortresses hereafter named.—The following 16 fortresses are to be garrisoned by the allies during five years: Valenciennes, Condé, Maubeuge, Landrecy, Le Quesnoi, Cambray, Givet, and Charlemont, Mezieres, Sedan, Thionville, Longwy, Bitche, Montmedy, Recroy, Avesnes, and the bridge-head of Fort Louis.

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The line taken, strips France of her iron frontier from Cambray to Alsace; and enables the allies to march suddenly upon Paris. Or, should the French attack the Netherlands from Lisle, or Germany from Strasburg, the allies can advance into France, and take them in flank. For such favourable conditions, the French are indebted to the good will the allies bear to the Bourbons, and the desire of establishing a solid peace. Otherwise, France would have been compelled to restore the conquests of Louis XIV. as well as those of the French revolution, and Alsace, Lorraine, and French Flanders would have returned to their proper owners.

This day Thomas Bell and John Thomas Thorpe, esqrs. were presented at Westminster-hall, with the usual ceremonies, to serve the office of sheriff of London and Middlesex for the year ensuing.

SPAIN.

28.—The tyranny and persecution of the Spanish government lately provoked a revolt. General Porlier, who distinguished himself so much in the patriotic war, under the name of the Marquesito, assembled a body of troops on the 18th ult. at Santa Lucia, entered the town of Corunna, arrested the principal authorities, and addressed a spirited proclamation to the soldiers of the army of Galicia, in which he calls upon them "to break the chains of the most fatal slavery that has ever been known. King Ferdinand since his restoration to the throne of Spain (that throne which cost the nation so many lives, so much blood, and such sacrifices to deliver it from the influence of a tyrant,) has consented to and executed a proscription so atrocious, that even the irrational have trembled at it. The most illustrious

and deserving men have been the first victims of it. Misery, contempt, disgrace, have been the recompense they have given us; the dissolution of the laws, punishments, contributions, duties, and finally the depression and discouragement of agriculture and commerce, have been the acknowledgement that has been made for the services of the people. To come out of a situation so desperate, and which scandalizes all Europe, we need but to be resolved: we, if the case is properly considered, are the oppressors of the country, since these armies, intended only to combat the enemies of what is good, have been turned for this year past against ourselves, against our fortunes, and interests. The allies have disapproved from the very beginning the conduct of king Ferdinand, and with a noble and generous unanimity they have finished by excluding him from the European alliance; having previously left no means untried to divert him from error, and from the precipice: all has been in vain. In this situation, no alternative remains to us, but to take to our arms. Let us remove from his side those wicked counsellors; let us re-establish the cortes; and let them determine the system which is to govern us."

Having kept possession of Corunna, Ferrol, and Batanzos, four days, and organized provisional governments for the province of Galicia, gen. Porlier marched with his troops against Santiago, leaving 800 men to guard Corunna in his absence. On his march he had halted for the night; when, while at supper with his officers, his own troops, chiefly non-commissioned officers, surrounded the house, and made them all prisoners; having been bribed to commit this treacherous deed by the clergy at Santia-

go, who gave them 10,000 dollars. Being conducted to Santiago, he was paraded through the streets in the most ignominious manner, and thrown into the prison of the Inquisition; from whence he was carried to Corunna on the 26th ult. and hanged on the 3d inst. Above 100 officers were put under arrest, and the troops dispersed. Gen. Romay (first in command under gen. Porlier) and his aide-de-camp escaped, and have come over to England.

The Corunna papers have brought copies of various congratulatory proclamations. One by the members of the junta of Corunna attributes "their deliverance to the protection of the Most Holy Virgin of the Rosary; to whom they had most fervently prayed while in prison, and whose festival was then celebrating!"

31.—This morning, between nine and ten, an alarming fire was discovered in the works at the Mint. The flames were first seen to issue from the shaking-machine room, on the south of the building. They soon communicated to the gold-room, from thence to the counting-houses, and eventually to the silver or rolling-room, on the eastern side; and in a short time the eastern and southern wings of the building were completely unroofed, and the interior totally destroyed. In these were contained the great machinery of the works, including the 10-, 15-, and 30-horse power engines. During the fire, several ingots were taken from the ruins red-hot; and there was also discovered in one of the rooms, where the fire had been got under, nearly a ton and a half of copper in stivers, half-stivers, &c. which had not been much damaged. The loss sustained by this calamity, including all the implements, machinery, &c. is estimated to amount to from 60 to 80,000*l*. The mag-

nificent pile in front of the manufactory remains uninjured.

NOVEMBER.

ARREST AND EXECUTION OF MURAT. THE EX-KING OF NAPLES.

2.—The details of this event given in the journals, consist of little more than the mere fact; but it appears that the ex-king, hoping by some bold and fortunate enterprise to recover his lost dominions, landed with a few followers at a place called Pizzo, on the coast of Calabria. He there issued proclamations, inviting his former subjects to join his standard, and promising them the assistance of Austria. From the coast he marched quietly to the village. When he arrived there, he attempted to excite the stir of a civil war, by crying out to the people, "I am your king Joachim Murat: you ought to acknowledge me." These words were the signal of a general commotion: they ran to arms. Murat and his suite, who were proceeding towards Monte Leone, seeing themselves pursued by the populace, threw themselves precipitately among the mountains; whence they attempted to open for themselves a way to the coast, in order to find the vessel which awaited them: but, overcome by the number and courage of their pursuers, they were made prisoners, and conducted, in spite of the most active resistance on their part, to the fort of Pizzo. In the heat of the encounter, capt. Pernice was killed, and gen. Franceschetti wounded, as well as seven other persons in the suite of Murat; whose own death followed, after the short interval of one week. He landed on the 8th, and was shot on the 15th of October.

Murat was born at an inn near Cahors; where, even when a child, he was remarkable for his courage and

and address in riding the most spirited horses. The same traits were afterwards eminent in his character when he entered the army as a soldier of fortune, and his early habits induced him particularly to cultivate the science of cavalry manœuvres, for which he became highly distinguished. His marriage with Bonaparte's favourite sister gave him a crown; and, as if fortune resolved that he should wear it, his cause, by the most unforeseen and prosperous events, was severed from that of Napoleon; so that he appeared even to triumph in the downfall of his master. But the restlessness of his ambition, and the contemptible chicanery of his politics, worked his ruin. Not satisfied with what the Austrian minister, in his remonstrance to him, justly called "one of the most ancient, compact, and beautiful kingdoms in Europe," impelled by the principles he learned in the school of Napoleon, he sighed after the patrimony of the Papal See, and attempted to seize on the three legations.—Success had rendered Murat an enthusiast; he fancied that Italy panted for liberty—that she would hail him as her regenerator, and reward him with her diadem. With these hopes he encountered the power of Austria, with about 30,000 men, after having severally deceived every court in Europe, and forfeited the bribe for which he sold his patron, by joining him again before the bargain was completed. The loss of his throne was the just punishment of his perfidy; and the loss of his life can be regarded in no other light than as the sacrifice of an incendiary, offered to the safety of his intended victims.

Murat suffered by the very law that he himself caused to be enacted two years back; and which law ordered, that any person landing in

the country, with an intent of disturbing the public tranquillity, was to be tried and shot—he had a confessor, but would neither sit down, nor have his eyes blinded.

GERMANY.

The states of Wirtemberg lately required of the king the restoration of their old constitution. The states met on the 15th inst. at Stutgard; when a rescript was delivered on behalf of the king; stating, that his newly-acquired states could not have any claim to the old constitution; and recommending the states to assist in forming a new one, which should retain as much of the old as suited with present circumstances.

This morning, between two and three o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the workshop of Lacom and Seymour, carpenters and builders, Wardour-street, Soho; and in an hour the whole of the premises were entirely burnt down. Two girls and a boy, of four, six, and eight years of age, perished in the flames. A servant-girl leaped from the second-floor window, and saved her life; but her limbs were broken.

FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

—After an expectation of many years on the part of the public, and of the proprietors of this noble establishment, the board of management have at last succeeded in triumphing over the difficulties with which they have had to contend; and on Saturday, November 4th, the foundation of this splendid and classical edifice of the New College, which does so much credit to Mr. Brooks the architect, was laid in the amphitheatre, Moosfields, in the spacious plot of ground which has been purchased of the city for this purpose. The lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, lord Carrington (president of the Institution),

institution), all in full dress, George Hibbert, esq. the late president, the vice-presidents, managers, secretary, visitors, stewards, and other office-bearers, a very numerous body of proprietors, the chamberlain of the city, masters and wardens of various companies, the committee of trustees for Gresham College, and the heads of the public schools of the city, together with other gentlemen of the first distinction, met at the city of London tavern at half-past two o'clock; and, as soon as they were duly arranged, went in procession, preceded by a band of music, and accompanied by the ringing of bells, through Cornhill, Cheapside, Old Jewry, Coleman-street, and Fore-street, to Moorfields. The procession commenced at three o'clock, and reached the ground about three quarters of an hour afterwards.—The ceremony was opened by sir William Blizard, one of the vice-presidents, who having previously inquired of Mr. Brooks the architect, informed the president that every thing was ready. The secretary then delivered to the president a vellum scroll, with an inscription in Latin containing a brief account of the origin and object of the institution, and the names of the dignitaries, and board of management, under whose auspices and superintendence the plan has been accomplished.—The noble president, lord Carrington, requested the lord mayor to lay the first stone; who assented, and addressed the spectators in the following words.

“Called upon as I am to the very honourable and important office of laying the first stone of an edifice which is intended to be the repository of literature and science, I cannot be insensible to the high distinction thus conferred upon me by

his lordship, nor can I be silent on such a subject during such a ceremony. To dilate minutely in detail on all the advantages and benefits which will be derived from so great a work as we are now engaged in, is not suited either to the time or place: that will be the interesting business of a learned professor on our return. It is in my province, however, to say a word or two generally on the subject. That we live in an age which has projected and thus begun the glorious work of introducing the paths of recondite science and the depths of literature here, into the very portal of the emporium of the world, is a gratification of the highest order. That the various sources of knowledge and mental acquirement will here be opened for the instruction and relaxation of the youth of this great city; that the contemplation of the interesting laws of nature and of providence, of the planetary system, of the animal, mineral, and vegetable world, of chemistry, of mathematics, of the laws of mechanics, optics, of every range of classical erudition, the refinements of literary taste, the depths of philosophy, the dignity of morals, in short, of every information which can accomplish the scholar, adorn the mind, and regulate the passions; that those will in after-time be likely to occupy the leisure, and delight in the pursuit the younger branches engaged in the mercantile transactions of this metropolis, are considerations of vast and vital importance.—That objections have been raised against the introduction of such sort of education in a commercial city, as belonging only to the seats of learning and the academic grove, cannot be denied; but it is now too late to listen to such objections. To contend for the extension

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of intellectual acquirement is now unnecessary. The world has proved its conviction of this point, by the part everywhere taken in pouring instruction into the infant mind, wherever and as far as it is capable of receiving it. I would, therefore ask, can any stronger symptom of barbarism be produced, than the opinion that men are disqualified by genius and literature for employments which imply the direction and benefit of other men? The productive power of man is his invention, not his strength; and it is from the glorious and incessant conflict of intellect, that the best and noblest monuments of genius are produced. Paterculus has well said, "*Alit emulatio ingenia.*" The work now commenced will therefore be devoutly looked to for the happiest results in the progress of literature and science, for the benefit of this great commercial city.—May then our great city of London henceforth cherish those things! May her mural crown, now only designating protection, dominion, and strength, be enriched by science, decked with her gems of intellectual light! May her happy shores be the acknowledged abode of the Muses, as they are of the Graces! May commerce and literature be the twin offspring of her care, nursed as it were in one cradle, trained together in the same pursuits, entwined in friendship, and uniting their strength for the glory of the empire, the stability of the throne, the perpetuity of our glorious constitution, and the prosperity of the people! And may the blessing of Almighty God rest upon the work, that in future times, when all of us shall be mute, and most of us forgotten, this edifice may be the glory of our children's children, and the lasting union of commerce and literature in this city, be the happy

means of making her merchants, in their education and in their success, princes, and her traffickers the truly honourable of the earth!"

The lord mayor then took the silver trowel that was prepared for him, and proceeded to the masonic labour of laying the stone.—After the completion of this part of the ceremony, the procession returned through an innumerable crowd that had collected on the occasion, to the city of London tavern, to hear the inaugural address by Charles Butler, esq. which we regret that our limits will not allow us to insert.

14.—At a court of common council held at Guildhall, a resolution was agreed to, to present an address to the prince regent, "deploring the disorders in France, by which the property of their unoffending and innocent protestant brethren in France had been pillaged, and their lives sacrificed to the rage of an infuriated and bigoted faction, and praying for some effectual measures for the suppression of those enormities in future."

15.—This morning, about ten o'clock, a dreadful explosion took place in the sugar-baking warehouse of Mr. Constadt (of Wellstreet, Wellclose-square), attended with fatal consequences. A new process has lately been discovered for the quick refinement of sugar by steam: and Mr. Constadt, under the direction of Mr. Hague, the engineer, had constructed a new steam-boiler, worked by a pressure-engine of about six-horse power, the boiler holding about 2,000 gallons. The engineer had determined upon trying the effect of the whole on Wednesday morning, and the engine was accordingly put into play. At ten o'clock, Mr. Constadt expressed his fears that the boiler would be over-heated, and that the safety-valves

valves were over-loaded; when, in consequence, he and Mr. Hague went to inspect it more closely. Scarcely, however, had they reached the works, when a general explosion took place, carrying, in the awful crash, utter destruction to the concern, and closing in the heap of ruins the bodies of more than twenty persons. By three o'clock in the afternoon, nine of these unhappy beings were dragged from the ruins, dreadfully lacerated, and conveyed to the London hospital. At a late hour in the evening, five dead bodies were also taken from the concern; among these was the son of Mr. Spear, one of the partners of the house. The remainder of the sufferers were workmen employed in the concern. The building was seventy feet in height and fifty in depth; and the loss sustained by Mr. Constadt, independent of so many valuable lives, is estimated at 30,000*l*.—Another sugar-house, belonging to Mr. Constadt, has suffered. About 11 o'clock on Wednesday night, the ruins of the former place being so far removed as to permit an effusion of flame, the fire, which had caught the works of the engine and boiler machinery, and which till then had been smothered, burst forth with irresistible fury. The timbers and other inflammable articles strewed about the ruins immediately caught fire, and communicating to the different floors, the whole was shortly enveloped in flames. The building was totally demolished; the interior falling into a condensed heap of ashes upon the ruins of the first house, leaving only a few fragments of the walls.

AFRICA.

A foreign paper, under the head of Trieste, contains the following account of operations of the American squadron against the Barbary powers:—"On the 10th of August, the

American squadron, consisting of four frigates, a brig, and a cutter, after having made the government of Algiers pay 150,000 dollars, and that of Tunis 80,000, made its appearance before Tripoli, where it remained till the 13th. During these three days, the dey was compelled to pay the Americans the sum of 50,000 dollars, which was brought on board by the barges of the dey, accompanied with music. There was also paid an additional sum of 30,000 dollars, as the value of the brig Agile, taken by the Algerines, and carried by them into the port of Tripoli; and which, upon a note from the English consul, had been released during the night.—While the Americans were thus reversing the old practice, and levying contributions on the Barbary powers, a Dutch frigate anchored before Tripoli, from which the dey demanded 20,000 dollars for a peace, and 5000 of annual present. The commander refused to pay this sum; but he subscribed to an armistice for four months, and then set sail."

AMERICA.

18.—The revolutionists of the united provinces of Rio de la Plata have, according to recent advices from that quarter, passed a number of popular resolutions. The first declares all blacks free as soon as they land in the provinces, and exempt from tribute. 2. abolishes the inquisition. 3. abolishes torture. 4. abolishes all titles of nobility. 5. Declares that preferments shall be granted solely to merit. 6. allows the exportation of gold and silver, &c. &c.

TERMINATION OF THE WAR IN INDIA.

20.—Dispatches from the earl of Moira, governor-general of India, to government, and also to the India company, announce the termination of the war in India against the

the rajah of Napaul. The objects of the war are said to have been accomplished to the full extent; and the terms of the peace are more favourable than could have been anticipated. The chain of forts and strong natural positions along the frontier of Napaul have been conceded by the enemy; and no ground remains to apprehend a recurrence of the aggressions and predatory warfare so long carried on by the Napaulese. A free communication overland through Napaul and Tartary to Chinab has also been obtained.

21.—This morning there was a numerous meeting of the dissenting protestant clergy, at the library in Red Cross-street, to take into consideration the present persecuted state of the protestants in the south of France. Numerous distressing details were laid before the meeting; and it was resolved to make application to his majesty's government to employ its powerful influence in behalf of the unfortunate. They have since had interviews with the earl of Liverpool, whom they apprized of their intention to collect money in their several congregations, for the relief of the suffering protestants. The deputation were assured, "That it has been the invariable object of the British government, and of their allies, to support, and, on every suitable occasion to assert, the principles of religious toleration and liberty; and that in their recent communications with the government of France they have brought forward these principles as the foundation of their policy and of their just expectations; and that they therefore are using their best efforts to arrest the progress of evils which they most deeply deplore."

23.—This night about twelve o'clock, a fire broke out at the house of T. Cartwright Slack, esq.,

sugar-baker, Grove-place, Kentish Town, which was attended with most melancholy circumstances. The flames burst forth with such fury, as almost to preclude the possibility of any of the inmates escaping, as all had gone to bed. However, the family being roused from their sleep, most of them made their escape. Mr. Slack himself, finding that one of his children which was left behind must inevitably be lost, rushed through the flames to its assistance, but unfortunately passed the child unseen on the stairs, and perished in the flames. The cook, Sarah Burrell, who was in years, also fell a prey to the devouring element. The child was saved by the humanity and resolution of Wiber, a coachman, at the imminent hazard of his own life, and for whom a subscription was made, and the sum of 600*l.* raised.

This morning Mr. Planta arrived from Paris, with the treaty of peace with France, which was signed at Paris on the 20th instant. The event was communicated by earl Bathurst to the lord mayor; and the government offices and other public buildings were splendidly illuminated on the evening of the 28th.

It appears by an official return, that 129,500 London papers were sent, in 1814, to the colonies; and 215,762 to the continent of Europe. And that 62,900 French papers were received in England, 4368 Dutch, 3744 German, and 5304 of other nations. Of the various English periodical works about 6000 were sent abroad. The peace with America will doubtless add greatly to the export of newspapers and monthly journals.

FRANCE.

The several treaties and conventions for the restoration and maintenance of peace between his Britannic majesty and his allies on the one part

part, and his most Christian majesty Louis XVIII. on the other, were signed at Paris on Monday the 20th inst. by lord viscount Castlereagh and field-marshal his grace the duke of Wellington, as plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and by the duke de Richelieu as plenipotentiary of the king of France.

The military duties of the capital were from that day to be transferred from the allied troops to those of the first military division; and the 10th regiment of French infantry of the line, which has so eminently distinguished itself by its fidelity and attachment to the royal cause, had already reached Paris.

The treaties or conventions, we understand, are four in number, and appropriated to distinct objects. One establishes a state of peace between the allied powers and France; a second relates to the occupation of the fortresses, and the subsistence of the allied troops within the French frontier; a third regulates the mode of raising and paying the contributions; and a fourth provides for the liquidation of the foreign claims on the French exchequer.

Marshal Ney having been put upon his trial before a court martial, the members composing it, after two days' proceedings, voted themselves incompetent to sit as his judges; and his fate is in consequence to be decided on by the chamber of peers. The court martial met in the great hall of assize at the Palace of Justice and consisted of marshal count Jourdan, president; marshal Massena, prince of Essling; marshal Augereau, duke of Castiglione; marshal Mortier, duke of Treviso; lieut.-gen. count Vallette, lieut.-gen. count Claparede, lieut.-gen. count Gazan; baron Joinville, commissary ordonnateur of the first military division, king's commissary; count

Grundler, *maréchal-de-camp*, judge advocate. It appears by the evidence that Ney affected to be ignorant on the 7th of March of the landing of Bonaparte, though the official account had appeared in the *Moniteur*. On the 9th he received instructions from the minister at war; and before he proceeded to his destination he waited on the king. In the interrogatory he underwent soon after his arrest, in the presence of the prefect of police, he confessed that he used to the king expressions that Bonaparte, should he be taken, would deserve to be conducted in an iron cage to Paris; and after some equivocation, he also acknowledged that he had kissed the king's hand. On the same occasion he maintained that he was totally ignorant of the conspiracy; and that after assuming the command of the troops, he remained for several days faithful to the king. The evidence partly corroborated this statement. His subsequent conduct, however, destroyed any claim he might have, from this circumstance, to indulgence; as a proclamation was published in his name, soon after he joined the standard of the usurper, beginning with the words—"The cause of the Bourbons is lost forever!" Ney states in his defence, that this proclamation was written by Bonaparte, and had appeared in Switzerland before he had seen it himself—that it was a customary manœuvre of the ex-emperor to forge letters and other documents bearing the names of his generals, and to publish them without asking their consent. He also pretends that it was the conduct of his troops that hurried him along to defection; and that he deserted the royal cause merely to prevent a civil war—that Bonaparte had transmitted to him the strongest assurances that Austria was

was his ally, and that England favoured his designs. However, it is proved that the marshal, if he evinced any reluctance at first to betray his duty, manifested the most ardent zeal as soon as he took a decision; and even caressed, with a kind of frantic joy, the very drummers and fifers of his army, the moment they expressed themselves unequivocally in favour of the rebel cause.

A memorial has been presented by marshal Soult, in justification of his conduct. This document is of very great length; and though it does not serve to justify his conduct, it goes a little way in palliation of his offence. He states, that after Bonaparte landed, and he had resigned the war department, the king wrote him a letter approving of his conduct. He appeals to his efforts, when minister, to meliorate all parts of his administration for the advantage of the king—he enters into a view of the military state of Antibes, the Var, and Grenoble, when Bonaparte landed.—When Bonaparte arrived at Paris, he (Soult) retired to his country-seat; and did not leave it till after two orders from Bonaparte. He confesses that he fought at Waterloo; but he insists that he was justified in taking up arms to defend his country against foreign invasion; and he instances admiral Blake's conduct in the time of Cromwell.

30.—An appeal was heard at the late Somersetshire sessions against an order made by two magistrates under the authority of the act of parliament recently passed for stopping up unnecessary roads. In support of the order, it was shown that the road in question began to be disused sixty years ago, and that it had been wholly abandoned by the public for the last twelve years. The bench considered the total non-

usage the best proof of the uselessness of the road, and confirmed the order, although proof was offered by the appellant to show that the road, if duly repaired, would be a great convenience to the public, by reducing the distance between given points one-sixth, and by avoiding many dangerous angles on the present road.

In a cause lately tried, it was determined by lord Ellenborough, that when a surgeon is employed to attend a pauper by the overseers of the poor for the parish to which this pauper belongs, it is his absolute duty to continue his attendance, notwithstanding he may receive from the parish-officers an order to discontinue it, provided there is a probability of affording relief, or of restoring the health of the patient, and no other professional man is retained for that purpose; and that the overseers are liable, and consequently compelled to defray the expense incurred by such attendance.

DECEMBER.

ASIA.

Dec. 1.—Extract of a letter, dated the 29th of May, 1815, at Batavia, from a merchant of that place:—"We have had one of the most tremendous eruptions of the mountain Tomboro that ever, perhaps, took place in any part of the world. This mountain is situated on the island of Sumbawa, and is distant from Batavia not less than 550 miles. We heard the explosion here distinctly, and had some of the ashes. It was totally dark at Macassar long after the sun was up; and at noon, at Sourabaya, the sun succeeded in enlightening the good folks so far as to allow them to see some yards around; the ashes lay at Macassar, which is 250 miles from Sumbawa, one inch and

and a half deep. Captain Fenn, of the *Dispatch*, and captain Eatwell, of the *Benares*, who have visited the island since the eruption, both declare that the anchorage is much changed, and that they found the sea, for many miles round the island, so completely covered with trunks of trees, pumice-stone, &c. as to impede materially the progress of the two ships. Captain Eatwell says, he was told that a village was inundated, and had three fathoms water over it. Great numbers of the miserable inhabitants have perished, and others die daily. The crops of paddy (rice) have been utterly destroyed over a great part of the island; so that the situation of the unfortunate survivors will be really pitiable."

Letters from Calcutta mention, that the season has been unusually favourable to the crops of indigo throughout Bengal; the produce will exceed the most prolific year ever known, by at least 30,000 maunds.

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.

6.—This evening the admirers of classical dramatic literature were highly gratified in witnessing the representation of the *Andria* of Terence, by the Westminster scholars. We are certain that we shall not be deemed singular in opinion, if we assert that this is the very best play which that distinguished writer of antiquity has produced: for although it is only one of the 108 comedies which he translated from Menander, the purity of the language and the delicate refinement of the sentiments leave nothing to indicate a want of originality; so that it rather appears as the genuine production of a Roman poet, than the transfusion of the ideas of a Grecian into a different tongue. There is a continual vivacity in the dia-

1815.

logue of this play, which keeps the mind of the auditor riveted throughout upon the performance; and indeed the whole of the incidents bear so strong a resemblance to the common occurrences of the present age, that we fancy ourselves only witnessing such scenes as constantly come under our cognisance. We were highly pleased with the histrionic talents of all the gentlemen who stood forward on this occasion as candidates for the partial approbation of their friends; and it is not too much to say, that if they had received the best instructions from professionally dramatic characters, they could not have acquitted themselves more to the satisfaction of competent judges. The characters were sustained as follows: Simo, Dundas; Sosia, Glyn; Davus, Bourne; Mysis, Hutchinson; Pamphilus, King; Charinus, J. Williams; Byrrhia, Gates; Lesbia, White; Chremes, Murray; Crito, E. Williams; and Dromo, Short.—Mr. Bourne, as *Davus*, was an excellent representative of the pert, knavish, and pimping valet; and the *Simo* of Mr. Dundas obtained universal and continual applause. Mr. King, who represented *Pamphilus*, will have nothing further to study, if he wish to imitate, in real life, the fashionable character to which he has aspired in mimic representation. Messrs. White and Gates, as *Byrrhia* and *Lesbia*, were happily eccentric; and indeed the whole of the characters were as judiciously cast as they were ably supported. But the principal subject for admiration was the correct pronunciation of the language, as well as a clearness of delivery which rendered every word audible. This could only be the result of much study, as we observed no *lapses* which required the

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coadjutation of a prompter. We believe that the students are much indebted for this comparative perfection in their performances to the classical taste and perseverance of Mr. Dodd, while every encouragement is afforded to such rational recreation by the present learned and much respected head-master, Dr. Page.

11.—This morning, as some of the partners in the firm of William Vincent, Joseph Tanner, John Barnes, and Samuel Hancock, of the Newbury old bank, entered it to proceed to business, they discovered that the whole of the property had been stolen, amounting, it is supposed, to near 20,000*l*. Some of the books and documents relative to the bank were also carried away. The robbery had been effected by means of false keys. It was in vain to keep the bank open, as there were no notes or cash to pay with; and the firm have since been compelled to appear in the *Gazette*!!!

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

16.—This day the senior scholars of St. Paul's recited in the school, before a select audience, an original composition, and several passages from classic authors ancient and modern: a commendable practice, previous to the Christmas recess, introduced last year for the first time. The original composition was a declamation, in Latin, on the themes *Cedant Arma Toge*, and *Toga cedat Armis*. This was followed by an extract from Euripides, 'Medea to her children'; the ancient ballad of 'The Friar of Orders gray'; Ulysses and Ajax, from Ovid; the Address of Vice and Virtue to Hercules, from Xenophon; Dialogue of Phædria and Parmeno, from Terence (Eun. act I. sc. 1.); an extract from Comus; and

Glynn's Seatonian poem, 'The Judgement-day.' The performances of the boys on this occasion gave many a fair promise of future excellence. Without disparagement to the rest, who acquitted themselves with great propriety, we may deservedly applaud the exertions of Goode major, Backler, Walsh, Lane, and Boileau; the latter of whom, in Medea, evinced both in feeling and action a thorough acquaintance with that most interesting and exquisite specimen of the Greek tragedy. Dr. Glynn's fine poem (Walsh and Lane) excited a deep interest, as it ever must in proper hands: Walsh's manner was not so elaborate as his associate's; but all was easy, flowing, and graceful. The dialogue of Phædria and Parmeno (Beckwith and Goode major) we have not heard surpassed in spirit and effect on the more experienced boards of Westminster.

28.—A letter from Paris, Dec. 21, says, "Madame de Lavalette has been accustomed to be carried in a sedan-chair into the prison to visit her husband, who had been condemned to death by the Bourbon government. Yesterday madame de Lavalette arrived, with a bonnet *à la Française*, and a large veil, accompanied by her daughter, 11 years old. About half-past five, Mons. de Lavalette, arrayed in her clothes, taking his daughter by the arm, and supported by one of the turnkeys, descended to the chair. He passed before all the inspectors; and was restored to liberty. In the mean time Madame de Lavalette, who had thrown over her the large cloak of her husband, was seated in his arm-chair with a book in her hand. At half-past six a gaoler spoke to her. Astonished at the continued silence, he approach-

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ed nearer to the lady; when with a smile succeeded by strong convulsions she exclaimed '*Il est parti.*'—You may imagine the confusion. The prefect of police was acquainted with the event; and estafettes were dispatched in every direction, and the barriers closed. The police traced the chair two streets distant: there it appears M. de Lavalette alighted, and stepped into a carriage that was in readiness for him."

M. de Lavalette is related to the Bonaparte family; having in 1802 married a niece of the empress Josephine. Lavalette is the son of a coffee-house keeper at Nancy, enrolled himself in the national guard of that city at the bursting out of the revolution, attained the rank of general at the time of Roespierre, served as aide-de-camp to Bonaparte in his Italian campaigns, partook of his fortunes in Egypt, and continued to serve under him till the peace of Luneville in 1801, when he was appointed counsellor of state, and director-general of the posts; which place he occupied till the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814.

HOLLAND.

The king of the Netherlands, in a message to the states-general on the approaching marriage of the hereditary prince to the grand duchess Maria Paulowna, sister to the emperor Alexander, after expressing his approbation of the intended union, observes, that "it offers a new support to the interests which the commercial part of the nation must cultivate in the north of Europe; and guaranties to the whole kingdom the desirable kindness of a court which has so powerfully contributed to the work of its foundation."—The states have given their concurrence to the marriage.

ITALY.

Accounts from Turin give the particulars of an unsuccessful attack made on St. Antonio, on the coast of Sardinia, by the Tunisian corsair squadron. Notwithstanding the heroic resistance of the canoniers and inhabitants, the pirates succeeded in taking 100 persons of both sexes, whom they carried into slavery.

In the Brussels papers we find a statement from Rome, which is likewise in the French journals, that the powers of Europe have at length formed a league to put an end to the piracy of the Barbary States; but the details are so vague, that the real object, if there is such a league, cannot at present be distinctly understood.

A treaty was signed at Paris, on the 5th of November, between this country, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by which the Ionian islands, namely Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, with their dependencies, are placed, as an independent state, under the protection of Great Britain. Their civil institutions will be regulated by a new charter, drawn up in concert with a legislative assembly of the islands. The command of the army is with his Britannic majesty, who has the custody of the fortresses. The revenues of the islands will be applicable to the maintenance of the troops.—Thus tranquilly has a state been formed, which, we hope, will add considerably to the commercial prosperity of Great Britain. The harbour of Corfu is one of the finest in the world.

The emperor of Austria, according to the French papers, is very anxious to gain the affections of his new subjects, the Venetians. He has reduced several of their taxes, and visited the prisons.

GERMANY.

The dukes of Saxe Weimar and Baden, and the king of Prussia, are about to introduce the representative system into their states. In Hanover, where it is recently established, some dissatisfaction is said to prevail, on account of the debates being kept secret.

Whitchall, Sept. 16.

A dispatch, dated Fort William, February 20, together with its inclosures, have been received at the East India house from the vice-president in council.

The skill, judgement, perseverance, and patience, which have distinguished the conduct of col. Ochterlony in the arduous service in which he is employed, cannot fail to attract the particular notice of your hon. court. The exertions of that able officer still continued to be directed against the enemy's supplies, and such of his new positions as might be found to be assailable.

[Here follows a letter from J. Adam, esq., secretary to government, inclosing another from the adjutant general; and both introducing the following dispatch from sir D. Ochterlony; and commending his judgement and ability:]

Camp Nebn, Dec. 31.

Sir—On the 27th I had the honour to report to you the arrival of the 2d battalion of the 7th native infantry and the 18-pounders in this camp.—Our position in view of the fort had compelled the enemy to bring their supplies from the eastward by circuitous routes; but my information led me to hope that the possession of three points in front of our right would entirely cut off their supplies from Billaspore, and generally from the interior. In consequence, I directed lieut.-col. Thompson to march as soon as it was dark on the night of the 27th,

and dislodge the enemy from the stockades they had erected on two of those points, and occupy and maintain a third which they had erected.—Lieut.-colonel Thompson had with him 14 companies, two 6-pounders, and two howitzers of the mountain-train, and a force of irregulars amounting at least to 1000, but calculated at 1200 matchlocks. From the badness of the road, or rather foot-paths, and the great difficulties encountered, it was not till a late hour in the morning of the 28th that lieut.-col. Thompson reached the first point he was instructed to attack; and that was found so inaccessible, and so very much stronger than my information had given me reason to expect, that he very judiciously determined not to risk the chance of an instantaneous assault, but to make use of his artillery. His letter, which I have the honour to inclose, together with a copy of my instructions, details his proceedings from that date, and renders it only necessary for me to express my approbation of lieut.-col. Thompson's conduct, and entire satisfaction with that of the detachment in general.—It would however be unjust not to mention that the reports I received from lieut. Lawtie, engineer, of the very great labour and fatigue sustained with cheerfulness by the pioneers, induced me to express to captain Baines, lieutenant. Armstrong, and their officers, who set them the meritorious example, my particular thanks, and to send a pecuniary donation to the men.—Lieut. Lawtie, with his accustomed zeal, accompanied the detachment, and on this, as on every occasion, deserves my highest consideration: from him I have the honour to transmit a slight sketch of the ground and point of attack.—It remains only to add, that

that the enemy no sooner perceived the movement to the right, and contemplated its obvious object, than they evacuated all their stockades but the two small redoubts immediately under the fort, and risked the attempt which lieutenant-col. Thompson has detailed; and on its unsuccessful issue retired to Mungoo-ka-Dhar, where he is now assembled with his whole force, the right covered by the stockades, which I had intended to attack, and their left resting on or towards the fort of Tarragurh.—Apprehending that the enemy might venture a second time, I directed lieutenant-col. Lyons and the second battalion of the 7th, with two 6-pounders, to reinforce lieutenant-col. Thompson, in the hope of preventing it, or rendering it ineffectual. They have, however, remained stationary since their repulse.

D. OCHTERLONY, major-gen.

Report from lieutenant-col. Thompson to gen. Ochterlony, inclosed in the preceding.

Sir—Agreeable to your instructions, I have the honour to report, that after dusk on the evening of the 27th I commenced my march towards these heights with the light battalion and eight companies of the 2d battalion 3d regiment, native infantry, two 6-pounders, and a mountain-train of two light howitzers. Although the night was extremely favourable, the whole of the artillery did not reach the opposite side of the ridge of hills, about one coss below Deboo-ka-Tibba, until past eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th. I then advanced up the face of the hill with the light battalion and four companies of the 2d battalion 3d regiment, to gain possession of the ridge on my left, immediately opposite to the enemy's stone stockade;

from this ridge the stockade is about 700 yards, with four different heights intervening.—The enemy, having come out so far as the nearest hill to the ridge, began to open a fire of matchlocks upon our party as they proceeded up the heights. On our gaining possession of a high part of the ridge, the enemy evacuated their position upon the opposite hill; and being instantaneously pursued by our troops, they fled successively over the whole of the hills between the ridge and their stockades, which appearing to me too strong to attempt without the assistance of our guns, I resolved to wait until the artillery came up.—The 6-pounders opened upon the place about four o'clock P. M. and I was in hopes that as the wall appeared to be composed only of loose stones, it might have been laid open before dusk; but, after firing for about an hour, from a distance of about 500 yards, only a small part of the wall came down.—Having resolved to move the battery to a nearer distance the following morning, the pioneers were employed during the night in making fascines and gabions for that purpose.—About a quarter of an hour, however, before sunrise the following morning (the 29th), the enemy came down in great numbers from the Mungoo-ka-Dhar, with an apparent intention of forcing my position on the ridge, and also turning my left, so as to surround it. I am happy to add, that in consequence of the warm reception they received from our troops they were soon obliged to retire with loss. Having now, however, every reason to believe that Mungoo-ka-Dhar had been strongly reinforced, I thought it advisable to throw up a slight entrenchment on my position on the ridge and first hill,

hill, which was effected about dusk. —During the night the enemy evacuated the stockade on Deboo-ka-Tibba, which was immediately occupied by the picquets of the light battalion.—The stockade is situated on a steep rocky eminence, very difficult of access on all sides, but particularly so in front, where it is almost perpendicular. The wall is ten feet high on the outside, and four feet thick, composed of loose stones extremely well built, and three sides of it are surrounded by a high bamboo fence, at the distance of two feet from the outside of the wall; within it is a pukka mhat.—The position of the enemy at Mungoo-ka-Dhar appears to be nearly two miles from my post, and the road to it very difficult, as well from unevenness as from ascent. I have also been informed that the enemy have thrown up stone breast-works and other obstacles at different parts of the road. I have the honour to inclose a correct return of our casualties: those of the enemy, from the best intelligence I have been able to procure, amount to 150 in killed, and about 250 wounded. I had the pleasure yesterday to send in two prisoners from Deboo-ka-Tibba, and this day another, who was wounded in the affair of the 29th.—The conduct of the officers and men composing my detachment has been such as to merit my warmest approbation.

W. THOMPSON, lieut.-colonel.

[This gazette contains also dispatches, transmitted by admiral Lord Exmouth, from rear-admiral Penrose, of the Queen, dated off Gaeta, July 18, and capt. Fahie, of the Malta, dated July 15, 25, and Aug. 9, relating to the operations before Gaeta. It appears that the British and Austrian commanders having on the 7th of July acquaint-

ed baron Begani, governor of Gaeta, with Bonaparte's defeat, and sent him an official report of that event, he demanded permission to send an officer to the head quarters of the allied armies, to ascertain that fact; which was refused; and on the 15th July he was summoned to surrender by the Austrian general commanding at Naples, which he rejected; declaring his determination to defend the place to the last, and abide the course of Bonaparte's fortune. —He had provisions for four months, and his garrison consisted of 1200 men. The Austrian commander baron Lauerr opened his batteries on the 17th July; but his fire, though maintained for three days, was too feeble to produce the desired effect, or to support that which the enemy opposed to him from his commanding position. The fire from the sea face of the enemy's works was silenced by the British squadron. The siege was then turned into a blockade. Another attempt was afterwards made to induce him to surrender by capt. Fahie, who sent him a French paper containing the intelligence of the restoration of Louis XVIII.; but he still persisted in declaring that he would defend the place to the last extremity. Subsequently the news was communicated to him of Bonaparte's surrender to captain Maitland; of which being assured, it led to communications that terminated in the surrender of the place to Ferdinand the Fourth, king of the Two Sicilies. The garrison of Gaeta, being of different countries, were to be conveyed home; baron Begani, the commander, was to receive money to convey him to France, Ferdinand not admitting him into his service. The place was entered and taken possession of by British marines on August 8.]

An atrocious murder has been committed at Southhill, upon one of Mr. Whitbread's gamekeepers. A desperate gang of poachers, seven or eight in number, being discovered on Saturday night in the neighbourhood of the lake in front of the house, C. Dines, the principal keeper, accompanied by two assistants, repaired to the spot. One of the assistants was knocked down and severely hurt; C. Dines was shot in the side, and languished until six o'clock on Sunday evening, when he expired in great agony. After receiving the fire of the ruf-

fians, he had the presence of mind to cock both his barrels, and fire them off, but apparently without effect. Another person having been three weeks ago wounded by a gang of poachers in the same neighbourhood, and a person of suspicious character having in consequence absconded, suspicion has fallen upon him; but Dines, before his death, recollected another person having threatened him that 'he should not eat his Christmas dinner.' The unfortunate man had been an old and faithful servant of the late Mr. Whitbread.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 13, 1814, to December 12, 1815.

Christened	{ Males 12281 } In all, {	Buried	{ Males 9862 } In all, {	Decrease in
	{ Females 11135 } 23,414 {		{ Females 9678 } 19,560 {	Burials 223.

Died under 2 years	5200	20 and 30 -	1425	60 and 70 -	1621	100 - 2
Between 2 and 5	1916	30 and 40 -	1824	70 and 80 -	1221	101 - 1
5 and 10	870	40 and 50 -	2075	80 and 90 -	674	108 - 1
10 and 20	677	50 and 60 -	1886	90 and 100	167	

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
Abortive, Still born	804	Bit by mad Dogs	2
Abscess	105	Broken Limb	1
Aged	1757	Bruised	2
Ague	5	Burnt	32
Apoplexy and sud-	421	Crowned	152
denly	421	Excessive Drink-	
Asthma	680	ing	8
Bedridden	2	Executed*	3
Blle	5	Found Dead	25
Bleeding	23	Fractured	2
Bursten & Rupture	54	Frighted	5
Cancer	88	Killed by Falls and	
Chicken Pox	2	several other Ac-	
Childbed	232	cidents	76
Colds	16	Killed themselves	47
Colick, Gripes, &c.	26	Murdered	1
Consumption	4210	Over-laid	1
Convulsions	3324	Poisoned	4
Cough, and Hooping-	729	Scalded	10
Cough	729	Shot	1
Cramp	4	Suffocated	9
Croup	87		
Diabetes	6	Total	362
Dropsy	792		
Epilepsy	1		
Evil	7		
Fever of all kinds	1509		
Fistula	3		
Flux	65		
French Pox	22		
Gout	67		
Gravel, Stone, and			
Strangury	16		
Grief	5		
Headmoldshot, Horse-			
shoe-head, & Water			
in the Head	383		
Imposthume	4		
Inflammation	952		
Influenza	1		
Jaundice	90		
Lethargy	1		
Livergrown	46		
Lumbago	3		
Lunatic	228		
Measles	711		
Miscarriage	2		
Mortification	306		
Palpitation of the			
Heart	6		
Palsy	163		
Pleurisy	18		
Quinsy	5		
Rash	1		
Rheumatism	9		
Scrophula	5		
Scurvy	4		
Small Pox	725		
Sore Throat	5		
Sores and Ulcers	11		
Spasm	36		
St. Anthony's Fire	9		
Stoppage in the Sto-			
mach	25		
Surfeit	1		
St. Vitus's Dance	2		
Teeth	447		
Thrush	118		
Tumor	30		
Water in the Chest	30		
Worms	3		

* There have been executed in the city of London and County of Surrey, 20; of which number 8 only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS in the year 1815.

January 1. Mrs. H. Butterworth, of a son and heir.

5. The lady of G. Smith, esq. M. P. of a son and heir.

13. The duchess of Newcastle, of a son.

16. The lady of major-general John Hope, of a daughter.

18. The lady of viscount Powerscourt, of a son.

21. The lady of the honourable Charles Law, of a daughter.

23. Honourable Mrs. Morris, of a daughter.

26. Mrs. Halsey, of a son and heir.

29. The wife of the honourable Robert Leeson, of a son.

February 4. Viscountess Grimstone, of a daughter.

5. Right honourable lady Elizabeth Smyth, of a son and heir.

10. The wife of James Alexander, esq. M. P. of a son.

22. The lady of T. A. Curtis, esq. of a daughter.

23. Lady F. Ley, of a son.

26. The lady of sir William Milner, of a daughter.

28. Lady Blantyre, of a daughter.

March 2. The lady of John Hamilton, esq. of a son.

13. The lady of the dean of St. Patrick's, of a daughter.

15. The lady of major baron Linsengen, of a daughter.

22. The lady of sir Simon Clarke, bart., of a daughter.

24. The wife of S. H. Whalley, esq., of a daughter.

27. The lady of the late John Baker, esq., of a daughter and heir.

29. The lady of the honourable and rev. J. Evelyn Boscawen, of a daughter.

29. The lady of sir Charles Colvile, of a son.

— The lady of sir George Cayley, bart., of a daughter.

April 7. The duchess of St. Alban's, of a son and heir.

10. Viscountess Arbuthnot, of a daughter.

13. The wife of James Colquhoun, esq., of a daughter.

20. Right honourable lady G. Beresford, of a daughter.

28. Lady Emily Drummond, of a daughter.

29. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, of a son.

May 2. The lady of A. H. Holdsworth, esq., M. P., of a son.

9. Lady Fitzherbert, of a son.

— The countess of Uxbridge, of a daughter.

11. Lady Harriet Leveson Gower, of a son.

14. The lady of Ottywell Robinson, esq., of a son.

16. The duchess of Rutland, of a son and heir.

— Lady Fitzroy Somerset, of a daughter.

18. Lady Liddell, of a son.

20. Viscountess Newark, of a daughter.

22. Lady Sarah Robinson, of a daughter.

— The lady of sir W. P. Call, bart., of a son and heir.

June 4. Viscountess Ashbrook, of a daughter.

6. Countess Albemarle, of a son.

14. Honourable Mrs. Charles Paget, of a daughter.

20. Marchioness of Waterford, of a son.

26. Countess of Craven, of a daughter.

30. The lady of Randle Wilbraham, esq., of a daughter.

— Marchioness of Downshire, of a daughter.

July 5.

July 5. The lady of Robert Bell, esq., of a son and heir.

14. The wife of capt. Barclay, R. N. of a daughter.

— Lady Cloncurry, of a daughter.

15. Lady Caroline Capel, of a son.

20. The countess of Jersey, of a son.

22. The lady of major-gen. sir Hussey Vivian, of a daughter.

August 4. The lady of Dr. Yelloly, of a daughter.

11. The lady of Wm. Long Wellesley, esq., M. P. of a son.

12. The lady of George Jackson, esq., chargé des affaires at Berlin, of a daughter.

13. The lady of Frederic Holbrooke, esq., of a daughter.

19. The lady of rear-admiral Scott, of a son.

21. The lady of real-admiral Strachan, of a son.

24. The lady of sir R. R. Graham, bart., of a daughter.

28. Right honourable lady F. Wedderburn Webster, of a son and heir.

September 4. The lady of sir Loftus Otway, of a daughter.

6. Lady Ogilvy, of a son.

— Lady Emily Drummond, of a son.

11. Lady Duncannon, of a son.

— Lady Amelia Kaye, of a daughter.

— The lady of sir Charles Coote, of a son and heir.

13. Lady Barbara Ponsonby, of a son and heir.

17. The lady of A. W. Roberts, esq., of a son.

22. The lady of L. A. Davidson, esq., of a daughter.

30. Lady Gardner, of a daughter.

October 1. Countess Antonio, of a son and heir.

17. The lady of Godfrey Kneller, esq., of a son and heir.

24. The lady of Wm. Domville, esq., of a daughter.

25. The lady of sir George Denys, bart. M. P. of a son.

31. The lady of sir John Malcolm, of a daughter.

November 1. The lady of sir Henry Lushington, of a son.

— Lady Charlotte Howard, of a son and heir to the dukedom of Norfolk.

13. Countess Delaware, of a son.

15. Countess of Minto, of a daughter.

16. Viscountess Avonmore, of a daughter.

19. The lady of baron Nicolay, of a son.

27. The lady of Dr. Barten, of a daughter.

28. The lady of the honourable J. T. Leslie Melville, of a daughter.

— Countess of Elgin, of a son.

— Lady Castlestewart, of a son.

December 8. The lady of capt. Money, R. N., of a daughter.

9. Lady Byron, of a daughter.

10. Honourable lady Stopford, of a daughter.

12. Right honourable lady Isabella Anne Brydges, of a daughter.

— Lady Ducie, of a daughter.

15. Mrs. Fuller Maitland, of a daughter.

20. The lady of the rev. Henry John Wollaston, of a daughter.

31. The lady of E. J. Lytton, esq., of a son and heir.

MARRIAGES in the year 1815.

January 2. Lord Byron to Ann Isabella, only daughter of sir Ralph Milbanke, and niece to lord viscount Wentworth.

3. Alfred Hardcastle, esq., to Anne, the only daughter of the late Edmund Cobb Hurry, esq.

11. Major Gore to Mary Jane, daughter

daughter and sole heiress of Owen Ormesby, esq.

19. Sir William Henry Carr, to the honourable Mrs. Perceval, widow of the late right honourable Spencer Perceval.

19. James Balfour, esq., to the right honourable lady Eleanor Maitland, daughter of the earl of Lauderdale.

24. Edward Walpole, esq., to miss Gildemeester.

26. Major-gen. sir William Anson, to miss Louisa F. M. Dickenson.

— Lieut.-col. Thomas, to the daughter of C. Brunnsden, esq., of Highgate. The colonel was afterwards unfortunately killed at the battle of Waterloo.

February 6. R. C. Sconce, esq., to Sarah, the only daughter of the rev. Dr. Knox.

7. Richard Burden, esq., to Eliza, only daughter of the late sir James Sanderson, bart.

— Thomas Coutts, esq., to miss Mellon.

22. Honourable sir Edward Paget, to lady Harriet Legge, sister to the earl of Dartmouth.

28. Thomas Knox, esq., M. P., to miss Stuart, daughter of the lord primate of Ireland.

March 7. Albany Saville, esq. M. P., to E. E. Bouchier Wrey, youngest daughter of sir P. Bouchier Wrey, bart.

14. Rev. T. Barne, to the honourable Sarah St. John.

18. A. Norder, esq., to miss Hobart, niece of the earl of Buckinghamshire.

27. Mr. Vernon, eldest son of the archbishop of York, to lady Elizabeth Bingham, eldest daughter of the earl of Lucan.

30. John Gottlieb Anthony, esq., to Betty Maria, second daughter of Francis H. Tyler, esq.

April 3. Capt. Thomas Bligh, to Helen, third daughter of Thomas Patterson, esq.

12. Rev. Thomas Mills, to Anne, second daughter of Nathaniel Barnardiston, esq.

20. C. Marett, esq., to miss Frances Roufe, youngest daughter of F. Roufe, esq.

27. Honourable Mortimer Rodney, to Sarah, eldest daughter of Robert Withy, esq.

29. Lieut.-col. James Allan, to S. Isabella, only daughter of Andrew Timbrell, esq.

May 9. Lieut.-col. G. Wyndham, to miss Mary Blunt.

14. Sir George Buggin, to lady Cecilia Gore, daughter of the late earl of Arran.

18. Mr. George Hollis, to Mary Anne, daughter of Mr. John Buckler.

19. Sir Gregory Way, to Mary Anne, daughter of John Weyland, esq.

20. John Jones, esq. to miss Hudson, eldest daughter of the late rear-admiral Hudson.

23. Edward Fitz-Gerald, esq., to miss Hamilton, daughter of vice-admiral Hamilton.

26. Charles Henry Baseley, esq. to Anne, only daughter of the late Albany Wade, esq.

29. Vice-admiral sir G. Martin, to miss Lock.

June 1. James Thorpe, esq. to lady H. Charlotte Hay, third daughter of the marquis of Tweeddale.

2. Lord Petre, to Frances, eldest daughter of sir Richard Bedingfield, bart.

8. S. P. Rigaud, esq. to the eldest daughter of G. W. Jordan, esq.

15. Sir G. Lowry Cole, to lady Frances Harris, daughter of the earl of Malmesbury.

17. Thomas

17. Thomas Blayney, esq. to miss Anna Harrison, daughter of the late Thomas H., esq.

21. James Wheble, esq. to miss O'Brien, eldest daughter of the late major O'B.

July 1. General baron Obert to miss Parkins.

3. Honourable Mr. Powlet to lady Caroline Lowker.

6. John Halkett, esq., to lady Catherine Douglas, youngest daughter of the late earl of Selkirk.

13. James Ford, esq., to Lavinia, third daughter of Peregrine Stockdale, esq.

20. G. N. Best, esq., to Joanna Elizabeth Jodrell, relict of the late H. J. esq.

John King, esq., to Constantia, third daughter of the late rev. A. Crole.

28. William Jervis Ricketts, esq., to Sophia, only daughter of G. N. Vincent, esq.

29. Sir H. Smith, to miss Elmore.

31. J. Henry Deacon, esq., to Hester, youngest daughter of the late Benjamin Goldsmid, esq.

August 3. Sir Alexander Hood, bart., to Amelia Anne, youngest daughter of sir H. Bateman.

8. Rev. H. L. Mansel, to Maria Margaret, daughter of vice-adm. sir R. Moorson.

14. E. Dubois, esq., to Harriet, second daughter of R. C. Cresswell, esq.

17. Rear-admiral sir J. P. Beresford, bart., to Harriet Eliza, younger daughter of J. Peirse, esq. M. P.

19. Rev. Leveson Vernon, son of the archbishop of York, to the right honourable lady Caroline Peachey, only daughter of the earl of Selsey.

23. Charles, eldest son of sir William Wake, bart., to Mary

Alice, eldest daughter of the late sir S. Sitwell, bart.

25. Nicholas Westby, esq., to the honourable Emily Waldegrave, eldest daughter of lord Radstock.

29. Honourable Butler Danvers, to miss Freemantle.

Sept. 12. Edward Davies, esq., to Frances, daughter of the late Henry Baldwin, esq.

15. G. Dashwood, esq., M. P., to Mary Anne, daughter of sir W. Rowley.

21. Alfred Wigan, esq., to Eliza, only child of William Lewes, esq.

25. G. Cornwall, esq., to Jane, only sister of J. Lennox Naper, esq., M. P., and niece to lord Sherborne.

26. William Gaisford, esq., to Eleanor, daughter of the rev. Charles Coxwell.

Oct. 3. R. Ballard, esq., to miss Anne Maria Huntingford; and the rev. J. Wetherall, to miss Lucy Huntingford, both nieces of the bishop of Hereford.

4. Lieut.-col. sir F. Stovin, to Anne Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late sir Sitwell Sitwell, bart.

9. Sir Peregrine Maitland, to lady Sarah Lennox, daughter of the duke of Richmond.

12. Sir Fred. Gustavus Fowke, to Mary Anne, sole heiress of the late Antony Henderson, esq., M. P.

21. Samuel Baker, esq., to miss Elizabeth Hassell.

26. Rev. George Leigh Cooke, to Anne, eldest daughter of William Hay, esq.

27. Captain R. Gambier; (nephew of lord Gambier) to Caroline, fourth daughter of major-gen. Browne.

28. The right honourable lord Manners, to the honourable Jane Butler, sister to lord Caher.

30. John Thompson, M. D., to Charlotte

Charlotte, only daughter of the late Joseph Cartledge, M.D.

Nov. 4. W. F. Welsh, esq., to Georgiana, second daughter of the late sir F. Ford, bart., and niece to lord viscount Anson.

7. P. P. Acland, esq., to Fanny, second daughter of William Leader, esq., M. P.

13. Henry S. Northcote, esq., eldest son of sir Stafford H. Northcote, to Agnes Mary, only daughter of Thomas Cockburn, esq.

15. Mr. E. Paley, youngest son of the late archdeacon, to miss Mary Anne Paley.

18. L. H. Robinson, esq., to Theophila, youngest daughter of G. Hubbard, esq.

25. Rev. John Lonsdale, to Sophia, fifth daughter of John Boland, esq., M. P.

30. Robert Frankland, esq., M. P., to Louisa Anne, third daughter of the late right honourable lord George Murray, bishop of St. David's.

Dec. 1. Captain A. Duff, to Frances, third daughter of the late rev. Meredith Jones.

7. S. G. Da Costa, esq., to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the late Lyon De Symons, esq.

9. Sir L. V. Pack, bart., to Anna Eleanor, eldest daughter of sir B. Wrey, bart.

12. Abraham Boyd, esq., to Jane, countess of Belvedere.

16. Sir Hudson Lowe, governor of St. Helena, to Mrs. Johnson, relict of the late colonel Johnson.

19. Sir John Hugh Smyth, bart., to Anne Provis, niece of John Pigott, esq.

5. Sir Byssiche Shelley, bart.,
12. Anna Maria, widow of Thomas Astle, esq.

14. Rev. Charles Mayson, D.D.

16. Samuel Gist, esq., in his 91st year.

17. Henry Thornton, esq. M. P. for Southwark.

Emma, the widow of sir William Hamilton.

23. James Henry Casamajor, esq.

24. Sir Charles Warre Malet, bart.

26. Sir William Charles Farrell Skeffington, bart.

Mrs. Jervis, relict of the rev. William Jervis.

29. Rev. William Craven, master of St. John's college.

Feb. 2. Duncan Campbell, esq.

4. J. Birch, esq., surgeon to the prince regent.

Sir John Sheffield.

9. Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D., of Queen's college, Cambridge.

14. In his 22d year, in consequence of a fall from his horse, George John Frederic Sackville, fourth duke of Dorset.

16. Mr. Mark Lonsdale.

22. Smithson Tennant, esq., chemical professor of the University of Cambridge.

24. Sir John Thorold, bart., many years M. P. for Lincolnshire.

25. Sir Robert Herries, formerly banker in London.

26. Rev. sir Robert Sheffield, bart., having survived his brother the late sir John S. only 22 days.

Mar. 1. Rev. P. Haddon, vicar of Leeds, where there have been only three vicars in the last century.

4. Mrs. F. Abington, once a celebrated actress.

17. John Hey, D. D., rector of Passenham, near Stoney-Stratford.

20. Mrs.

DEATHS in the year 1815.

January 4. William John Kerr, marquis and earl of Lothian, earl of Ancrum,

20. Mrs. Porteus, relict of the late bishop of London.

22. Sir William Aston, bart.

26. Aged 82, princess dowager of Lorraine.

31. Charles Wilmot, esq.

April 2. William J. Porter, esq.

5. James Peller Malcolm, esq., F.S.A., author of many popular works.

9. Lady Mary Fitzgerald, sister of the late earl of Bristol, in consequence of her clothes catching fire.

12. Mr. Henry Siddons, an actor of considerable eminence.

13. Edward Morris, esq., one of the masters in chancery.

— James Ware, esq., the oldest and most eminent oculist in London; and one of the most liberal among professional men.

17. Thomas Noel, lord viscount Wentworth.

— Bryan Crowther, esq., an eminent surgeon, and author of some valuable works in his profession.

19. Arthur Palmer, esq., sergeant at law.

20. Dr. Domeier, physician to the duke of Sussex.

23. Clement Kynnersley, esq.

24. Wm. Harrison, esq., son of the celebrated discoverer of the longitude at sea, for which he obtained a parliamentary remuneration.

27. Mr. Wm. Bates Smith, a gentleman well known in the literary world.

30. Lady Clerke, wife of the rev. sir Wm. H. C., bart.

May 4. Mrs. Carteret, widow of the late adm. Carteret, and sister of the present recorder of London.

5. Mr. Richard Smirke, eldest son of R.S. esq., R.A.

7. Rev. Andrew Fuller, a dissenting minister of the baptist persuasion, more remarkable for his

zeal, than his liberality towards those who differed from him.

8. Rev. Joseph Whiteley, master of the free grammar school at Leeds.

12. Rev. William Willes, archdeacon of Wells, son of the rev. E.W., bishop of Bath and Wells.

13. Miss Vernon, eldest daughter of the archbishop of York.

15. The lord bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Cleaver.

19. Mr. William Lunn, a very eminent classical bookseller.

21. Mr. Wm. Nicholson, a well known author and engineer.

— At Glasgow, in his 37th year, Mr. Wm. Spence, a considerable mathematician.

22. Mrs. Slater, relict of the late Philip S., esq.

26. Charlotte Amelia, wife of the right hon. T. Steele, esq.

30. Sir John Boyd, bart.

— At Gottingen, C. G. Heyne, the celebrated classical editor.

June 3. Hon. Mrs. Aston, relict of col. H. Aston, daughter of the late Charles lord viscount Irwin.

7. The right hon. James Sandilands, lord Torphichen.

11. Rev. James Phillot, D. D., rector and archdeacon of Bath.

16. Robert Hankey, esq., governor of the London assurance company.

22. Master King, of great celebrity in the musical world.

23. John Eardley Wilmot, esq., son of the late right hon. sir J. Eardley W. knt.

25. Rev. Jeremiah Smith, formerly rector of Berwick, and vicar of Wartling, Sussex, both which he resigned when called to his residence.

30. A. Gifford Brabazon, esq., son of the late hon. Wm. Brabazon, M.P. for the county of Wicklow.

— Robert Fulton, an eminent engineer

engineer, who was in the course of last war employed by Messrs. Pitt and Dundas in forming catamarans to destroy the French, for which, it is said, he was most munificently rewarded: he afterwards was employed by the French and Americans to blow the British fleet out of the ocean.

July 1. The wife of J. Calcraft, esq., M.P.

3. The wife of James Dawkins, esq., M.P.

6. By his own hand, in a fit of insanity, occasioned by an ossification of the brain, Samuel Whitbread, esq., M.P. one of the most active, most honourable, and most virtuous senators that this country ever knew.

8. The right hon. Catherine Henrietta, countess of Bandon, only daughter of the second earl of Shannon in Ireland, and baron Carleton in England.

9. Clement Tudway, esq., M.P. father of the house of commons.

11. The rev. John Torkington, D.D. master of Clare Hall, Cambridge.

12. F. Gregor, esq., many years M.P. for Cornwall.

14. In his 77th year, William Morland, esq., M.P. for Taunton.

— Robert Faulder, esq., an eminent bookseller.

16. Aged 106, Mr. William Wilson, who in 1745 was taken from the plough to serve against the rebels.

21. Right hon. lady Harriet Acland, widow of the late col. Acland, employed in the American war, and mother of the late countess of Cardigan.

23. The rev. Joshua Toulmin, D.D., a most active, enlightened, and liberal dissenting minister of the Unitarian persuasion.

28. Mr. John Southern, a con-

siderable mathematician and engineer.

28. Vice adm. W. A. Otway.

29. E. Coleman, esq., many years sergeant at arms to the house of commons.

August 7. Gen. Charles Leigh, groom of the bed-chamber to the prince regent. He distinguished himself at the storming of Valenciennes in 1793.

12. By a fit of apoplexy, Aubrey Beauclerk, duke of St. Alban's.

— The countess dowager D'Alten, sister to lord Trimbleston and widow of count D'A., who was killed before Dunkirk when that fortress was besieged by the duke of York.

17. Rev. Rogers Porter Packwood, M.A.

22. The lady of sir Herbert Croft, bart.

26. Lady Milford.

28. In the 78th year of her age, the widow of the late Dr. Du Vall, prebendary of Windsor.

29. Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield.

September 3. The lady of sir John Aubrey, bart., M.P.

4. Aged 32, viscountess Fitzharris.

10. Lady Medcalf, widow of the late sir T. M.

13. The right hon. lady Theresa Herbert, youngest daughter of the earl of Carnarvon.

16. Rev. E. Popham, D.D. formerly fellow of Oriel college.

17. In his 82d year, rev. B. Barnard, prebendary of Peterborough cathedral.

18. Killed by being thrown out of a gig, Mr. Coldham, an eminent solicitor, and town-clerk of Nottingham.

25. Rev. Thos. Monro, rector of Little Easton, Essex: author of many literary works.

25. Aged

25. Aged 75, sir Mordaunt Martin, bart.

26. John Willet Willet, esq., formerly M.P. for New Romney.

— Aged 71, sir Gervase Clifton, bart., sixth baronet of the family.

28. Gilbert Gerard, D.D. professor of divinity in King's college, Aberdeen.

29. Aged 75, Frederick Charles Reinhold, esq., formerly a celebrated bass-singer.

30. Lady Clavering, widow of sir John C.

October 2. Rev. Colin Milne, LL.D. a well known author, and popular preacher.

9. George Agar, lord Callan.

12. Aged 20, viscountess Malpas.

23. The right hon. Robert Howard, earl of Wicklow.

24. J. W. Knapp, esq., LL.D. an eminent barrister.

— Calverly Bewicke, esq., M.P. for Winchelsea. He was high-sheriff for the county of Northumberland in 1782, and was for many years lt. col. of the Durham militia. In every relation of life he was highly respected.

29. Lost off Ostend in a packet, the hon. Mrs. Carleton, mother of lord Dorchester.

31. In his 84th year, the rev. Francis Wollaston.

November 1. John Coakley Lettson, M.D., a man of great humanity, as well as of high professional reputation. His works as an author are very numerous.

— The right hon. John Crosbie, earl of Glandore.

10. Joanna, the wife of the rev. John Jones, and only daughter of the rev. Dr. Rees.

11. In his 81st year, John Bayly, M.D.

12. The rev. Horace Ham-

mond, rector of Great Massingham.

13. The rev. Matthias D'Oyley.

15. In his 91st year, Charles Matthews, esq., many years an active magistrate for the counties of Essex and Middlesex.

— Colonel Edwards, of the East-India service, and aide-de-camp to the late nabob of Oude. He was wrecked near Ostend.

21. George Duckworth, esq., a most estimable character, — in consequence of a fall from a horse.

22. Mrs. Elizabeth Soane, wife of the celebrated architect.

— Rev. Henry Hodgson, LL.D., a gentleman well known in the literary world by several publications of merit.

24. In his 85th year, sir George Chad, bart.

25. J. P. Salomon, esq., the first performer on the violin in Europe.

— The rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, dean of Chester, &c.

December 2. The right rev. Dr. Jackson, bp. of Oxford and canon of Christ's Church.

5. Mrs. Pemberton, a highly esteemed school-mistress.

9. John Charrington, esq., and on the 14th, his wife Catherine.

10. In his 87th year, Mr. Henry Emlyn, an architect of eminence.

12. The right hon. sir William Wynne, knt.

16. In his 70th year, the most noble Charles, duke of Norfolk.

19. Mr. Robert Hudson, Mus. Bac., in his 84th year.

21. In his 76th year, the rev. William Vincent, D.D., dean of Westminster, and vicar of Islip, Oxon.

27. Eleanor, the wife of Henry Hodgson, esq., one of his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of taxes.

PROMOTIONS in the year 1815.

Foreign-office, December 25, 1814.
Ed. Davids, esq., his majesty's chamberlain and chancellor of South Wales, vice H. Lloyd, esq.

Jan. 7, 1815. Hon. W. Temple, secretary of legation at Stockholm.

Foreign-office, January 13. Mr. W. Davenport, consul at Londonderry for the sovereign of the Netherlands.

January 28. Hon. Robert Annesley consul at Antwerp.

Feb. 7. Alexander Turnbull, esq. consul at Marseilles, and all other ports and places in the department of the Mouths of the Rhone.

George Sholto Douglas, esq. secretary of legation at Florence.

Hon. col. H. King, one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber.

Whitehall, April 1. Earl of Clancarty (one of his majesty's plenipotentiaries at Vienna), knight grand cross of the bath.

Howard Elphinstone, esq. (lieutenant-colonel of the corps of royal engineers) a baronet of the United Kingdom.

April 7. The under-mentioned knights commanders of the bath to be knights grand crosses: Lieut.-gen. hon. sir John Abercromby, vice lieut.-gen. sir John Stuart (count of Maida) deceased; major-gen. hon. sir Charles Colville, vice major-gen. hon. sir E. M. Pakenham dec.

The following officers to be kts. commanders: Lieut.-gen. Moore Disney, vice lieut.-general hon. sir John Abercromby; major-general William Inglis, vice major-gen. sir Samuel Gibbs deceased; major-gen. James Lyon, vice major-gen. hon. sir Charles Colville.

The following officers in the service of the East India Company to be knights commanders, viz.: Lieut.-gen. John Macdonald; major

generals Robt. Blair, George Wood, Hector Maclean, Thomas Dallas, John Chalmers, John Horsford, Henry White, Gabriel Martindale, George Sackville Browne, George Holmes, and David Ochterlony; cols. sir J. Malcolm, Augustus Floyer, and Robert Barclay.

April 8. Major-gen. sir G. T. Walker, lieut.-governor of the Island of Grenada, vice sir J. Stuart deceased.

April 20. Vice-adm. sir Eliab Harvey, major-gen. Charles Wale, rear-admiral sir Edward Codrington, major-general sir Colquhoun Grant, and col sir Charles J. Greville, invested with the ensigns of knights commanders of the bath.

Foreign-office, May 2. A. Cockburn, esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary to the free and imperial Hanseatic towns.

May 9. The marquis of Bute lord lieutenant of the county of Glamorgan.

Lieut.-gen. sir J. Leith, G. C. B. governor of Barbadoes.

Rt. hon. W. Adam, lord chief commissioner; and A. Machonochie, and D. Monypenny, esqrs., the other lords commissioners, of the Scotch jury court.

A. Rosenbagen, esq. a comptroller of the army accounts.

May 25. Rear-admiral sir C. Rowley, knight commander of the bath.

May 27. Mr. serjeant Runnington, commissioner for the relief of insolvent debtors.

June 6. Hon. Charles Bagot, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

June 12. Lord Gambier knight grand cross of the bath, and vice-admiral D. Gould knight commander.

June 18. The dignity of a baronet

net conferred on G. King, esq. of Charlestown, co. Roscommon.

June 13. Henry Salt, esq. consul-general in Egypt.

June 17. Lord Aylmer, knight-commander of the bath.

July 6. Sir F. M^cNaughten, a judge of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal.

Sir E. Stanley, a judge of the supreme court at Madras.

Whitehall, July 15. Right hon. G. Leveson Gower, a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of visc. Granville, of Stone Park.

The earl of Clancarty, a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Trench, of Garbally.

J. G. Harris, esq. deputy judge advocate to the army under the duke of Wellington.

Whitehall, July 18. The dignity of a baron of the united kingdom granted unto the following noblemen, viz.

Rt. hon. John earl of Strathmore, by the name, style, and title of baron Bowes of Streatham Castle co. Durham, and of Lunedale, co. York.

Rt. hon. lieut.-gen. George earl of Dalhousie, K.G.C.B., by the name, &c. of baron Dalhousie, Castle, co. Edinburgh.

Rt. hon. George earl of Aboyne, by the name, &c. of baron Meldrum, of Morven, co. Aberdeen.

Rt. hon. George earl of Glasgow, by the name, &c. of baron Ross, of Hawkhead, co. Renfrew.

Rt. hon. John Willoughby earl of Enniskillen, by the name, &c. of baron Grinstead, of Grinstead, Wilts.

Rt. hon. Edmund Henry earl of Limerick, by the name, &c. of baron Foxford, of Stackpole-court, co. Clare.

Rt. hon. Peniston visc. Melbourne, by the name, &c. of baron Melbourne, of Melbourne, co. Derby.

1815.

Francis Almaric Spencer, esq. (commonly called lord Francis Almaric Spencer), by the name, &c. of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, co. Hertford.

And to George Harris, col. of the 72d reg. of foot, and general of his majesty's forces, by the name, &c. of baron Harris, of Seringapatam and Mysore in the East Indies, and of Belmont, Kent.

Whitehall, June 6. Sir Ralph Milbanke, bart. of Yorkshire and Durham, and the hon. dame Judith his wife, eldest daughter of the late Edward Noel visc. Wentworth, to take and use the surname and bear the arms of Noel only, in compliance with the will of Thomas lord Wentworth, her brother, deceased.

Foreign-office, June 20. George William Chad, esq. secretary of legation to the United States of America.

Sir Henry Lushington, bart. consul-general at Naples.

Whitehall, June 23.—The dignity of a marquis of the united kingdom conferred on Henry-William earl of Uxbridge, K.G.C.B., by the title of marquis of Anglesea.

July 18. Patrick Colquhoun, esq. agent and consul-general for the free Hanseatic towns of Lubec, Bremen, and Hamburg.

Rear-adm. sir George Cockburn, commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

July 25. G. H. Rose, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin; and hon. F. Lamb to the like office at the court of Munich.

Whitehall, July 27. A writ ordered to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for summoning sir Cecil Bishopp of Parham Park, Sussex, bart. up to the house of peers, by the name, style, and title of baron

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ron Zouche of Haryngworth, he being lineally descended from the eldest of the two daughters of Edward, the last lord Zouche of Haryngworth, who died without issue male in 1625, and one of the rightful heirs of the said barony created by writ of summons in the reign of Edward II.

July 29. G. Durie, esq. consul in Norway.

Lord Chamberlain's office, July 22. John Allen, esq. clerk of the cheque of his majesty's guard of yeomen of the guard.

East India house, Aug. 30. Major-gen. sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., governor of St. Helena.

Adm. sir G. Cockburn, appointed governor of St. Helena, on the death or resignation of major-gen. sir H. Lowe.

Rear-adm. John Harvey, commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands.

War-office, Sept. 2. Lieut.-col. lord Fitzroy J. H. Somerset, K. C. B., 1st grenadier regt. foot guards, to be an extra aide-de-camp to the prince regent, with the rank of colonel in the army.

Sept. 5. G. S. Douglas, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Berlin; and L. Harvey, esq. to the same office at the court of Munich.

Foreign-office, Sept. 8. Edw. M. Ward, esq. secretary of legation at the court of the grand duke of Tuscany.

Hamilton C. Hamilton, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Wurtemberg.

P. Cherry, esq. third judge of the court of appeal and circuit for the northern division at Madras.

Whitehall, Sept. 9. Prince Schwartzenberg, prince Blucher, count Barclay de Tolly, prince Wrede, and the prince royal of Wurtemberg,

honorary knights grand crosses of the bath.

Sept. 16. Major-gen. sir James Kempt, knight grand cross; and major-generals George Cook, Peregrine Maitland, and Frederick Adam, knights commanders of the order of the bath. One hundred and twenty colonels, lieut.-colonels, and majors, have been appointed companions of the said order on the recommendation of the duke of Wellington, for their services on the 16th and 18th of June. 396 officers of the army and navy have been appointed companions, conformably to the ordinance relative to the third class of the order published in the Gazette of the 2d Jan. last. And 26 officers in the service of the East India Company have been appointed companions, in pursuance of the ordinance published on the 10th of that month.

Carlton-house, Sept. 29. Rear-adm. sir Wm. Johnstone Hope, invested as knight commander of the bath.

Whitehall, Sept. 30. The prince regent has been pleased to grant dignities of the peerage of the united kingdom, to George James earl of Cholmondeley, by the title of earl of Rocksavage, co. Chester, and marquis Cholmondeley, with remainder to his heirs male; to James Walter visc. Grimston, of Ireland, and baron Verulam of Gorhambury, Herts, by the titles of visc. Grimston, and earl Verulam; to Charles viscount Whitworth, by the titles of baron Adbaston, co. Stafford, and earl Whitworth; to John lord Brownlow, and his heirs male, by the title of visc. Alford, of Alford, co. Lincoln, and earl Brownlow; to John Craggs, lord Elliott, by the title of earl of St. Germans, Cornwall; to John lord Boringdon, by the titles of visc. Boringdon of North Malton, Devon, and earl of Morley in the said

said county; to Orlando baron Bradford, by the titles of visc. Newport, co. Salop, and earl of Salop in the said county; to William baron Beauchamp, of Powyke, by the titles of visc. Elmley, co. Worcester, and earl of Beauchamp; to sir Alan Hyde lord Gardner, vice-admiral of the white, by the title of visc. Gardner.

The prince regent has also been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom to Ewen Cameron, of Fassifere and Callart, co. Argyll, and of Arthurstone, co. Angus, esq. with remainder to his heirs male.

Foreign-office, Oct. 6. Richard Rochfort, and James Sterling, esqrs. his majesty's consuls, the former at Ostend, and the latter at Genoa.

Whitehall, Oct. 10. Don Miguel Alava, lieut.-gen. in the armies of his Catholic majesty, to be an honorary knight-commander of the bath, in consideration of his long and zealous services while attached to the British army in the Peninsula under the duke of Wellington.

Oct. 13. George Jackson, esq. secretary of embassy to the court of Russia.

Whitehall, Oct. 20. His excellency baron de Muffling, major-general in the king of Prussia's service, honorary knight commander of the order of the bath.

Carlton house. the hon. William Thomas Graves, page of honour to his royal highness the prince regent, vice Mr. Henry Murray.

Oct. 28. Louis Duncan Cassa-major, esq. secretary of embassy to the court of St. Petersburg.

Oct. 31. The dignity of a baron of the united kingdom conferred on right hon. lieut.-gen. Rowland baron Hill, K.G.C. B. and his heirs male, by the style, &c. of baron Hill of Almaraz; and of Hawkstone and Hardwicke co. Salop, and in

default of such issue to the heirs male of his late brother John Hill, of Hawkstone, esq. dec.

Nov. 4. J. C. Colquhoun, esq. sheriff depute of Dumbartonshire. — Sir H. M'Kenzie, lieut. and sheriff principal of Ross-shire.

Foreign-office, Nov. 22. Edward James Dawkins, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Florence. — Francis Peter Merry, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Dresden.

Whitehall, Nov. 21. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom granted to sir David Ochterlony, K. C. B. and major-general in the army in the East Indies, and to his heirs male.

Downing-street, Dec. 6. C. M'Carthy, esq. governor and commander-in-chief of Sierra Leone and its dependencies.

Foreign-office, Dec. 10. Colin A. Mackenzie, esq. and George Lewis Newnham, esq. his majesty's commissioners of liquidation; George Hammond, esq. and David R. Morier, esq. (his majesty's consul-general in France) his majesty's commissioners of arbitration; and the said David Morier, esq. and James Drummond, esq. commissary-general of his majesty's forces, his majesty's commissioners of deposit; under the several articles of the convention concluded at Paris, Nov. 20, 1815, between his majesty and his most Christian majesty, for the examination and liquidation of the claims of his majesty's subjects against the government of France.

Dec. 13. Major-gen. sir G. Murray, quarter-master-general to the duke of Wellington's army.

SHERIFFS for the year 1815.

Bedfordshire. R. Hibbert, of East Hide, esq.

Berkshire. J. Wills, of Hungerford-park, esq.

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Buckinghamshire. Thomas Digby Aubrey, of Chilton-house, esq.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Robert Booth, of Alconbury, esq.

Cheshire. John Isherwood, of Marple, esq.

Cumberland. Wm. Ponsonby Johnson, of Walton-house, esq.

Derbyshire. Sir Henry Fitzherbert, of Tissington, bart.

Devonshire. James Marwood Elton, of Church-Stoke, esq.

Dorsetshire. George Smith, of Spettisbury, esq.

Essex. Luke William Walford, of Little Bardfield, esq.

Gloucestershire. William Morris, of Severnhampton, esq.

Herefordshire. R. T. Foley, of Stoke Edith, esq.

Hertfordshire. And. Reid, of Chipping Barnet, esq.

Kent. Robert Foote, of Charlton, esq.

Lancashire. Le Gendre Starkie, of Hemtroyd, esq.

Leicestershire. Edward Farnham, of Hindon, esq.

Lincolnshire. J. Sivesey, of Baumber, esq.

Monmouthshire. Sam. Bosanquet, of Dingestow, esq.

Norfolk. T. Thornhill, of Riddlesworth, esq.

Northamptonshire. Leveson Vernon, of Stoke Bruern, esq.

Northumberland. G. Baker, of Stanton, esq.

Nottinghamsh. John S. Wright, of Walford, esq.

Oxfordshire. E. F. Coulston, of Filkins, esq.

Rutlandshire. Sam. Barker, of Lyndon, esq.

Shropshire. F. Taylor, of Chicknell, esq.

Somersetshire. John Phelips, of Montacute, esq.

Staffordshire. Henry Crockett, of Little Onn Hall, esq.

County of Southampton. H. Bosanquet, of Clanville Lodge, esq.

Suffolk. Charles Tyrell, of Gipping, esq.

Surrey. James Laing, of Streat-ham, esq.

Sussex. R. W. Walter, of Michelgrove, esq.

Warwickshire. James Woolley, of Icknield-house, esq.

Wiltshire. Geo. Eyre, of Bramshaw, esq.

Worcestershire. Edw. Dixon, of Dudley, esq.

Yorkshire. W. Garforth, of Wigginthorpe, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthenshire. George Mears, of Lanstephan-place, esq.

Pembrokeshire. Maurice Williams, of Cwmgloyn, esq.

Cardiganshire. H. Evans, of Highmead, esq.

Glamorganshire. Wm. Taitt, of Cardiff, esq.

Breconshire. H. Price, of Castle Madock, esq.

Radnorshire. Wm. Davis, of Cabalva, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merionethshire. Lewis Vaughan, of Penmaen Dovey, esq.

Carnarvonshire. William Grif-fydd Oakley, of Bachysaint, esq.

Anglesey. Rob. Hughes, of Plasyn Llangoed, esq.

Montgomeryshire. P. Jones, of Cofroyd, esq.

Denbighshire. Charles Griffith Wynne, of Pentre Voelas, esq.

Flintshire. Sir R. Brooke, of Hope Hall, bart.

Appointed by the prince of Wales.

Cornwall. Sir Vyell Vyvyan, of Trelowarren, bart.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

REGENT'S SPEECH, NOV. 8, 1815.

My lords, and gentlemen,

IT is with deep regret that I am again obliged to announce the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.—It would have given me great satisfaction to have been enabled to communicate to you the termination of the war between this country and the United States of America. Although this war originated in the most unprovoked aggression on the part of the government of the United States, and was calculated to promote the designs of the common enemy of Europe against the rights and independence of all other nations, I never have ceased to entertain a sincere desire to bring it to a conclusion on just and honourable terms.—I am still engaged in negotiations for this purpose; the success of them must, however, depend on my disposition being met with corresponding sentiments on the part of the enemy,—The operations of his majesty's forces by sea and land in the Chesapeake in the course of the present year have been attended with the most brilliant and successful results.—The flotilla of the enemy in the Patuxent has been destroyed. The signal defeat of their land forces enabled a detachment of his majesty's army to take possession of the city of Washington; and the spirit of enterprise which has characterized

all the movements in that quarter, has produced on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been so wantonly involved.—The expedition directed from Halifax to the northern coast of the United States has terminated in a manner not less satisfactory. The successful course of this operation has been followed by the immediate submission of the extensive and important district east of the Penobscot river, to his majesty's arms.—In adverting to these events, I am confident you will be disposed to render full justice to the valour and discipline which have distinguished his majesty's land and sea forces; and you will regret with me the severe loss the country has sustained by the fall of the gallant commander of his majesty's troops in the advance upon Baltimore.—I availed myself of the earliest opportunity afforded by the state of affairs in Europe, to detach a considerable military force to the river Saint Lawrence; but its arrival could not possibly take place till an advanced period of the campaign.—Notwithstanding the reverse which appears to have occurred on Lake Champlain, I entertain the most confident expectation, as well from the amount as from the description of the British force now serving in Canada, that the ascendancy of his majesty's arms throughout that part of North

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America will be effectually established.—The opening of the congress at Vienna has been retarded, from unavoidable causes, to a later period than had been expected.—It will be my earnest endeavour, in the negotiations which are now in progress, to promote such arrangements as may tend to consolidate that peace which, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, I have had the happiness of concluding; and to re-establish that just equilibrium amongst the different powers, which will afford the best prospect of permanent tranquillity to Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you.—I am happy to be able to inform you that the revenue and commerce of the united kingdom are in the most flourishing condition.—I regret the necessity of the large expenditure which we must be prepared to meet in the course of the ensuing year; but the circumstances under which the long and arduous contest in Europe has been carried on and concluded, have unavoidably led to large arrears, for which you will see the necessity of providing; and the war still subsisting with America renders the continuance of great exertions indispensable.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the internal situation of all the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly subsisted between them.—Under these circumstances I am confident you will see the expediency of proceeding with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as may be necessary for the purpose of extending

our trade, and securing our present advantages; and you may rely on my cordial co-operation and assistance in every measure which is calculated to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of his majesty's dominions.

PROCLAMATION.

Castle of the Thuilleries, March 11.

After 25 years of revolution, we had, by the signal blessing of Providence, recalled France to a state of happiness and tranquillity: to render that state durable and solid, we had given to our people a charter, which, by a wise constitution, secured liberty to all our subjects.—This charter had been, since last June, the daily rule of our conduct, and we found in the chamber of peers and of deputies all the necessary aid to assist us in the maintenance of the national glory and prosperity; the love of our people was the sweetest reward of our labours and the best pledge of their success. It is this love to which we confidently appeal against the enemy who defiles the French territory, and who wishes there to renew civil war. It is against him that all opinions must rally.—All who sincerely love the country, all who feel the value of a paternal government and of liberty guaranteed by laws, must have only one thought—that of destroying the oppressor, who would have neither country, nor government, nor liberty: all Frenchmen, equal by the constitution, shall be so also in its defence: it is to them all we address the appeal which must save all.—The moment is arrived for giving a great example: we expect it from the energy of a free and brave nation: it shall always find us ready to direct it in this enterprise, which involves the safety of

of France.—Measures have been taken to stop the enemy between Lyons and Paris.—Our means will suffice if the nation oppose to him the invincible obstacle of devotedness and courage: France will not be vanquished in this contest of liberty against tyranny; of fidelity against treason; of Louis XVIII. against Bonaparte.

PROCLAMATION TO THE ARMIES.

Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre:—

To our brave armies, greeting!

Brave soldiers, the glory and force of our kingdom! It is in the name of honour that your king orders you to be faithful to your colours: you have sworn fidelity to him: you will not perjure yourselves. A general whom you would have defended to the latest moment, if he had not released you by a formal abdication, restored to you your legitimate sovereign. Confounded in the great family of which he is the father, and among which you will distinguish yourselves only by more illustrious services, you are become my children. You are deeply rooted in my affections. I associated myself in the glory of your triumphs, even when they were not obtained in my cause. Called to the throne of my ancestors, I congratulated myself on seeing it supported by that brave army so worthy to defend it. Soldiers, I invoke your love; I claim your fidelity. Your forefathers once rallied round the plume of the great Henry: it is his lineal descendant that I have placed at your head. Follow him faithfully in the path of honour and duty. Defend with him the public liberty which is attacked; the constitutional charter which it is attempted to destroy. Defend your

wives, your fathers, your children, your property, against the tyranny by which they are menaced. Is not the enemy of the country also yours? Has he not speculated on your blood; and made a traffic of your fatigues and wounds? Was it not to satisfy his insatiable ambition, that he led you through a thousand dangers to useless and bloody victories?—Our fine France not being sufficient for him, he would again exhaust its entire population to proceed to the extremities of the world to acquire new conquests at the expense of your blood. Distrust his perfidious promises: your king calls you; the country claims you. Let honour fix you invariable under your banners. It is I who undertake to recompense you; it is in your ranks, it is among the chosen of the faithful soldiers that I will select officers. Public gratitude will repay all your services; make one effort more, and you will speedily acquire glory, and the splendid repose you will have merited.—March then, without hesitation, brave soldiers, at the call of honour; yourselves apprehend the first traitor who may try to seduce you. If any among you have already lent an ear to the perfidious suggestions of rebels, such have still time to return to the path of duty. The door is still open to repentance; it is in this way that several squadrons of cavalry, whom a guilty chief wished to lead astray near La Fere, voluntarily forced him to withdraw himself.—Let the whole of the army profit by this example—let the great number of corps which have not been seduced, who have refused to join the rebels, close their battalions to attack and repel the traitor. Soldiers, you are Frenchmen: I am your king: it is not in vain that I confide in your courage and to your fidelity.

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the safety of our dear country.—
Dated at the Thuilleries, the 12th
of March, 1815, and the twentieth
year of our reign.

LOUIS.

SUBSTANCE OF TREATIES BETWEEN
HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND
THE EMPERORS OF AUSTRIA AND
RUSSIA, AND THE KING OF PRUS-
SIA, RESPECTIVELY SIGNED AT
VIENNA ON THE 25TH OF MARCH
1815.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom, may produce with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with his majesty the &c. &c. &c. to apply to that important circumstance the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

They have consequently resolved to renew, by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers with each of the three others, the engagement to preserve, against every attack, the order of things so happily established in Europe, and to determine upon the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as of giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

Article 1. The high contracting parties above mentioned solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 30th of May, 1814; as also, the stipulations determined upon and signed at the congress of Vienna, with the view to complete

the disposition of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Bonaparte. For this purpose they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th March last, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who should already have joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe, and the general peace, under the protection of which, the rights, the liberty, and independence of nations, had been recently placed and secured.

2. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object ought not to be subjected to limitation, and although the high contracting parties are resolved to devote thereto all those means which, in their respective situations, they are enabled to dispose of, they have nevertheless agreed to keep constantly in the field, each, a force of 150,000 men complete, including cavalry in the proportion of at least one-tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons; and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy.

3. The high contracting parties reciprocally engage not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war, designated in the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained; nor until Bonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew his attempts for possessing himself of the supreme power in France.

4. The present treaty being principally applicable to the present circumstances,

cumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the sixteenth article of the same, shall be again in force, as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

5. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c. shall be regulated by a particular convention.

6. The high contracting parties shall be allowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments, for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the armies.

7. The engagements entered into by the present treaty having for their object the maintenance of the general peace, the high contracting parties agree to invite all the powers of Europe to accede to the same.

8. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France, or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Bonaparte and his adherents, his most Christian majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto; and, in the event of his majesty's requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty.

Separate article.—As circumstances might prevent his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the second article, it is agreed, that his Britannic majesty shall have the option, either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of thirty pounds sterling per annum

for each cavalry soldier, and twenty pounds per annum for each infantry soldier, that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the second article.

MEMORANDUM.

Foreign-office, April 25, 1815.

The treaty, of which the substance is above given, has been ordered to be ratified, and it has been notified on the part of the prince regent to the high contracting parties, that it is his royal highness's determination, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to direct the said ratifications to be exchanged in due course, against similar acts on the part of the respective powers, under an explanatory declaration of the following tenour, as to article 8 of the said treaty:—

DECLARATION.

The undersigned, on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of the 25th of March last, on the part of his court, is hereby commanded to declare, that the eighth article of the said treaty, wherein his most Christian majesty is invited to accede, under certain stipulations, is to be understood as binding the contracting parties, upon principles of mutual security, to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Bonaparte, in pursuance of the third article of the said treaty; but, is not to be understood as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war, with a view of imposing upon France any particular government.

However solicitous the prince regent must be to see his most Christian majesty restored to the throne, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration, on the

the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his most Christian majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct.

[The treaty was received in London on the 5th instant; the answer thereto was dispatched to Vienna on the 8th. Authority and instructions have also been given to the earl of Clancarty, to sign a subsidiary engagement consequent upon the said treaty.]

FRANCE.

Paris, March 29.—His majesty held to-day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a council of ministers.—At half-past nine in the evening there was a council extraordinary, to which the ministers of state were summoned.

IMPERIAL DECREE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Napoleon, emperor of the French. We have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

Article 1. From the date of the publication of the present decree, the trade in negroes is abolished. No expedition shall be allowed for this commerce, either in the ports of France or in those of our colonies.

2. There shall not be introduced to be sold in our colonies any negro the produce of this trade, whether French or foreign.

3. Any infraction of this decree shall be punished with the confiscation of the ship and cargo, which shall be pronounced by our courts and tribunals.

4. However, the ship-owners who before the publication of the present decree shall have fitted out expe-

ditions for the trade may sell the product in our colonies.

5. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree.

NAPOLEON.

By the emperor, the minister secretary of state,

The duke of Bassano.

CORRESPONDENCE ON ALLIANCE AGAINST FRANCE.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO THE EARL OF CLANCARTY.

Foreign-office, 8th April, 1815.

My lord,—I herewith inclose a copy of an overture this day received from M. de Caulaincourt, with the answer returned. You will communicated the same to the allied sovereigns and plenipotentiaries at Vienna, for their information.—I have the honour to be, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

THE EARL OF CLANCARTY TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

Vienna, May 6, 1815.

My lord,—Adverting to your lordship's dispatch, No. 3, and to its several inclosures, conveying a proposal made by the existing government in France, and your lordship's answer thereto, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his majesty's government, that at a conference held on the 3d instant, his highness prince Metternich acquainted us, that a M. de Strassant, who had been stopped, on his way hither, at Lintz, from not having been furnished with proper passports, had addressed a letter to his imperial majesty, and therewith forwarded some unopened letters which the emperor had directed him to unseal in the presence of the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers.

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These proved to be a letter from Bonaparte, addressed to his majesty, professing a desire to continue at peace, to observe the stipulations of the treaty of Paris, &c. and a letter from M. de Caulaincourt to prince Metternich, containing similar professions.

After reading these papers, it was considered whether any, and what answer should be made thereto; when the general opinion appeared to be that none should be returned, and no notice whatever taken of the proposal.

Upon this, as indeed upon all other occasions subsequent to the resumption of authority by Bonaparte, wherein the present state of the continental powers, with regard to France, has come under discussion, but one opinion has appeared to direct the councils of the several sovereigns. They adhere, and from the commencement have never ceased to adhere, to their declaration of the 13th of March, with respect to the actual ruler of France. They are in a state of hostility with him and his adherents, not from choice but from necessity; because past experience has shown that no faith has been kept by him, and that no reliance can be placed on the professions of one who has hitherto no longer regarded the most solemn compacts, than as it may have suited his own convenience to observe them; whose word, the only assurance he can afford for his peaceable disposition, is not less in direct opposition to the tenour of his former life, than it is to the military position in which he is actually placed. They feel that they should neither perform their duty to themselves or to the people committed by Providence to their charge, if they were now to listen to those professions of

a desire for peace which have been made, and suffer themselves thus to be lulled into the supposition that they might now relieve their people from the burthen of supporting immense military masses, by diminishing their forces to a peace establishment; convinced as the several sovereigns are from past experience, that no sooner should they have been disarmed, than advantage would be taken of their want of preparation, to renew those scenes of aggression and bloodshed from which they had hoped that the peace so gloriously won at Paris would long have secured them.

They are at war, then, for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the reconquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less proportion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity; but because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever.

In this war, they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people; they have no design to oppose the claim of that nation to choose their own form of government, or intention to trench in any respect upon their independence as a great and free people: but they do think they have a right, and that of the highest nature to contend against the re-establishment of an individual as the head of the French government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated, that in such a situation he will not suffer other nations to be at peace—whose restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for the rights and independence of other states,

must

must expose the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation.

However general the feelings of the sovereigns may be in favour of the restoration of the king, they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French in the choice of this or of any other dynasty, or form of government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe: such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect, as other states have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence, their object will be satisfied; and they shall joyfully return to that state of peace, which will then, and then only, be open to them, and lay down those arms which they have only taken up for the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them on the part of their respective empires.

Such, my lord, are the general sentiments of the sovereigns and of their ministers here assembled; and it should seem, that the glorious forbearance observed by them when masters of the French capital in the early part of the last year, ought to prove to the French that this is not a war against their freedom and independence, or excited by any spirit of ambition, or desire of conquest, but one arising out of necessity, urged on the principles of self-preservation, and founded on that legitimate and incontrovertible right of obtaining reasonable security for their own tranquillity and independence—to which if France has on her part a claim, other nations have an equal title to claim at the hands of France.

I this day laid before the plenipotentiaries of the three allied pow-

ers in conference, the note proposed to be delivered upon the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of the 25th March. After the opinions which I have detailed as those with which the allied sovereigns are impressed, with respect to the object of the war, it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that the explanation afforded in this note, as the construction put by his royal highness the prince regent on the eighth article of that treaty, was favourably received. Immediate instructions will consequently be issued to the ambassadors of the imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and to the minister of his Prussian majesty, to accept of this note on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty in question.

In order to be assured that I have advanced nothing in this dispatch which does not accord with the views of the cabinets of the allied sovereigns, I have acquainted the plenipotentiaries of the high allied powers with the contents thereof, and have the honour to inform you that the sentiments contained in it entirely coincide with those of their respective courts.—I have the honour to be, &c. CLANCARTY.

ADDITIONAL CONVENTION BETWEEN
HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS
MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL
THE RUSSIAS.

His Britannic majesty engages to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling, for the service of the year ending on the 1st of April 1816, to be divided in equal proportions amongst the three powers, namely, between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, and his majesty the king of Prussia. The sub-
sidy

sidy above stipulated of five millions sterling shall be paid in London, by monthly instalments and in equal proportions, to the ministers of the respective powers, duly authorised to receive the same. The first payment thereof to become due on the 1st day of May next, and to be made immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this present additional convention. In case peace should take place, or be signed between the allied powers and France, before the expiration of the said year, the subsidy calculated upon the scale of five millions sterling shall be paid up to the end of the month in which the definitive treaty shall have been signed; and his Britannic majesty promises, in addition, to pay to Russia four months, and to Austria and to Prussia two months, over and above the stipulated subsidy, to cover the expenses of the return of their troops within their own frontiers.—The present additional convention shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of the 25th of March.—It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged as soon as possible.—In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.—Done at Vienna the 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1815,

(Signed) CLANCARTY.

LE COMTE DE RAZOUMOFFSKY.

LE COMTE DE NESSELRODE.

BARBARY STATES.

Memorial of the expediency and the means of putting an end to the piracies of the Barbary States, presented by sir W. Sidney Smith to the congress at Vienna.

At a time when the means of effecting the abolition of the slave

trade on the western coast of Africa are under discussion—when civilized Europe is straining every nerve to extend the benefits of commerce as well as those for the security of person and property in the interior of that vast continent, peopled by a race of men who are mild, industrious, and capable of enjoying the advantages of civilization in the highest degree, it is matter of astonishment that no attention is paid to the northern coast of the same quarter of the globe, inhabited by Turkish pirates, who not only oppress the natives in their vicinity, but trepan and buy them as slaves, to employ them in vessels fitted out as privateers for the purpose of tearing honest cultivators from their fire-sides and peaceable inhabitants from the shore of Europe. This abominable system of robbery is not only revolting to humanity, but operates as a very formidable restraint upon commerce, as no mariner can navigate at the present day the Mediterranean, or even the Atlantic, in a merchant vessel, without the dread and the liability of being taken by the pirates and carried as a slave into Africa.

The government of Algiers is composed of the officers of an orta, or regiment of Janizaries; a rebellious soldiery, who do not, even in appearance, acknowledge the authority of the Ottoman Porte, which however does not recognise their independence.

The dey is always the officer most distinguished among them for cruelty. He holds his situation at the head of the divan or regency, by enriching his associates: that is to say, by permitting them to indulge in every sort of violence in Africa, and to carry on a piratical warfare on the seas against the weaker states of Europe, or those whose

whose immediate vengeance is not dreaded.

The Ottoman flag even is not sufficient to protect its Greek subjects, and to secure them from the attacks of the Algerine corsairs. The dey of Algiers not long ago, either in a fit of cruelty or actuated by some barbarous scheme of policy, the object of which was to destroy the commerce of his rivals of Tunis and Tripoli, ordered the crews of several vessels from the Archipelago and Egypt, laden with grain, to be hanged. The bashaw of Egypt, in revenge, caused all the Algerines in his states to be arrested, and in vain claims the restitution of the cargoes unjustly seized by the dey of Algiers.

The Ottoman Porte beholds with jealousy and indignation a rebellious vassal daring to perpetrate the most outrageous and atrocious acts against her peaceable subjects, and to impose shackles on that trade of which this government stands in greater need than ever, for the purpose of paying the troops of the bashaws employed on the eastern frontier of the Ottoman empire, to carry on the war against the Wechabites and the other numerous Arabian tribes, who, under the influence of these sectaries, are incessantly threatening, by aggressions, the very existence of that tottering government.

On the other hand, Europe has an interest in upholding the Ottoman government, both as a recognised autocracy, and as a power that can restrain the revolted bashaws and beys, and prevent them from committing robberies on the seas. This interest of Europe becomes still more obvious and important, from the necessity under which she frequently is of importing corn from the Black Sea or from the Nile, whence a surplus produce may

always be derived, provided an unfavourable season in the northern parts of the Ottoman territory be regularly counterbalanced in the same year by a favourable season in the south, and *vice versa*.

Now, if a Barbarian, calling himself an independent prince, though not recognised as such by the sultan his legitimate sovereign, can at pleasure menace, terrify, and make prisoners of the Greeks and the vessels of small European states, who alone carry on a trade which the ships of the great powers do not find sufficiently advantageous to pursue, because they cannot do it at so low an expense;—if that audacious chief of pirates may, when he shall think fit, intercept cargoes of grain destined for Europe, the civilized nations are by this capricious act under the control of a chief of robbers, who have it in their power to aggravate their sufferings and eventually to starve them in a season of scarcity.

The Barbarian likewise possesses formidable means of extorting money from Christian princes: he threatens them, as he recently did with respect to Sicily, to put to death such of their subjects as have fallen into his power; his well-known cruelty rendering these menaces very formidable, becomes in his hand an engine for extorting money from one Christian prince to carry on the war which he declares against another. In this manner he can lay all Europe under contribution, and compel each in its turn to pay tribute to his ferocity, by purchasing from him peace, and the lives of the unfortunate slaves.

It is superfluous to show that such a state of things is not only monstrous but absurd, and that it is not less outrageous to religion than it is to humanity and honour.

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The progress of knowledge and of civilization ought necessarily to effect the suppression of such abominable practices.

It is evident that the military means hitherto employed by the Christian princes to hold the Barbary states in check, have been not only inadequate to the purpose, but have generally had the effect of consolidating more and more the dangerous power of these barbarians.

Europe seemed for a long time to place her dependence upon the gallantry of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and did not consider that this order of knights has not had in these later times either sufficient power, or perhaps sufficient energy, to counterbalance and repel the ever increasing aggressions of these hordes of pirates. Besides, the order of Malta, being by its institution prohibited from entering into negotiations with infidels, could not avail itself of all the resources of policy by entering into treaties of alliance with those around them, who are themselves rather the passive victims of the piratical system than active co-operators; as, for example, Tunis and Morocco, both governed by princes born in these states, and who have shown themselves to be well disposed and capable of maintaining with European powers the relations of commerce and friendship.

It is therefore obvious, that the resurrection of that order, after the political suicide of which it has been guilty, would not alone be sufficient to accomplish the object in view. This laudable object is to secure Europe forever from the outrages of the African corsairs, and to cause governments favourable to commerce, and in peace and amity with all civilized nations, to succeed to states radically and necessarily piratical ever since the days of Barbarossa.

What are the means to be employed to accomplish this desirable object? The undersigned would wish that he could prevail upon all Europe to participate in his conviction, the result of thirty years close study and investigation. He did not cease, during his ministry at the Ottoman Porte, to employ himself upon the subject which he now treats; it engaged his attention in the camp and in the fleets of the same power, and during the whole course of his well known intercourse with the nations and tribes of Africa and of Asia.

This firm conviction of the possibility of crushing the system of robbery and outrage acted upon by the Barbary States, cannot be better proved than by the offer which he makes of undertaking the direction of the expeditions, provided the necessary means be put at his disposal.

Animated by the recollection of his oaths of knighthood, and being anxious to excite the same ardour in other Christian knights, he proposes to the nations most interested in the success of this noble enterprise to engage themselves, by a treaty, to furnish their respective contingents of a maritime, or, as it may be called, an amphibious force, which, without compromising any flag, and without being influenced by wars, or any political crisis incident to nations, shall constantly guard the shores of the Mediterranean, and have the important duty of watching, stopping, and following all the pirates both on the seas and on land. This power, recognised and protected by all Europe, would not only render commerce perfectly secure, but would eventually civilise the coasts of Africa, by prohibiting the inhabitants from continuing their piratical depredations, to the prejudice

prejudice of industry and lawful commerce.

This protecting and imposing force should begin by a rigorous blockade of the naval forces of the Barbarians, wheresoever they can be found. At the same time, the ambassadors of all the sovereigns and states of Christendom ought mutually to support each other in representing to the Ottoman court, that it must be held responsible for the hostile acts of its subjects, if it shall continue to permit recruiting in its states for the garrisons of Africa, (which garrisons will be of no use, as these forces would be better employed against its enemies than against European friendly powers,) and by exacting from the Porte a formal disavowal and an authentic interdiction of the wars which those rebel chiefs declare against Europe.

The Ottoman court might be engaged to give promotion and rewards to those among the Janizaries captains of frigates, and other Algerine sailors, who would obey the injunctions of the sultan; and thus the dey would soon find himself abandoned, and without the means of annoyance or defence.

The same influence might be used more effectually at Tunis, as that country is at war with Algiers, from which it has really every thing to fear. Besides, the head of the Tunisian government is of a quite opposite nature to that of Algiers. It would voluntarily co-operate in any measure tending to civilise the state and promote the prosperity of the empire. The peace between Tunis and Sardinia, which has suffered so much from the trepanning of her subjects, ought to form the first link of the chain, and from this moment nothing ought to be neglected to complete it.

The ulterior details will be easily

developed, when the sovereigns shall have adopted the principle, and when they shall deign to grant to the undersigned their confidence and their authority, which are requisite for the success of the enterprise

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

REPORT TO THE KING ON THE SITUATION OF FRANCE, AND ON THE RELATIONS WITH THE FOREIGN ARMIES.

Sire,—The devastation of France is at its height. Every thing is ruined, wasted, and destroyed, as if we had neither to hope for peace nor composition. The inhabitants fly before undisciplined soldiers—the forests are filled with unhappy beings who seek in them a last asylum,—the crops are perishing on the ground: in a short time despair will no longer listen to the voice of any authority; and this war, undertaken for the triumph of moderation and justice, will equal in barbarity those deplorable and too celebrated invasions, the memory of which is handed down in history with horror.

The allied powers have too loudly proclaimed their doctrine to allow us to doubt of their magnanimity. What advantage can be derived from so many useless evils? Shall there be no longer any bond of connexion between the nations? Do they wish to retard the reconciliation of Europe with France? One of the views of the sovereigns seemed to be to secure the government of your majesty, and yet its authority is incessantly compromised by the state of impotency to which it is reduced by them. Its power is even rendered odious by the evils of which it seems to be the accomplice, because it is unable to prevent them. Your majesty

jesty signed as ally the treaty of the 25th March, and yet the most direct war is carried on against you.

The sovereigns are acquainted with the degree of intelligence possessed by the French—no reasoning, no description of faults, no kind of propriety, escape the penetration of that people—though humiliated by necessity, they resign themselves to it with courage. The only evils which they cannot support, are those which they cannot comprehend. Has not your majesty done every thing, for the interest of the powers and for peace, which depended on your efforts? Bonaparte has not only been dispossessed, but he is in the hands of the allies: his family is equally in their power, as it is within their territories. The chambers have been dissolved. Soon there will be no men in public functions but those who may be depended on and friends to peace.

The Bonapartists were dreaded, though none of them can any longer be dangerous. Your majesty, however, has on this subject granted every thing that could be granted or required by way of example.

If after vanquishing France they pretend that it ought still to be punished, this language, which ought not to have been expected after the promises of the sovereigns, requires that they should weigh well all the consequences. For what do they wish to punish us? Is it to expiate the ambition of one man and the evils which it has produced? We were ourselves the first victims, and we have twice delivered Europe from them. It is not in foreign countries, but in France, that terror has constantly troubled his repose, notwithstanding his power.

He was never able to render the war national: instruments are not

accomplices. Who does not know that the person who exercises tyranny finds always in the multitude a sufficient force to make himself obeyed?

We are even reproached with his successes:—they were compensated by a number of reverses. What image did the announcement of his victories hold up to us, but that of the conscriptions which perished and closed their short career, only to make new conscriptions which were again to be mowed down in battle! We were saved, like the rest of Europe, by the same mournings and the same calamities.

The army is submissive to your majesty, but it still exists. We ought to explain ourselves on this subject without any reserve. What remains of the army is now only attached to peace and the public tranquillity. Its state of re-union, far from being an evil, prevents the evil from extending. The return of the soldiers into the bosom of the people will be attended with no danger when the conclusion of the war shall allow the people the means of resuming their occupations and their habits; but before that time, and so long as the fermentation is not extinguished nor obedience established, the mingling the soldiers with the citizens would be only throwing new inflammable matter into the flames.

It is grievous to think that this state of things originates in the error of some cabinets, in the judgments formed by them on the situation of France. The fulfilment of all their desires depends on themselves alone. There are no sacrifices to which an enlightened people will not readily submit, when they see the object for which they are exacted, and finding them the means of avoiding greater calamities.

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mities. Such is the disposition, such the wish of every Frenchman.

But if they, on the other hand, wish to obtain preparatory measures for unknown plans, they demand a thing impossible. There is no such thing as blind obedience in France. The powers have not yet published any of their designs; no one knows what idea he ought to entertain of the government, of the authority of your majesty, or of the future.

Anxiety and suspicion are at their height, and every thing appears a subject of terror in the midst of this obscurity. But a single word would change every disposition; there would no longer be an obstacle to any measures, if they made a part of a general plan which should altogether afford some conciliation to obedience.

Let the sovereigns then deign to explain themselves. Why will they persist in refusing this act of justice?—Let them deign to bring forward all their demands as so many conditions of the repose of the nations, and let our concession to their views make part of a reciprocal treaty, and there will no longer be any difficulties.

The sovereigns do not, perhaps, sufficiently remark the circle of embarrassments and obstacles in which they place both us and themselves. We require good order to second them, and their explanation to re-establish good order. Are they desirous of sacrifices which require repartitions and prompt obedience? It is only requisite for this purpose, that the authority of your majesty should be full and entire: nothing is possible, nothing can be executed, if peace does not exist in reality, at least provisionally; and far from being in a state of peace,

we experience all the calamities of war.

Let the sovereigns bestow at least some attention to their own interests. When every thing shall be ruined and devastated around their armies, how will they find means of subsistence? Is there no danger in dispersing the troops? All arms will not be taken away, and arms of all sorts are murderous in the hands of despair. With respect to warlike contributions, what new sacrifice can be demanded where every thing has already been destroyed by the soldier? With respect to armed force, when once discipline is relaxed, it is not easily re-established.

Germany is far from expecting, after a glorious campaign, to receive back her soldiers corrupted by a spirit of licentiousness, rapine, and pillage.

This war ought to have been in every respect distinguished from others, instead of imitating and surpassing in France the excesses against which the sovereigns took up arms—Will their glory even be satisfied? On our part we have done whatever they desired; and on their part every thing which had been announced to the world is fulfilled, one point excepted. What a contrast between what is actually passing and their solemn promises! This is the age of reason and justice, and the public opinion never had more power. Who can explain such excessive evils after such promises of moderation? The present war was undertaken to serve the cause of legitimacy. Is this manner of carrying on war calculated to render the authority of your majesty more sacred?

They were desirous of punishing the individual who sported with the calamities of nations, and they inflict

dict on France the same violence, the same inhumanity. It was thought by all Europe that the entry of the sovereigns into Paris would put an end to the war. What will be thought, on learning that it was then only that the excesses of oppression commenced, without combats, and without resistance? The evils which we are reproached with having inflicted on others, were never so great; they never took place when the use of arms had no object; and though it were true that we had given the first examples of such an abuse of force, ought they to imitate what they impute to us as a crime?

It is known in the North, it is known in Prussia, that our want of moderation gave birth to energy and public spirit in our enemies. There will no longer be any end to the evils of humanity, if mutual vengeance are to become the rule of war; for nations never die.

Your majesty will deign to permit me to insist on one final consideration—So long as France shall have any thing to preserve, by the hope of maintaining its integrity as a nation, no sacrifice will be impossible, and all the plans of an equitable policy may be executed; but the day in which the inhabitants shall have lost every thing, in which their ruin shall be consummated, a new order of things—a new series of events will be seen to arise, because there will no longer be either government or obedience. A blind fury will take the place of resignation; they will only seek counsel in despair; on both sides there will be ravage—pillage will make war on pillage. Every step of the foreign soldiers will be marked with blood. France will be less ashamed of destroying herself than in allowing herself to be destroyed by

others.—The moment approaches;—already the national spirit takes this frightful direction;—the most opposite parties are blending into one;—La Vendée itself unites its colours with those of the army. In this excess of evils, what line of conduct remains to your majesty but that of removal? The public functionaries in the same manner will quit their places, and the armies of the sovereigns will then be at issue with individuals freed from all social ties.

A nation of thirty millions of inhabitants may undoubtedly disappear from the face of the earth; but in this war of man to man, the oppressed and their vanquishers will lie together in more than one grave.

FOUCHE.

ANSWER OF THE FRENCH MINISTERS
TO THE OFFICIAL NOTE OF THE
ALLIED SOVEREIGNS.

The king's ministers have received the official note addressed to them by the ministers of the allied powers. The latter wish to persuade the king's ministers that the measures which they have commanded to the government of Paris, are such as may contribute to diminish the exactions of the war, and to re-establish the royal authority. The king's ministers, however, unfortunately, cannot regard these measures in that point of view. They owe it to the sovereigns, to France, and to themselves, to explain themselves on this subject. The sovereigns, doubtless, are the masters, and can do whatever they desire; but at any rate let them not say that, in taking every step calculated to ruin the cause of his majesty, they wish to confer any favour on him. There is already in France too much odium and ill will against the Bourbons, to render

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der it necessary still more to revolt every heart by making the nation experience the greatest losses and the deepest humiliations. What humiliation can be more afflicting than to see in a time of peace all the departments subjected to your military governors—what misfortune more to be deprecated than the dispersion of your troops over the whole face of the country? The sovereigns declared that they only made war against Napoleon; and yet all their measures belie their words, since at the present moment, when the war ought to be finished, it is only about to commence. The present position of France is so much the more afflicting, as, were war openly declared (which it is not), it is utterly impossible that she can suffer in a greater degree all its evils and all its horrors. Every where, wherever the armies are (always excepting the English), pillage, fire, rape, and murder, have been carried to their fullest extent; avarice and vengeance have left nothing for the officers or soldiers to desire. To speak with freedom, they exceed even the atrocities of which the French armies have been too often justly accused. The measures, however, alluded to in your note can have no other results than to extend the limits of this devastation. The armies spread themselves in our provinces, and all the horrors which we have depicted follow in their train. Such are the sentiments of the king's ministers on the new decree, and their answer to the appeal which has been made to them.

They have the honour to subscribe themselves, with the highest consideration,

TALLEYRAND,
FOUCHE.

THE LATE KING OF NAPLES.

The emperor of Austria grants an asylum to king Joachim, within the limits of his dominions, under the following conditions:—

Art. 1. The king is to assume the title of a private individual: the queen having adopted that of the countess of Lipona, it is suggested that his majesty should adopt the corresponding title.

2. The king is at liberty to choose any town in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria, as the place of his residence. If his majesty should think proper to live in the country instead of in a town of the said province, no objection will be made on the part of the emperor.

3. The king is to engage on his honour (*parole*), in the presence of his imperial majesty, that he will not quit the Austrian dominions without the express consent of his said majesty, and that his mode of life will be suitable only to that of a private person of rank, and that he will submit to the laws in force within the Austrian states.

In the faith of which arrangement and according to the established usage the undersigned has, by the command of the emperor, subscribed the present declaration.

Le Prince de METTERNICH.

Given at Paris, Sept. 1, 1815.

PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY GENERAL DON JUAN DIEZ FORLIER TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE KINGDOM OF GALICIA.

Soldiers,—The happy and desired day is arrived, in which, by our heroic and glorious resolution, we begin to break the chains of the most fatal slavery that has ever been known. It would be useless for me to exert myself to convince you what has been the conduct of king Ferdinand since his restoration

to the throne of Spain ; that throne which cost the nation so many lives, so much blood, and such sacrifices to deliver it from the influence of a tyrant. Nobody is ignorant that the king, surrounded by unjust and avaricious counsellors, has consented to and executed a proscription so atrocious, that even the irrational have trembled at it ; the most illustrious and deserving men have been the first victims of it : delivered by this means from those who had preferred the general good to their own interest, they opened the flood-gates of despotism, and the nation was in a moment inundated with the furious torrent. Such, soldiers, is the mass of evils and misfortunes that we have suffered ! misery, contempt, disgrace, have been the recompense they have given us ; the dissolution of the laws, punishments, contributions, duties, (*los senorias, las puertass,*) and finally the depression and discouragement of agriculture and commerce, have been the acknowledgement that has been made for the services of the people. I will not speak to you of other vicious and infamous proceedings, which have been committed with impunity, and audacity having even gone so far as to endeavour to sanctify them as precepts of our holy religion. To come out of a situation so desperate, and which scandalises all Europe, we need but to be resolved ; we, if the case is properly considered, are the oppressors of the country, since these armies, intended only to combat the enemies of what is good, have been turned for this year past against ourselves, and against our fortune and interests. Do not fear, in attempting this enterprise, the armies of other powers, since, conducted by wise princes endowed with the most splendid virtues, far

from opposing our just cause, it is rather greatly to be hoped that they will maintain and support it, Yes ! we have before our eyes most striking testimonies of this truth, which have made us conceive the most flattering hopes—they have disapproved from the very beginning the conduct of king Ferdinand, and, with a noble and generous unanimity, they have finished by excluding him from the European alliance, having previously left no means untried to divert him from error, and from the precipice : all has been in vain. In this situation no alternative remains to us but to take to our arms. Let us remove from his side those wicked counsellors, let us re-establish the cortes ; and let them determine the system which is to govern us ; and meantime considering the nation as abandoned and destitute, the provinces, in imitation of this most noble kingdom of Galicia, will appoint their internal juntas to govern them till the convocation of the cortes. Henceforth the valiant soldier, the man of talent, and of real merit, shall meet with a solid recompense ; arts, agriculture, and commerce, shall resume their ancient splendour ; the national wealth shall recover the same channels which formerly nourished it ; the soldiers and others employed by the public shall be punctually paid ; the scale of justice shall return to that equilibrium of force which is the foundation of the tranquillity of the state. All this, soldiers, is offered you as a reward by the change of the present system—to obtain it, unite your forces with mine, and have confidence in your chiefs ; doubt not but that the other armies will follow you, and that all will be actuated by the same impulse. And if even there should be obstacles and difficulties to over-

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come,

come, valour makes every thing easy.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO
LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Paris, Sept. 23.

My lord,—A great deal has lately been said here respecting the measures I have been obliged to adopt in order to obtain for the king of the Netherlands his paintings and other things out of the Museum; and as these reports may reach the ears of the prince regent, I communicate to you the following account of the whole affair, for his royal highness's information:

A short time after the arrival of the sovereigns at Paris, the minister of the king of the Netherlands demanded the pictures, &c. &c. belonging to his sovereign, as did the ministers of the other sovereigns, and, as I was informed, could not obtain a satisfactory answer from the French government. After several conversations with me upon the subject, he sent to your lordship an official note, which was laid before the ministers of the allied powers assembled at a conference, upon which the business was several times taken into consideration, in order to discover a means of doing justice to the claimants of the objects of art in the Museum, without hurting the feelings of the king of France.

Meanwhile the Prussians had obtained from his majesty, not only all the pictures belonging to Prussia Proper, but also those which belonged to the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and all those that were the property of his Prussian majesty: the affair now became urgent, and your lordship wrote a note of the —, in which the matter was fully treated.

The minister of the king of the Netherlands having not yet received any satisfactory answer from the

French government, applied to me as commander in chief of the army of the king of the Netherlands, and asked whether I had any objection to employing his majesty's troops to obtain possession of what was indubitably his majesty's property. I laid this question also before the ministers of the allied monarchs; and as no objection was found, I thought it my duty to take the necessary steps to obtain what was his right.

I spoke in consequence with prince Talleyrand upon this subject, communicated to him what had passed at the conference, and the reason I had for thinking that the king of the Netherlands had a right to the paintings, and requested him to lay the matter before the king, and to beg his majesty to do me the favour to determine the manner in which I might obtain the object of the king of the Netherlands without in any manner offending his majesty.

Prince Talleyrand promised me an answer by the next evening: but as I did not receive it, I repaired to him in the night, and had a second conference with him, in which he gave me to understand that the king would give no orders upon the subject, that I might do as I thought proper, and negotiate with Mr. Denon, the director of the Museum.

In the morning I sent my aide-de-camp, lieutenant-colonel Freemantle, to Mr. Denon, who told him that he had no orders to give up any paintings out of the Gallery, and that he should suffer none to be taken away but by force.

I then sent colonel Freemantle to prince Talleyrand to acquaint him with this answer, and to inform him that the troops would go the next morning at twelve o'clock to take possession of the paintings belonging

ing to the king of the Netherlands, and to declare that, if any thing unpleasant should arise from this measure, the king's ministers, and not I, were answerable for it. Colonel Freemantle likewise informed Mr. Denon of the measure that was to be taken.

It was, however, not necessary to send any troops, because a Prussian guard constantly occupied the Gallery, and the pictures were taken away without any assistance being required from any of the troops under my command, except a few who assisted as labourers in the taking down and packing up.

It has been alleged that, by having been the instrument of carrying away from the Gallery the pictures of the king of the Netherlands, I had been guilty of a breach of a treaty which I had myself made; and as there is no mention of the Museum in the treaty of the 25th of March, and as it seems now the treaty spoken of is the military convention of Paris, it is necessary to show how this convention is connected with the Museum.

I do not want to prove that the allies were at war with France: there is no doubt that their armies entered Paris under a military convention concluded with an officer of the government, the prefect of the department of the Seine, and an officer of the army who represented both authorities at that moment present at Paris, and empowered by those authorities to negotiate and conclude for them.

The article of the convention which is alleged to have been broken is the 11th, which relates to the public property: I positively deny that this article has any reference whatever to the Gallery of paintings.

The French commissioners intro-

duced in the original project, an article to provide for the security of this species of property; but prince Blucher would not consent, saying that there were in the Gallery paintings which had been taken from Prussia, and which Louis XVIII. had promised to restore; which however had never been done. I repeated this circumstance to the French commissioners, and they proposed to accept the article, with the exception of the Prussian pictures; and to this proposal I answered, that I was there as the representative of the other nations in Europe, and that I must claim for other nations all that was conceded to the Prussians. I added that I had no instructions concerning the Museum, nor any grounds to form an opinion how the sovereigns would act; that they would certainly urge that the king should fulfil his obligations, and that I advised the omission of the article entirely, and the reserving this affair for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive.

Thus stands the affair of the Museum in reference to the treaty. The convention of Paris is silent upon it; and a negotiation took place, which left the business to the decision of the sovereigns.

Taking it for granted that the silence of the treaty of Paris of May 1814, respecting the Museum, had given the French government an indisputable claim to the pieces contained in it; it cannot be denied that this claim was annihilated by this negotiation.

Those who negotiated for the French government judged that the victorious armies had a right to take the works of art from the Museum, and they therefore endeavoured to save them by introducing an article into the military convention,

tion. This article was rejected, and the claim of the allies greatly advanced by the negotiation on their side; and this was the reason that the article was rejected. Not only then was the possession of them not guaranteed by the military convention, but the above-mentioned negotiation tended the more to weaken the right of the French government to the possession, which was founded on the silence of the treaty of Paris of May 1814.

The allies having now legal possession of the pieces in the Museum, could do no otherwise than restore them to those from whom they had been taken away, contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, during the dreadful period of the French revolution and the tyranny of Bonaparte.

The conduct of the allies with respect to the Museum at the time of the treaty of Paris, must be ascribed to their desire to gratify the French army, and to confirm the reconciliation with Europe to which the army seemed at that time to be disposed.

But the circumstances are now entirely different; the army disappointed the just expectations of the world, and embraced the first opportunity to rise against its sovereign, and to serve the general enemy of humanity, with a view to the renewal of the frightful times that were passed, and of the scenes of pillage against which the world has made so many gigantic efforts.

This army having been defeated by the armies of Europe, it is dissolved by the united councils of the sovereigns, and there can be no reason why the powers of Europe should do wrong to their own subjects, in order to again satisfy this army: indeed it never appeared to me to be necessary that the allied sovereigns

should neglect this opportunity to do justice and favour to their own subjects in order to please the French nation. The feeling of the French people upon this subject can be no other than national arrogance.

They would desire to retain these works of art, not because Paris is the properest place for them to be preserved in (for all artists and connoisseurs who have written on the subject agree that they ought to be sent back to the places where they originally were), but because they have been acquired by conquests, of which they are the trophies.

The same feeling that makes the people of France wish to keep the pictures and statues of other nations, must naturally make other nations wish, now that victory is on their side, to restore those articles to the lawful owners; and the allied sovereigns must feel a desire to promote this object.

It is besides to be wished, as well for the happiness of France as of the world, that if the French people are not already convinced that Europe is too strong for them, they may be made to feel that however extensive for a time their temporary and partial advantages over one or more of the powers of Europe may be, the day of retribution must at length come.

According to my feelings, then, it would not only be unjust in the sovereigns to gratify the French people; but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would deprive them of the opportunity of giving the French a great moral lesson.—I am, my dear lord, &c.

WELLINGTON.

SPAIN.

Corunna, Oct. 12.

After the arrest of general Porlier at

at Santiago, where he was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition, he was brought here on the 26th of September, with some officers of his party, and hanged in the Campo de la Horca on the 3d inst.

The late general Porlier left orders in his testament, that he should be put in a chest locked with a key, and that the latter should be given to his wife, with a handkerchief steeped in his last tears, and that, when circumstances should permit, he should be placed in a pantheon, with the following inscription :

"Here repose the ashes of Don Juan Diez Porlier, general of the Spanish armies, who was fortunate in what he undertook against the enemies of his country, and died a victim of civil dissensions.

"Feeling souls! respect the ashes of an unfortunate patriot."

Letter to his wife.

"My beloved wife!—The Almighty, who disposes of men according to his will, has deigned to call me to himself, in order to give me in eternal life that tranquillity and ease which I have not enjoyed in this world.—We are all subject to this necessary condition of nature, and therefore it is useless to grieve when this hour approaches.—On this account, I most tenderly beseech you to receive this last blow of the ill fate which has persecuted us, with the same tranquillity and security as I retain while writing this to you. Be not afflicted at the kind of death they inflict upon me, since it can dishonour only the wicked, but covers the good with honour and glory.—I repeat to you, that if I take with me any consolation to the world of truth, it is that of being persuaded, that obeying me at this moment, as you have always done hitherto, you will be consoled and resigned to the will of God, which is the supreme law of all mortals :

in the sequel you will receive my last will, which you will endeavour to fulfil as far as possible. Father Sanchez, who will be the bearer, a monk of our patron St. Augustine, will deliver you this, and will communicate to you, verbally, other things which I confide to him under confession, I again recommend you to conform to what I desire, since the contrary, besides being prejudicial to your safety, will not tend to the good of your soul.—Adieu! Receive the heart of your husband.

"J. O. DE LA C.

"Oct. 2—one o'clock at night."

LETTER OF THE LATE FRENCH MINISTERS TO THE KING, EXPLAINING THE MOTIVES FOR THEIR RETIRING.

Sire, — Your majesty deigned to confide to us the administration of your empire, when the whole of Europe in arms occupied the northern provinces, when they menaced those of the east and the south, and when civil war was kindled and diffused over the west. A triumphant faction, which was restrained, but not discouraged; portions of the population who had become indifferent from the excess of their fears or their sufferings to any events which might ensue; equally ready to support alternately the tyranny of the faction and the yoke of foreign arms, until some greater misfortunes should at length unite them against their oppressors;—such has been the situation of the kingdom since your majesty's return.

The love of our country was no longer to be found but under the tri-coloured flag. The party which called themselves royalists, proscribed, in their projects, both the laws, and the men who did not encourage the subversion of social order. Were France buried beneath her

her own ruins, and your majesty reigned only over desert provinces, this party would prefer the destruction of the glory, the strength, and the political existence of France, to seeing her consoled for her misfortunes, and regaining her losses under the wise and liberal laws vouchsafed by your majesty. This party became hostile in the west, in the south, and in the north, because it believed itself supported by authority. Good citizens waited, in silence, to hear the voice of your majesty. At present they are preparing their arms in Auvergne, in the Cevennes, in the Vosges, in Franche Comté, and in Alsace.

You cannot, sire, be ignorant what was our devotion to your sacred person: we had partaken of your dangers, your misfortunes, and your exile; we know the wishes and the wants of the French people; we expressed them to your majesty with a respectful candour. You seemed to listen to us: and now that we are quitting your councils, we hope that you will permit us to recall them to your recollection.

Successive revolutions have changed the conditions of families, have overthrown the fortunes which they had amassed, have closed up the paths they had opened, have tarnished the national glory which they had exalted; but those revolutions have also taught the people, that there is no happiness for them except under a fixed and steady government, because that will replace the conditions of families in a state of harmony with existing manners, because it will consolidate existing fortunes, because it will permit the citizens to go on in that career which they have begun, and because it will establish the national honour on the principles of unalterable justice; results of the utmost importance to the nation, because it will place in-

dividuals in that relative condition which the state of society requires.

"If we could have given this direction to your majesty's government, Frenchmen would have been united in heart and in conduct with the wishes of their king; their interests would have been confounded with the glory, the love, and the safety of the prince. Those desires and those fanatical passions which would have disturbed an order of things so auspicious to the general good, would gradually have died away, or have been lost in the emptiness of an ineffectual opposition.

Your subjects would have submitted to your laws, whatever their opinions might have been, or their former condition. The republican or the imperial party is no longer to be feared; the mass of the nation wish only for liberty and tranquillity. Foreign cabinets, in seeing Frenchmen rallied round your throne, would have limited pretension, which then you might have withstood.

The constitution having rendered us responsible for the acts of your authority, we proposed to regulate it by those principles which we have here unfolded. We soon had to struggle with the ignorance, the passions, and the hatred of the persons who surrounded you: they soon began to intermeddle with the government. Orders were given, and measures adopted, in which we did not participate. Royal commissaries went and kindled civil war in the provinces, gave arms to the seditious, directed their ferocity against peaceful citizens, and spread around terror and dismay! They easily succeeded in this, when they announced that foreigners were their auxiliaries, when they profaned the name of your majesty, by invoking it in their addresses, and when in the south, which foreigners did

did not yet occupy, they permitted the entrance of eighty thousand Spaniards. A marshal of France was murdered on the banks of the Rhone, and his assassins were neither apprehended nor punished ! Was it by oppression that the people were to be inspired with a love for your government ? Outrage soon extended itself ; in some cities colours were displayed which were not those of your majesty. Frenchmen themselves wished to dismember your kingdom, and separate the north from the south. Your majesty became sensible that it was necessary to recal to their submission the blind partisans of a cause whose legitimacy was acknowledged ! Our orders were not listened to : magistrates whom we sent in your name were sacrificed by those who acted in the name of the king ; we remained without power ; secret instructions rendered all our efforts and intentions unavailing. In such circumstances, what could your majesty's ministers do ? The duke of Otranto, when Napoleon still reigned, had succeeded, by negotiation, in disarming La Vendée. Your majesty was scarcely seated on the throne when the insurrection broke out in this same La Vendée with more violence than ever. What could be its object after your restoration ? Your minister-at-war declared that he had no troops with which to subdue these provinces ; it was not the intention of your court that this insurrection should be opposed.

We cannot conceal from you, sire, that these attacks are levelled at your throne ; you suffer legitimate authority to be despised, and the authority of faction supplies its place. Factions produce revolutions, and those who triumph to-day may be overthrown to-mor-

row ; your throne will no longer have even the support of their illegitimate authority. Your ministers, always devoted to your person, still endeavoured to oppose this reaction ; the princes of your house, the nobles of your court, designated as crimes, and as attacks upon your crown, their efforts to restore order and submission to the law ; we lost all influence with your majesty ; we became guilty in the eyes of the nation.

The elections were made : a factious minority directed them ; that minority alone is represented. The choice which they recommend to your majesty for the chamber of peers indicates the same spirit.

Ministers, without authority, a prey to the persecutions of the court, without support in the public opinion, exposed to the opposition of the chambers, what should we be able to reply to the clamours of the people, when at length they shall demand the reasons for so many calamities ?

Meanwhile, foreigners possess France as a conquered country ; to civil discord they add the ravage of provinces ; they dissipate the funds which ought to find their way into the treasury ; they devour the provisions of the people, who are threatened with an approaching famine ; they carry off the magazines of arms, the ammunition of war, and the cannons from the ramparts of our cities. The white flag floats only over ruins ! They despoil us of our public monuments, the tokens of our former glory ; they seize the monuments of art, which alone remain to us after twenty years of conquest. It is dishonour, sire, which the people are most reluctant to pardon, and your majesty has remained silent in the midst of all these attacks on the national honour !

We

We were, for a long time, ignorant that secret treason had connected you with foreigners—your majesty wished to negotiate yourself—we could not prevent the disbandment of the army; and this measure being completed, left France and your person in the power of foreigners. What had your house to fear from that army? Napoleon no longer existed for France. The national colours granted, and some concessions made to public opinion, that army would have become yours—it would have served you to resist the ambitious projects of your allies. Was every thing to be abandoned to the combinations and the seductions of your court and of foreign princes? Your court is led astray by prejudices: the foreign sovereigns have interests opposed to yours. The emperor of Russia was, perhaps, the only one whom you could believe sincere in his promises.

The allies at this moment oppose the recruiting of the departmental legions.

Such are the misfortunes of the situation in which unwise councils have placed your majesty. Your subjects are almost every where in opposition or in arms against each other, and almost every where the partisans of your house are the smallest number. The French, humiliated and discontented, are ready to proceed to the last extremity. Your majesty has no longer the means of opposing the pretensions of foreigners. They have presented a treaty which would consummate the ruin of the nation, and which would cover it with eternal shame. We have not thought it became us to give an assent which would have rendered us culpable towards that nation, which may be humiliated, but which cannot be beat down.

Since your majesty has confided authority to our hands, we have constantly been without the power of doing good, without the power of preventing evil. Our opinions have no influence; the cabals of your court have prevailed. We have to obey, through respect to your majesty, and to sanction by our signature, acts which we disapprove. We could have sacrificed our lives to save your majesty and the country: but those who are near your majesty know that the revolution which they would excite, would surround the vessel of the state with new perils; that they would give to factions, to whom you are opposed, the means of seeing a resting-place beyond the legitimate authority of your majesty; that they would raise pretenders to the throne where you are seated. It is not by means of a faction that your majesty ought to reign, but by a constitution, by a royal prerogative, recognised and established. Let that faction tremble, and suspend their efforts to substitute passion in their place.—Their agents would be the first victims, and they would cause the greatest misfortunes to your majesty.

We are therefore convinced that we can no longer contribute to the welfare of your subjects, that we cannot govern the state in the spirit of the councils which direct your majesty. Your wisdom will doubtless do more than our zeal and our efforts to remedy the evils which afflict the state; we therefore venture to supplicate you to believe in the regrets that we experience, in not being able any longer to contribute to serve you, and in the wishes that we have formed for the prosperity of your house, and for the safety of the country.

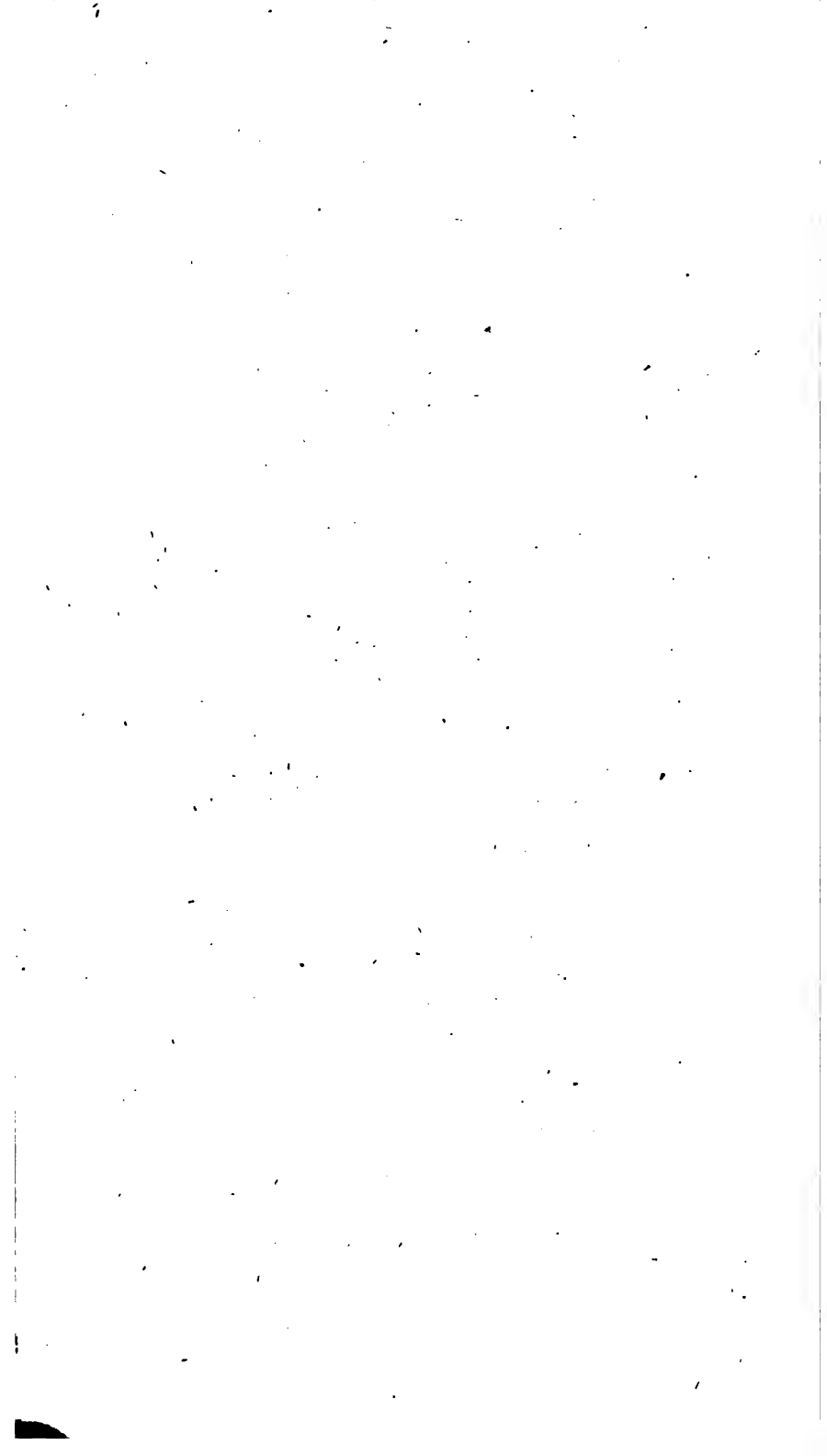
LITERARY

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

1815.



BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

[From Mr. ELLIOT's Biography of the Noble Duke.]

THOUGH Ireland may boast the immediate birth of the Duke of Wellington, yet the progenitors from whom he is descended, and the education he received, were English. The family of Cowley, or as it is now written, Colley, derives its origin from the county of Rutland. In Glaiston church, Rutlandshire, there is a monument for Walter Colley, Esq. and Agnes, his wife.

"The migration of this family to Ireland, took place in the reign of Henry VIII. a period when grants of land were liberally made to those who would receive them, and aid the monarch in his favourite scheme of diffusing the reformed religion over all his realms.—Whether the two brothers, Walter and Robert Cowley, who settled themselves at Kilkenny during this reign, went thither as the apostles of Henry, or as adventurers, in quest of profit, cannot now be positively known, but that they enjoyed the special favour of the monarch, may be inferred from the fact that Walter of-

1815.

ficiated as solicitor-general to Henry, and Robert was appointed master of the rolls. Previously to this, they were presented, in the year 1531, with a grant of the office of clerk of the crown in Chancery, during their respective lives.

"Walter was the ancestor of the present family. He retained the office of solicitor-general only nine years, resigning it in 1540; and in 1548, he was appointed surveyor-general of Ireland.

"His eldest son was Sir Henry Colley, who, like his illustrious descendant, devoted himself to the profession of arms. He held the commission of captain in the reign of Elizabeth, and in 1559, he received from her a warrant to execute martial law in the districts of Offaly, Carbery, &c. where, as well as in other parts of Ireland, the people had been goaded into rebellion by the absurd attempts of Elizabeth and her ministers, to establish certain obscure dogmas of theology. Persecution for religion, can only make hypocrites or martyrs; men will

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will either die for what they hold to be the truth, or dissemble the truth to live. In either case, a government weakens its own authority, by having to contend with open rebellion, or concealed disaffection. The condition, to which Elizabeth reduced Ireland was that of insurrection, and when she had forced them to resist, she punished them for disobedience.

"The wisdom and prudence of a man are never more severely tried than when he has unlimited power to act in cases where success must depend upon the discretion with which that power is exercised. The authority to enforce martial law is a fearful responsibility; but Sir Henry Colley seems to have administered it with due vigour and sagacity, which at once secures the object of government, and averts from the rebel the dangerous hope of impunity. Such proof of talent, indeed, did he exhibit, that he was soon after appointed a commissioner of array for the county of Kildare, an office of even greater trust than the former, and involving duties more difficult to be impartially discharged. In the same year (1559) he sat in parliament for the borough of Thomastown, in the county of Kildare.

Sidney was at this time the Lord-deputy of Ireland, as the vice-regal function was then denominated. It was he who conferred upon Sir Henry Colley the honour of knighthood, and appointed him to a seat in the privy-council, and so highly did he deem of his general character and particular services, that he thus recommended him, in a letter, to his successor.

"MY GOOD LORD,

"I am almost forgotten, by rea-

son of diversity of other matter, to recommend unto you, amongst others of my friends, Sir Henry Cowley, a knight, and of my own making; who, whilst he was young, and the ability and strength of his body served, was valiant, fortunate, and a good servant; and having, by my appointment, the charge of the king's county, kept the county well ordered, and in good obedience. He is as good a borderer as ever I found anywhere. I left him, at my coming thence, a counsellor, and esteemed him for his experience and judgment, vey sufficient for the room he was called unto. He was a sound and fast friend unto me: so I doubt not but your lordship shall find when you have occasion to employ him."

"It is consolatory to find this honorable memorial of faithful services from the hand of a master, for how seldom does it happen, that the remembrance of fidelity survives the occasion for it! Nor was the lord-deputy the only one who bore testimony to the merits of Sir Henry Colley. He is thus honourably mentioned by Sir Nicholas Malby, who says, speaking of him, "He is an English gentleman, seneschal of the county, who governed very honestly, but now is sore oppressed by the rebels, the Connors." When we reflect upon the systematic abuse which prevailed through every department of the Irish administration, during this reign, as well as several successive ones, it is certainly no small proof of the eminent ability and integrity of Sir Henry Colley, that he should have been thus singled out as the object of applause.

"Sir Henry married Catherine, the daughter of Sir Thomas Cusack, of Cussington, in the county of Meath, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

land. By her, (who died January 19, 1597) he had issue, three sons; Sir George of Edenderry, which family, is extinct; Sir Henry, and Gerard, of Ardee, whose daughter, Catherine, married William Moor, of Barmecath, Esq.

"The second of these sons, Sir Henry of Castle-Cardberry, was the immediate ancestor of the present line. During his father's life-time, he was constable of Philipstown Fort, afterwards seneschal of the King's county, and, in 1561, appointed by the Earl of Essex, then lord-deputy, providore of the army, an office somewhat similar to the modern commissary-general. It appears that he successfully exerted himself in maintaining the peace of the county, for, in 1571, he prevailed on all the principal persons in that neighbourhood, to appear before him, at Philipstown, and to bind themselves, by mutual recognizances, not only to preserve the public peace, but also so far to answer for each others good behaviour as to deliver up any one among them who should violate the compact thus entered into, whenever he should demand it. In 1576, he received the honor of knighthood, in Christchurch, Dublin, on St. George's day, and he appears to have discharged the military duties of his station, till 1599. In 1613, he represented the borough of Monaghan in parliament. His wife was the daughter of Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and by her (who married secondly, George Blount, of Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, Esq.; and, thirdly, with Edward, Lord Blaney) he had five children, two sons and three daughters. Sir Henry, the elder of the two, succeeded him at Castle Cardberry, who probably passed his life in retire-

ment, for nothing is told of him but that he married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Christopher Peyton, Esq. auditor-general of Ireland. In 1637, he was succeeded by Dudley, his son, who, having greatly distinguished himself in the royal cause, was appointed an officer in the army by Charles II. one of the few instances in which that licentious monarch rewarded the faithful adherents of his family in Ireland. So far from this being his usual practice, he basely confirmed the grants made by Cromwell to his followers, consisting of possessions violated from the hands of those who had remained faithful to the royal party. In addition to his appointment in the army, however, he had also a grant and confirmation of the lands of Ardkill and Collings-town, in Kildare. He sat in parliament as member for Philipstown. His first wife was Anne, daughter of Henry Warren, of Grangebegg, in the county of Kildare, Esq. by whom he had sons and seven daughters, his second wife was Elizabeth, widow of Henry Bollard, of Dublin. Esq. daughter to George Sankey, of Balenrath, of King's County, Esq.: Henry, one of the numerous family which he had by his first wife, succeeded him; and a daughter, named Elizabeth, married Garret Wesley of Dangan, in the county of Meath. This Henry Colley, Esq. by his marriage with Mary, only daughter of Sir William Usher, of Dublin, knight, left a large issue at his death, (1700) and his youngest son, Richard Colley, was the first that assumed the name and arms of Wesley, or Wellesley. Garret Wellesley, his first cousin, dying without issue, devised his real estate to him, provided he took the name and arms of Wesley. This condition

dition was willingly acceded to, and thus the name, though not the blood, of an ancient family has been preserved.

“ Richard Colley-Wellesley appears to have held several offices under the crown. He was auditor and registrar of the royal hospital of Kilmainham, second chamberlain of the Court of Exchequer, (1731) sheriff of the county of Meath, (1734) and a member of parliament for the borough of Trim, in the same year. In 1747, or, according to other accounts, July 9th, 1746, he was created baron of Mornington, by George II. He had married (December 23, 1719) Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Sale, Esq. L.D. register of the Archbishop of Dublin's Consistory Court, and by her, who died in June, 1738, had three sons and four daughters. He died in 1758, and was succeeded in his title by his eldest son Garret, who, on October 6th, 1760, was created Viscount Wellesley, and Earl of Mornington. His lordship had married, in 1759, Anne, the eldest daughter of the Right Honourable Arthur Hill, Viscount Dungannon. This venerable matron is still living to exult in the glory of her house, exalted by the noble deeds of her son. It has fallen to the lot of few mothers, indeed, to boast among their children, of a statesman like Wellesley, and a hero like Wellington, to say nothing of the various ability which distinguishes the other branches of her family. When the Duke of Wellington took his seat in the house of lords, she was present to witness the ceremony, and who did not envy her that happiest moment of a parent's life, when we contemplate the image of our own felicity in that of our offspring!

On the 22d of May, 1784, the Earl of Mornington died, and left the following numerous issue: Richard, (the present Marquis of Wellesley) born 1760; Arthur Gerald, born May 5th, 1761, who died young. William, born May 20th, 1763, who, on succeeding to the estates of William Pole, of Ballin, Esq. in 1778, assumed the name and arms of Pole; Francis Seymour, who died young; Arthur, born May 1st, 1769; Gerald-Valerian, born December 7th, 1771—now in the church; Henry, born January 20th, 1773, now Sir Henry Wellesley, our late envoy at Cadiz. Anne, born March 13th, 1768; married, January 4th, 1790, to Henry, son of Lord Southampton; Mary-Elizabeth, born January 1st, 1772, now Lady Culling Smith.

“ The minuteness with which I have thus endeavoured to trace the ancestry of the Duke of Wellington, and to record the present condition of his family, will require no apology. It is one of the characteristics of greatness that it diffuses its lustre over all collateral objects: and it is hardly enough to know, of an eminent man, who his parents were, without extending our inquiry into his nearest relations. Man is a social being no less in his prosperity than in his wants, for there is nothing he can receive which does not connect itself with those around him. This community of renown must be one motive for seeking it, as there can be few gratifications in life more intense than the power of exalting or gracing those we love as kindred, or cherish as friends.

“ Arthur, Duke of Wellington, fourth son of the Earl of Mornington, was born on the 1st of May, 1769. Of his early life, nothing is very

very accurately known. It is not likely that his childhood was marked by any characteristics that might truly be considered as indications of his future greatness; though, if diligent inquiry were made among those who knew him during that period, the common credulity of mankind would probably tell many wonders. That which passes as the mere ebullition of heedlessness at the moment, becomes at once prophetic dawns, when recalled to the memory by the subsequent greatness of the individual. There is that propensity, however, in us to discover the minutest circumstances connected with the early years of an illustrious hero, that I own I should not be sorry if I could lay before my readers some authentic anecdotes even of the nursery of our transcendent commander.

"The seat of his ancestors (Dengon Castle) was the place of his nativity. When he arrived at a sufficient age, he was sent to Eton, but an early predilection for a warlike life, occasioned his removal from that celebrated seminary before he had time to derive all those scholastic benefits from its tuition which others have so amply received. This deficiency, however, subsequent labour, united to an active and ardent mind, soon removed. From Eton he went to Angers in France, at whose military academy he prosecuted those studies which might best fit him for the profession he had adopted. At that period we had no establishments in England for the instruction of those youths who embraced the career of arms. It was unwisely thought that every thing might be learned in the field; that practice was the best school; and that theoretical generals were not very often the most efficient

commanders in the day of battle. Mere speculative knowledge indeed, will qualify no man for any course of life: but it should be remembered that the great leading characters of practice are mostly reducible to certain general axioms. The art of war, like every other art, is founded upon fixed principles: without the knowledge of these, no certain results can be relied upon: and it was surely an improvident system which left the youthful soldier no other school but actual service, which abandoned him to the necessity of acquiring experience too often through the medium of defeat and disgrace. This dangerous absurdity is no longer our reproach, however, and the military establishments which have been principally organized by the present commander-in-chief, provide at least the means of understanding the elements of military tactics.

"On the 25th of December, 1787, Mr. Wellesley received an ensign's commission in the 41st regiment. He was then in his eighteenth year, and there can be little doubt that the ardent pupil of Pignerol, who presided over the academy at Angers, and has been considered by some as the modern Vauban, took a soldier's name, even at this early period, with more military science than some possess who close a long, but inglorious, life in the service. England, however, was now enjoying a profound peace, and Ensign Wellesley had no immediate prospect of gratifying his wishes by signalizing himself in active service. Yet, we may suppose, that during this interval, he was not amusing himself with the usual occupations of those gentlemen who aspire to a red coat and a sword, more as personal ornaments to gratify

tify vanity, than as emblems to denote science, valour, and obedience. Without ascribing to him more wisdom, more regularity, or more discretion, that can often be found at that period of life, we may justly suppose that he could not have lavished away his hours in dissipation, or suffered them to elapse in unprofitable indolence. The early maturity which he exhibited in all the great accomplishments of a soldier, justify us in assuming the fact that his private hours were devoted to the pursuit of whatever could enlarge his knowledge, fortify his judgment, or correct his errors. Without such study, which aided and developed his natural talents, he would never have won a dukedom, though perhaps political or family connections might have raised him to military rank.

“ His next gradation was to obtain a lieutenancy on the 23d of January, 1788: but, in the ensuing year, he exchanged the infantry for the cavalry service, and on the 25th of June, received a commission as lieutenant, in the 12th light dragoons. Here he remained till 1791, when, on the 30th of June, he was appointed captain in the 58th, or Rutlandshire regiment. In 1792, he again entered the cavalry, and served as captain in the 18th light dragoons, his commission being dated 31st of October; but, on the 30th of April, 1793, he received a majority in the 33d regiment, and on the 30th September, in the same year, purchased a lieutenant-colonelcy in it, and has continued ever since attached to the infantry. His subsequent promotions will be noticed in the progress of these memoirs, according as their respective periods occur.

“ The year 1794, may be re-

garded as the commencement of the career, whose glorious termination we have so recently celebrated. In the early part of that year Lord Moira commanded the expedition to Brittany, which it was expected would present a rallying point for the royalists, and aid in the accomplishment of that object for which all Europe was then leagued into one common alliance. Before, however, any decisive operations could be undertaken, the disastrous issue of the campaign in the Netherlands, where the Duke of York commanded, rendered it necessary that Lord Moira should hasten with all possible dispatch, to effect a junction with the troops of his royal highness.—This he succeeded in doing, though opposed by many adverse circumstances, and landed with his troops at Ostend. Lieutenant colonel Wellesley was with his regiment in this expedition. At the moment when Lord Moira arrived at Ostend, the army of the Duke of York was in the most critical situation, arising, in no small degree, perhaps, from deficiency of skill in the commander, but certainly augmented by the languid co-operation of the people. Pichegru and Moreau commanded the republican armies of France, those armies which, animated by a frenzied zeal for liberty, unclothed, unpaid, unfed, and undisciplined, beat successively all the veteran troops of the allied powers of Europe. Slays was speedily taken, and the English were repulsed at Boctel, while Crevecour, and Bois-le-duc surrendered. The Duke of York, after a signal defeat at Pufflech, retired behind the Wahl, and the enemy, flushed with unexpected conquests, made one victory only the precursor to another.

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"The events of this campaign must have afforded Lieutenant-colonel Wellesley many opportunities of trying his speculative opinions upon military tactics, by the test of experience. It was marked with difficulty, danger, and defeat; but the example of the noble earl, under whom he served, taught him how to oppose the first with sagacity, to meet the second with fortitude, and to sustain the last with dignity. They were calamities, indeed, but inseparable from a small force, and inadequate means.

"In the disastrous retreat of the British troops from Holland, Lieutenant-colonel Wellesley, at the head of three battalions, covered all the movements of the army, and displayed even then, so much coolness and skill as excited the greatest admiration among those officers who witnessed his conduct. His name, however, did not find its way in the official accounts, probably because there was too much of misfortune to disclose to expatiate much upon the vigour or promptitude with which that misfortune might have been alleviated.

"When the troops arrived in England, the greater part of them, and Colonel Wellesley's regiment among the rest, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for an immediate expedition to the West Indies. Colonel Wellesley embarked on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Christian, but the heavy equinoctial gales which prevailed during the autumn of 1795, repeatedly baffled every attempt to sail for the destined station. The original plan was, in consequence, altered, and the 33d was ordered to Ireland to recruit, whither Colonel Wellesley accompanied them. Here they remained till that occasion for

his services presented itself, which opened the scene for the display of his great military talents.

"Frederic of Prussia, who was a sagacious observer of mankind, and well understood those fortuitous concurrences which lead to renown, has justly observed, that "he knew no instance of any great man except where fortune and merit had concurred to make him so; that fortune must raise him from the ground, and that his own vigour of wing must then maintain him in his elevation." As a general truth, this maxim is indisputable; but it should also be remembered, that occasion is nothing to him who knows not how to seize it, and that a man may excel in all the management of a great enterprise, who yet would fail, perhaps, in determining the exact moment when it should be commenced or terminated. It is in this peculiar faculty, this almost intuitive sagacity, that the Duke of Wellington transcends: he not only knows how to conquer, but, when conquest may be attempted with success. Many generals have won triumphs at which they themselves stood astonished; but Wellington, perhaps, was never victorious without expecting it, so far, at least, as skilful combinations, and vigorous promptitude, could secure victory. The sentiment of Frederic requires only this distinction to make it exact: without it, it is little else than an expression of the same idea as Gray eloquently and pathetically indulges in those beautiful and well known stanzas of his elegy, beginning

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid," &c.

The elements of greatness lie dormant in many a soul, and perish ignominiously, because no fit occasion arose to give them activity.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, AS
COMMANDER IN CHIEF IN INDIA.

[From the same.]

THE interval of repose which Col. Wellesley enjoyed in his civil capacity as governor of Seringapatam, was destined to be but brief. In the year 1800 the tranquillity of Mysore was threatened by the incursions of a freebooter named Dhoondia Waugh, whose predatory attacks increased to such an alarming extent as to render it necessary that a force should be employed to oppose him. The command of this force was entrusted to Colonel Wellesley.

"Having made every necessary preparation, he took the field on the third of September 1800. After much skirmishing between the troops of the marauder and those of the company, Dhoondiah retired, on the 10th to a strong position called Conaghull. Here he made a stand, and Col. Wellesley having pursued him with his cavalry, leaving his infantry far behind in the rear, he suddenly found himself in front of him with a very unequal force. At this critical moment he exhibited that promptitude and courage which have since distinguished him on more momentous occasions. Seizing, as it were, the very crisis of his condition, aware that it would be in vain to wait the coming up of his infantry, and so arranging his operations that the enemy could not bring all his superiority of number to bear at once, he rushed onwards to the assault. The intrepidity of the British soldiers signally mani-

festated itself. After a sharp conflict the enemy fell back in confusion; Dhoondiah himself was among the slain, and the remains of his army were dispersed in small parties over the country. Part of the enemy's baggage still remained in his camp, about three miles from Conaghull, to which Colonel Wellesley returned, and obtained possession of all the elephants, camels, &c.

"This rapid destruction of a force which threatened considerable danger to the territories of the company, called upon the governor-general in council to express in distinct terms of applause, his sense of its importance. He accordingly adverted to the skilful execution of the plan in the government orders which announced its completion. "Though," he observed, "the implicit confidence reposed in the talents of that officer (Colonel Wellesley) cannot be strengthened by the successful events of the campaign, his lordship will feel the greatest pleasure in reporting to the honourable court of directors the solid and extensive advantages derived to the affairs of the honourable company, by the able and spirited conduct of the war entrusted to Colonel Wellesley."

"The death of Dhoondiah, and the complete dispersion of his troops, once more restored peace to India; but Marquis Wellesley knew too well how much service might be rendered to the success of European warfare, by a judicious application of

of the means which internal tranquillity now placed at his disposal. Whatever diminished the colonial power and resources of France, augmented the positive strength and means of England, independently of that influence which national character has, in all political transactions, and which, in modern times, is chiefly elevated by military achievements. One of the first objects that suggested itself to the mind of Marquis Wellesley was an expedition against Batavia, and though circumstances prevented the accomplishment of his views, there can be no doubt that this bold policy laid the foundation for the subsequent conquest of Batavia, Bourbon, and the Mauritius, and thus secured to Britain the exclusive property of the East.

"The expedition was to be commanded by General Baird, under whom Col. Wellesley was appointed to act. Accordingly, in December 1800, he was recalled from his command in the Mysore, and quitted his government of Seringapatam, followed by the good wishes and prayers of the native inhabitants, and the sincerest testimonies of friendship and respect from the troops under his command. He was succeeded by Colonel Stevenson, who had so ably co-operated with him in the war with Dhoondiah, as governor of Seringapatam.

"The conquest of Batavia, which Marquis Wellesley so judiciously aimed to effect, was partly prevented by some misconception of Admiral Rainier, who then commanded in the Indian seas, as to the extent of the governor-general's powers. The consequence was, that the plan was discontinued, and the disposeable force under Gen. Baird, amounting to 5000 men, was or-

dered to proceed to Egypt, to co-operate with the English army commanded there by Sir Ralph Abercrombie. In this expedition it seems to have been the intention of government that Colonel Wellesley should have participated, for he was actually gazetted, on the 25th July 1801, as Brigadier-general in that country. That he did not proceed thither is certain; yet that a confident expectation of his arrival was entertained is evident, from the fact that Lord Elgin in a letter which he wrote to this country dated the 5th of June 1801, stated that "Lord Keith had received a dispatch from Admiral Blanket, (of the 6th of May) announcing the arrival of General Baird and Colonel Wellesley with the Indian army."

"Instead however, of marching to share in the glories of his countrymen on the plains of Syria, he returned, in obedience to an order from the governor-general, to resume his command in Seringapatam. But a new scene was now to open before him, in which he was destined to act a conspicuous part.

"The Mahratta states, stimulated either by French intrigue, or by a natural jealousy of the English ascendancy, so much augmented by the destruction of Tippoo and the annexation of the Mysore, commenced hostilities against the government of India. The causes that led to this aggression require to be briefly noticed.

"The triple alliance formed by Lord Cornwallis in 1790, between the British government, the Peishwah, and the Nizam of the Deccan, had long been an object of the utmost jealousy and a source of the greatest uneasiness to Tippoo. A main purpose of that alliance was to reserve a balance against the power

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of the Sultan, and, through the supposed influence of the Peishwah over the other Mahratta chieftains, (as their acknowledged superior) to form a barrier against the designs of Zaman Shah in northern Hindustan. In 1795 the bond of reciprocal alliance between those three powers was dissolved by the Mahrattas, who, regardless of the existing treaty, and without any just cause of quarrel, suddenly commenced a war of aggression against the Nizam, according to the accustomed policy of Asiatic states. In this war, however, the British government took no part, and both powers therefore remained in ostensible alliance with us.

"The state both of the Nizam's government and of the Mahratta empire was extremely favourable to the machinations of Tippoo. The councils of the Nizam were controlled by a party of French officers whom he had retained in his service, to whom he had given the command of 14,000 of his best troops, who had openly displayed the standard of France in the vicinity of his capital, and who maintained a secret correspondence with Tippoo; while, on the other hand, the existence of this prince's government was menaced by the known intentions and occasional aggressions of Scindiah, a powerful Mahratta chieftain; who, by the decisive sway which he had gained in the councils of the Peishwah, could at any time make that prince the instrument of his ambitious views on the dominions of the Nizam, without appearing himself to be any further concerned in those views, than what belonged to his political situation as feudatory of the Mahratta empire, bound to obey the commands of his superior.

"The Mahratta empire had for some years been distracted by internal dissensions, partly arising from the peculiar nature of its anomalous constitution, but principally from the conflicting interests of its feudatory chieftains. The great object of contention among those chieftains, and the main spring of their policy, was the attainment of a paramount and exclusive influence in the councils of the Peishwah; and at this period that influence had been completely acquired by Scindiah, the most formidable potentate in northern Hindustan. That prince maintained this pre-eminence by his extensive and populous dominions, by a powerful military establishment, formed and disciplined on the European system, and commanded by French officers, and by the circumstance of his holding in possession the person of the Mogul emperor, Shah Allum, together with the cities of Delhi and Agra, the ancient seats of the Mogul sovereignty and greatness. Hence, as a feudatory of the Mahratta empire, the measures of his policy were recommended by the supreme authority of the Peishwah, while, as a prince of Hindustan, they were ratified by the express sanction of the Mogul emperor, whose name still received, from the prejudices of his Mohammedan subjects, something of that homage which they had formerly paid to his powers.

"The concurrence of Scindiah in Tippoo's scheme, was the more easily obtained, because it flattered his hope that Holkar, his principal rival in the Mahratta empire, might, from his warlike and predatory disposition, be led to engage in a general contest against the English dominions, and thus separate him-
self

self from the politics of the Peishwah's court:

"The dissolution of the triple alliance formed by Lord Cornwallis, by the unprovoked and sudden irruption of the Mahrattas into the Nizam's dominions, under the authority of the Peishwah, proved, that the peace of India, and the relative situation of its different states, could not be preserved on the principles of that treaty; that the power of the Nizam could no longer exist without permanent foreign protection; and that it would inevitably be subverted by the Mahrattas, unless the British government interfered, in the most effectual manner, to prevent it. As, therefore, the peace of India, and the consequent safety of some of the British provinces, in a certain degree, depended on the Mahrattas being prevented from annexing the Nizam's dominions to their own overgrown empire; and as it was evident, from the great disparity in the relative strength of these powers combined with the known views and dispositions of the Mahrattas, as well as with their subsequent conduct, that nothing could have deterred them from the execution of their project, but a British military force, permanently stationed in the Nizam's country, the policy of a treaty of defensive subsidiary alliance and protection with that prince, appears to have been strictly adapted to the nature of Lord Wellesley's government, and to the circumstances in which it was placed.

"It has already been observed that the authority of the Peishwah was completely under the rival influence of Scindiah and Holkar, who aimed at the prosecution of their own ambitious views under the ostensible sanction of the con-

stituted head of the Mahratta empire. The influence of Scindiah, however, predominated, and Holkar had recourse to arms, defeated the united forces of Scindiah and the Peishwah, took possession of the capital of the latter, and finally elevated a creature of his own to the high office and dignities of Peishwah. The deposed Peishwah, meanwhile, fled to the British territories for protection, being conveyed in an English ship from one of his own ports to the strong fortress of Severa Droog, on the coast of Malabar.

"French intrigue and French interference were exerted to a great extent in all these transactions. The favorite object of establishing a dominion within the Indian peninsula was cherished by France, and the disturbed state of the Mahrattas seemed to afford a desirable opportunity for accomplishing that object. A considerable force, therefore, under the command of Monsieur Perron, a native Frenchman, but trained up, from his youth, in Asiatic courts, was introduced into the Mahrattas, and placed at the disposal of Scindiah. The policy of introducing French officers into the armies of the native states, with a view to influence their councils, and to instigate them against the English, was originally begun by the ancient government of France, and was encouraged by those states for the purpose of improving their military discipline, skill, and efficiency. The French establishment in the service of Scindiah, was originally formed, in 1784, by De Boigne, to whose military enterprise and skill that prince was indebted for a considerable part of his dominions. As the reward of his eminent services, Scindiah granted him

a *Jâddid*, which is an assignment of the revenues of certain districts in the provinces he had conquered, for the support of his army; together with a *Jâgheer*, which is an assignment of the revenues of a district, during life, for his personal use. In addition to the great power derived from these grants, he had the sole command of the conquered provinces of Delhi, Agra, and part of the Duab, so that he not only held in charge the capital of the Mogul empire, but the person of the unfortunate Emperor. His army was called the "Imperial army," and himself a servant and subject of the Emperor.—When he went to Europe, in the beginning of 1798, the whole of his power and authority was transferred to Monsieur Perron, who was no less indefatigable than his predecessor, in opposing, as far as he could, the British ascendancy in India.

"It is remarkable that at the time when the victorious successes of Holkar enabled him to expel the Peishwah from his capital, not only he, but Scindiah also, as well as the Peishwah himself, were actually soliciting the interference of the British government. The case was a critical one for the Governor-general to determine, whether to strengthen the bonds of alliance between the British government and the Peishwah, and thus plunge into hostilities with the feudatory chieftains, or by endeavouring to conciliate them, create new alliances, whose permanency could be relied on. The latter course, perhaps, might, under some circumstances, have been the wisest: but, on the other hand, it was so obviously our policy to prevent the authority of the Peishwah from being usurped by either of the rival chiefs, and

this triple appeal from the contending parties affording so favorable an opportunity for renewing our alliance with the Peishwah, on a basis calculated to render it solid and lasting, that it would have been unwise to risk such positive benefits for the contingent success of any negotiations with Scindiah or Holkar.

"It was determined, therefore, to resort to warlike measures to restrain the power of the hostile chiefs, to re-establish the Peishwah, and to restore order and tranquillity throughout the north of India. Pacific overtures had been previously made, but in vain; and when the olive branch is contumaciously rejected, honor, and safety, and even peace itself, are to be found only in the sword. An army was forthwith assembled at Harryhur, on the north-west frontier of the Mysore, under the command of lieutenant-general Stewart, amounting to 3581 European and native cavalry, 390 artillery, 2845 European infantry, including the 33d, and 1212 native infantry, together with forty field pieces, besides smaller guns, and a battering train. On the 27th February, 1803, general Stewart was ordered to adopt the necessary measures for the march of the British troops in the Mahratta territory, and to detach such a force as he thought sufficient for that purpose.

"The high opinion which the Governor-general had very justly formed of his brother's talents now displayed itself, for we are told, in the memoir drawn up by the Marquis himself, that the command of this advanced detachment necessarily required the united exertion of considerable military talent, and of great political experience and discretion.

erotion. No one, however, appeared so fit to assume it as major-general Wellesley, not only in the estimation of the governor-general, but in that also of Lord Clive, (then governor of the Madras Presidency, and within whose government the army was formed) who expressed his conviction that the extensive local knowledge of General Wellesley, and his personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, obtained by his conduct in the command of the Mysore, and his victories over Dhoondia, as well as his military skill, peculiarly qualified him to carry on the future important operations in a manner best calculated to ensure the ends of government.

"Instructions to this effect were consequently given by Lord Clive to Lieutenant-general Stuart, and a detachment from the main army, amounting to 9707 infantry, with about 2500 of the rajah of Mysore's cavalry, was placed under the command of General Wellesley, for the purpose of advancing into the Mahratta territory. This force consisted of one European, and three native, regiments of cavalry, with two regiments of European, and six battalions of native, infantry.

"On the 3d of March, General Wellesley advanced from Hurrybur, and arrived at Tumbudra river on the 14th, which he then crossed. In the whole line of his march through the Mahratta territory, the British troops were received as friends, and many of the chieftains joined him with their forces, and accompanied him to Poonah. Among the principal causes of this success which attended Gen. Wellesley must be recorded his own activity, skill, and conciliation, by which he antici-

pated difficulties that were inevitable, and removed those that were susceptible of change.—All excess, on the part of the troops, was rigidly prohibited, and if committed, exemplarily punished, a proceeding which necessarily generated confidence in the minds of the natives.

"Poonah, the capital of the western Mahrattas, was threatened with immediate devastation by Amrut Rao, (an officer of Holkar's army) upon the approach of the British army to its relief. Holkar himself was at Chandore, about 130 miles to the north-east of Poonah, and Rao was left in the latter city with about 1500 men. To save this place from the ruin that impended over it, became an important, but, at the same time, a difficult object, because there was reason to apprehend that any means taken for its safety would, in fact, hasten its destruction. One only course presented itself, which was to advance with the British army to within the distance of a forced march, and then, by the sudden appearance of the British cavalry and the Mahratta troops before the city, to take Amrut Rao by surprise. This scheme was accordingly executed by General Wellesley with admirable rapidity and effect, and produced precisely the result that was, perhaps, rather hoped for than expected. Amrut Rao, alarmed and disconcerted by the unexpected appearance of so large a force, abandoned the place before he had time to perpetrate his meditated vengeance on it, whilst General Wellesley and his gallant few (for only a small portion of the whole army had been brought up) were welcomed as deliverers by the inhabitants, who still remained.

"The capital of the Peishwah thus

thus rescued from usurpation, by the masterly operations of General Wellesley, the Peishwah himself returned to it on the 13th of May, under an escort from Bombay, commanded by Colonel Murray. He resumed his seat upon the musnud with the usual ceremonies.

"Scindiah was now in arms with the ostensible view of opposing Holkar; but his sincerity was justly doubted by the governor-general, who suspected that a confederacy actually existed between those chiefs and the rajah of Berar. It became necessary, therefore, in the opinion of the marquis, to unite the control of all political affairs in the Deccan, connected with the negotiations then going on, and with the movements of the army, under a distinct local authority, subject indeed to the governor-general in council, but possessing full power to conclude, upon the spot, whatever arrangements might become necessary, either for the final settlement of peace, or for the active prosecution of the war. It was obvious also, that these powers ought to be held by the commanding officers of the troops: and, therefore, according to the statement of the marquis himself, he determined to vest them in Major-general Wellesley, whose already established influence among the Mahratta chiefs, and intimate knowledge of his sentiments, concerning the British interests in the Mahratta empire, eminently qualified him for discharging the arduous trust in a way most beneficial to the public welfare.

"Strengthened with these united powers, and authorised either to win the desired object by force or negotiation, as circumstances might suggest, General Wellesley addressed a

letter on the 18th July to the British resident, directing him to state both to Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, the anxious desire of the English government for peace, at the same time observing that the only proof which could be accepted, of their amicable professions, would be the immediate disbanding of their armies, and their return from the Nizam's frontier to their own capital. If these terms were not complied with, Scindiah was to be informed that our resident had orders to quit his camp immediately.

"After various evasive attempts to elude the conditions of this proposal, the two chieftains sent an answer on the 31st July, which was couched in terms either of consummate insolence or unparalleled ignorance. They professed their willingness to retire from their position, provided General Wellesley would also return with his army to its usual stations; adding, that on the same day the British troops reached Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, (the relative distances of which places differed from 1049 to 321 miles) the Mahratta confederates would encamp their united forces at Boorhampoor, a city belonging to Scindiah, and not more than fifty miles distance from the Nizam's frontier. This foolish or insidious proposal was of course promptly rejected, as were several others which sprung from obvious artifice.

"When it was thus found that negotiation would accomplish nothing, the next step was vigorous hostility. The army opposed to General Wellesley, under the immediate command of the Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, amounted to about 38,000 cavalry, 10,500 regular infantry, 500 match-lock men,

500 rocket men, and 100 pieces of ordnance. In addition to these forces, Scindiah had an advanced party of a few thousand horse, dispersed through the surrounding hills. The artillery was served by French officers.

“The immediate advance of our troops was prevented by a very heavy rain which lasted three days; but when that ceased, which it did on the 7th of August, they proceeded on the following day, when General Wellesley dispatched a messenger to the Kellahdar of Amednagur, (a place about thirty miles distant from Poonah) requiring him to surrender his fort. When he himself arrived in the vicinity of the Pettah, (or town protected by the fortress) he offered protection to the inhabitants; but this was peremptorily refused, because implicit reliance was placed upon its means of defence. No alternative then remained but to storm the Pettah, which was accordingly done, in three separate, but simultaneous attacks, under the respective commands of lieutenant-col. Harness, lieutenant-colonel Wallace, and captain Vesey. Much gallantry was displayed both by the officers and men. The wall surrounding the Pettah was lofty and defended by towers; but it had no ramparts, so that when the troops had ascended by their scaling ladders, no footing presented itself upon which they could easily follow up their advantages. Notwithstanding this great impediment however, they soon made themselves masters of the place, though the garrison, which consisted partly of Arabs, fought with desperate valor. With his wonted activity General Wellesley immediately began to reconnoitre the ground in the vicinity of the fort, after having

so far established his troops by the successful assault on the Pettah. An advantageous position was soon discovered and taken possession of on the 9th by a detachment under colonel Wallace. In the course of the night a battery of four guns was erected to take off the defences on the side where it was intended to make the principal attack. As soon as it was dawn, on the following morning, this battery was opened, and continued to pour in such an effective fire that the Kellahdar proposed a temporary suspension of its operations, to afford time for capitulating. General Wellesley, who well knew the fraudulent expedients by which Asiatic morality accomplishes a desired end, replied that the firing should not cease until he had either taken the fort by arms, or that it was surrendered to him: meanwhile, however, he was willing to receive any proposals that might safely terminate the attack. There was no alternative left therefore but to fight or yield, and the former being hopeless, the latter became inevitable. Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th, two Vakeels or commissioners, came to the General and proposed a surrender upon condition of being allowed to depart with the garrison, and to have private property secured. These terms were willingly acceded to, but notwithstanding, this virtual arrangement, the firing was continued till the very moment that hostages arrived in the British camp, as a security for the fair and full performance of the stipulations. Where there was no ground to suspect deceit, this proceeding would have been vindictive; but where artifice was known to mingle with every transaction, it was the only

policy that could secure ultimate success. Accordingly, on the 12th August 1803, the Kellahdar marched out of the fort, with a garrison of 1400 men, and the British troops took immediate possession of it. The general proceeded to take charge of all the districts dependent upon it, yielding an estimated annual revenue of 650,000 rupees. These districts were placed under the provisional superintendence of a British officer. The eminent services performed by General Wellesley, and the officers and soldiers under him in this successful operation, were warmly acknowledged in the general orders issued by the Bengal government, as soon as intelligence of it had reached there.

" Promptitude and activity distinguished General Wellesley's proceedings throughout the whole of this campaign. No sooner had he stationed a garrison in Amednagar sufficient for its protection, than he proceeded to cross the river Godavari, which he did with his whole army on the 24th August, and having arrived at Arungabad on the 29th, he understood that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, had, on the 24th, entered the territories of the Nizam, by the Adjutee Ghaut, with a large body of horse. They had actually passed between Col. Stevenson's corps, which had moved to the eastward, towards the Badowley Ghaut, and Arungabad, and had proceeded as far as Jalnapoor, a small fort, the capital of a district of the same name, about forty miles east of that city; but no sooner did they hear of the arrival of the British troops, than they moved to the south-east, with the reported intention of crossing the Godavari, and marching upon Hyderabad, the me-

tropolis of the nizam's territory. In consequence of this, General Wellesley immediately marched to the left bank of the Godavari, and continued by that route, to the eastward, a line of march that effectually interposed his army between Hyderabad and that of the enemy. Thus disappointed by the celerity and skill of the general's movements, they retraced their steps, and proceeded to the northward of Jalnapour. Colonel Stevenson, in the meanwhile, returned from the eastward, and on the 2d of September attacked and carried the fort of Jalnapour.

" These rapid movements of General Wellesley's little army, completely preserved the territories of the Nizam from any depredatory incursion, and the confederated chieftains, finding their usual mode of desultory warfare not attended with its customary success, resolved to carry on operations in a different manner. They accordingly crossed over to the northward, towards the Adjutee Pass, where they were reinforced by a detachment of regular infantry, commanded by Messrs. Pohlman and Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a numerous and well equipped train of artillery. The whole of this force was collected in the vicinity of Bokerdumand Jaffierabad.

" It does not strictly fall within the province of this work to notice the co-operating movements of General Lake's army in the northern parts of India, or those of the small Bombay force which was employed against Baroach, and I reluctantly therefore pass over the commemoration of many signal exploits honourable to the British name, to concentrate the reader's attention upon

upon the actions of him whose career it is the exclusive object of my labours to trace with fidelity.

"On the 21st September the two corps of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson effected a junction near Budnapour, when it was determined to move forward in separate bodies, and attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. The sedulous anxiety with which they had hitherto avoided every endeavour on our part to bring them to action, and the evident impolicy of protracting this harassing warfare to any longer period, left no other choice to General Wellesley, who was eager to close the campaign, than to adopt the course he finally determined upon.

"Having arrived at Naulnia on the 23d, and there receiving a report that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were still in camp at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which he had intended to encamp, he resolved at once to march to the attack; a determination, to use the words of the Marquis of Wellesley, "dictated both by prudence and courage." Delay would have permitted the enemy to retreat during the night, and thus have extended, to a still further period, the opportunity of deciding the conflict; or, on the other hand, it might have exposed the general to difficulties and loss, by enabling Scindiah to ascertain the precise position of his baggage, stores, &c. which are necessarily excessive in an Indian army.

"When the British army moved on towards the confederates, they found them posted between and along the course of two rivers, the

Kaitna and the Juah, towards their junction. Their line extended east and west along the north side of the Kaitna river, the banks of which are high and rocky, and impassable for guns, except at places close to the villages. The enemy's right consisting entirely of cavalry, was posted in the vicinity of Bockerdun, and extended to their line of infantry, which was encamped, in a manner somewhat resembling a European entrenched camp, near the fortified village of Assye. There was a fearful difference in the numbers of the respective armies. The forces of the confederates amounted, altogether, to about 40,000 men, while those of General Wellesley did not exceed 5000, and of which not more than 2000 were Europeans. The skill of his arrangements, and the valour of his men, were all that he had to counterbalance this inequality. These however proved sufficient. Colonel Stevenson with the troops of the Nizam had not arrived, though he was hourly expected.

"A river flowed nearly in front of the enemy's position. The general forded it, and drew up his infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry behind them, as a third line in reserve. His intention was to attack the right of the Mahrattas, it being his great object to avoid their artillery, which was on the left, and to turn their right, knowing that if he defeated the infantry, the guns must follow as a matter of course. His orders were however either misconceived or disobeyed. The officer commanding the picquets, which were on the right of the first line, moved upon the enemy's left: This immediately made a gap in the first line. The 74th, which was on the right of the second line, naturally

followed the picquets, and General Wellesley was therefore obliged to bring the whole of his force into one line. The consequence was as he had anticipated. The right of his line was exposed to the fire of upwards of one hundred pieces of artillery, and was nearly destroyed. Nothing however could surpass the promptitude and skill with which his operations were conducted, when he found himself compelled to alter, instantaneously, the whole plan of attack, in consequence of that officer's disobedience or error.

"A circumstance now occurred which, when the numerical inferiority of the English army is considered, might justly have excited alarm and dismay in any commander who did not possess the firmest reliance upon the resources of his own genius. It was discovered that the artillery, of which there was but little, could not be brought into use, while the numerous cannon of the enemy, served by French officers and engineers, were placed so as to do the greatest execution. General Wellesley, with that intuitive perception of the precise course to be adopted in any exigency, immediately gave orders to abandon his guns, and come to close combat. He took his own station of peril and command, at the head of the whole line, and having placed Colonel Maxwell, with the cavalry, so as to cover his right (being secure on his left from the nature of the ground, and relative position of the enemy) he advanced to battle.

"The Mahrattas were astonished and dismayed at the firm, unbroken, and dauntless band that opposed itself to their hosts: but, after a few minutes, they rallied from their consternation, and their tremendous cannon opened a murderous fire

upon the assailants. English courage, however, led on by such a general as Wellesley, was not to be intimidated. Our soldiers had recourse to the bayonet, a powerful and resistless weapon in their hands; the Mahratta troops for awhile sustained the shock: presently the first line gave way, but they rallied again, as if struck by a sense of shame that such an inferior force should subdue them: it was a momentary vigor; they again gave way, and fell back upon their second line which was posted on the river Juah.

"Meanwhile, the Mahratta horse, who hung upon the adjacent hills in numerous cohorts, made a furious attack on the 74th, being a part of that force which General Wellesley had posted on his right to secure his rear and flanks. The brave 74th received the onset with an undaunted front: our cavalry, led on by Colonel Maxwell, rushed to their assistance, followed the Mahratta horse up the hills, and achieved a conquest with immense slaughter.

"The second line of the enemy yet remained entire, and an attack was now directed against it. This line had been thrown into some confusion by the incorporation of the first with it, which fled before the fierce assault of our bayonets. The cavalry under Colonel Maxwell, and the infantry, headed by General Wellesley, made a furious charge upon them all at once: unable to withstand it, they fled in all directions: and the British, deeming victory complete, followed the fugitives with all the ardour of conquest. But this impetuosity had nearly proved fatal; and the discretion of General Wellesley, aided by the intrepid bravery of Colonel Maxwell, alone prevented it from robbing

bing our army of all the fruits of its glorious labours.

“ A considerable number of the Mahrattas, who had thrown themselves on the ground, as if slain, were passed unnoticed by the British troops in the pursuit of the flying enemy; but suddenly they arose; seized the cannon, which had been left in the rear by our army, and began to open upon them a fierce and destructive cannonade. The British, scattered by pursuit, could not effectually act against them in a mass. The Mahratta infantry, seeing this, and encouraged by our confusion, began to re-form themselves, and faced about upon their pursuers.

“ The British were thus placed between two fires, and were besides, divided into small bodies from the pursuit which they had commenced. The whole battle was now to be fought over again; and General Wellesley, seeing at once the imminent danger in which his army was placed, put himself at the head of the 78th, and a battalion of sepoys, and charging the Mahrattas who had seized the guns, after a bloody and perilous contest, in which a horse was shot under him, and his personal danger was very great, he routed and put them to flight. At the same time, Colonel Maxwell charging the enemy's infantry at the head of the 19th dragoons, completed the victory with the loss of his own life, adding one name more to the list of those heroes whose memories are embalmed in the grateful tears of an admiring nation. The slaughter was great. The Mahratta soldiers fought with the fury of men stung with the deep sense of shame in yielding to an inferior force: while the British, partly stimulated by their conscious inferi-

ority, and partly incensed by the snare that had nearly proved so fatal, displayed even more than their wonted valour and fortitude.

“ During the whole of this severe and brilliant action, the conduct of General Wellesley united a degree of ability, prudence, and dauntless spirit, seldom equalled, and never surpassed. It would be impossible, indeed, to bestow any commendation superior to the skill, magnanimity, promptitude, and judgment, which he displayed on this memorable occasion: nor can any instance be adduced from the annals of our military glory, of more exemplary order, firmness, discipline, and alacrity, than were manifested by the British troops in every stage of this arduous contest. The whole line, led by the general in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without its guns, against a most severe and destructive fire of round and grape, until within a very short distance of the enemy's line, when the gallant few obliged them, at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding their superior numbers, to abandon their artillery, and finally to relinquish the field of battle after a sanguinary conflict of upwards of three hours.

“ I have described, thus minutely, this first battle fought by the Duke of Wellington, because it exhibited all those peculiar features, which, expanded upon a wider theatre, and dignified by a mightier stake, have raised him to the rank of the greatest of living captains. The reader, who recalls his victories in the Peninsula, and in France, will be forcibly convinced of this when he reflects that the battle of Assye was distinguished by three prominent circumstances; all of them compo-

nent

ment parts of his subsequent achievements.

"1. The promptitude with which he changed his proposed mode of attack, even though in actual march to execute it, when the disobedience of his orders by the officer compelled him to do so.

"2. General Wellesley, finding that the Nizam's force, which would have rendered him nearly equal to the Mahrattas, were marching closely behind him, and would consequently delay him if he waited for their junction, resolved to do without them; to content himself with his own very inferior force; and to trust to skill, courage, and fortune, to supply the deficiency.

"3. The ready abandonment of his cannon, and a resolution to do without it, when he found that the difficulty of advancing it checked the more valuable rapidity of his movements.

"The consequences of this memorable victory were great and important. The complete defeat of the confederate armies was accomplished; an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources (especially of their artillery) in the Deccan, was struck: a hostile and predatory force was expelled from the territory of our ally, the Nizam; and a seasonable and effectual check was interposed to the ambition, pride, and rapacity of the enemy. As a mark of public distinction to the brave troops who won this well fought victory, the governor-general ordered that honorary colours, with suitable devices, should be presented to the various corps employed on the occasion, and he directed also, that the names of the officers and men who fell in the battle, should be commemorated, with the circumstances of

the action, upon the public monument to be erected at Calcutta, in perpetual remembrance of that glorious day.

"After this decisive overthrow, the confederate chieftains began to think of peace, and wished that an accredited British agent should be sent to their camp: but, as this proposal was made with some circumstances of ambiguity, General Wellesley declined acceding to it, and proceeded to pursue his military operations against the enemy, who shewed a disposition to try the issue of further hostilities. These operations, combined with those which were carrying on in other parts of Hindoostan, under General Lake, whose army was on the north-west frontier of Oude, soon completed what the battle of Assye had begun.

"Scindiah, and the Berar Rajah, moved their army along the bank of the Taptee river to the westward, as if they meditated an attack on Poonah, and General Wellesley, therefore, determined to remain to the southward, in order to watch their motions. In execution of this system, he continued to harass their march for several weeks, constantly frustrating their plans by the admirable rapidity and sagacity of his own, but still unable to bring them to action. The day of Assye was yet too fresh in their memories, and as often as they heard of the near approach of the British forces, so often did they retreat before them. A truce was even sought by Scindiah, and granted by General Wellesley, on the 23d of November, but finding that the terms of this armistice were violated by the former, whenever such violation seemed expedient, it was resolved to prosecute hostilities with renewed vigor.

vigor. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, the British troops came up with a considerable body of Scindiah's regular cavalry, accompanied by the greater part of the Berar infantry. The day was extremely hot, and the general felt inclined to postpone the further pursuit till the evening, but he had scarcely halted, when the dispositions manifested by the enemy, compelled him to alter his resolution. Large bodies of their cavalry were noticed in advance, and the picquets being immediately advanced, the whole army of the confederates was distinctly perceived, formed in a long line of horse, foot, and artillery, presenting a front of five miles, on the plains of Argaum.

"There was no time for deliberation. A moment so employed, would have been injudiciously employed.—The enemy seemed resolved for action, and prompt measures were all that the crisis admitted. To General Wellesley, such rapidity of conception and of action were natural. He instantly advanced with the whole army in one column, in a direction nearly parallel to the enemy's line. The British cavalry were in the van.—As the two armies approached each other, a furious onset was made by a large body of Persian troops.—The conflict was long, sanguinary, and, for a time, doubtful: but victory declared for the British, and the Persians were every one destroyed. While this engagement took place at one part of the extensive line presented by the enemy, a charge of Scindiah's cavalry was made at another, and repulsed with dauntless intrepidity by the first battalion of the 68th: after which the whole line gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving 38 pieces of

cannon, and all their ammunition in the hands of the conquerors. In the trepidation and confusion of flight, their numbers only added to their embarrassment, and the trembling fugitives became an easy prey to the disciplined valour of our troops.

"The next operation of General Wellesley, was to invest the fortress of Gawilghar, a strong hold, containing such natural and artificial defences, as were deemed almost impregnable. By his skilful arrangements, however, it was soon forced to yield, after sustaining a vigorous assault, in which many were killed on both sides.

"In contemplating the splendid and rapid victories obtained by General Wellesley, over such numerous and well appointed armies, with a force so inadequate as to seem almost incredible, it is impossible not to be deeply sensible of the great superiority which warlike and manly habits necessarily possess over mere numerical strength. The energy of an army consists, not in its numbers, but in its discipline, and the personal valor of the troops. A multitudinous host, panic struck, are no more than a herd of sheep: as easily driven, and if overtaken, as easily destroyed. But an heroic little band, even in retreat, maintains that compact and unbroken front which intimidates pursuit, and limits the sphere of destruction. It is observed, by Lord Bacon, that "walled towns, stored arsenals, and armories, goodly races of horses, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like, is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number, itself, in armies importeth not much where the people is of weak courage."

courage." The armies of Asiatic Princes, consist generally of undisciplined thousands, who, unless they beat down all resistance by the massy weight of their first onset, turn back with precipitation, and flee in dismay. This character, however, does not apply exactly to the predatory hordes of the chieftains with whom General Wellesley had to contend. They had derived all the advantage of which they were, perhaps, susceptible, from European tactics, having been chiefly disciplined by French and British officers, and inured besides, to all the hardships and activity which a state of constant and vigilant warfare must necessarily produce. It constitutes no diminution, therefore of the glory which belongs to general Wellesley for his Indian campaigns, that he was opposed to an enemy less perfect in all the details of sound military practice than his own army: they only yielded, as the veteran troops of France did afterwards, to the powerful opposition of superior intelligence, aided by a degree of personal bravery in the men which no danger can daunt, nor any sufferings subdue.

"The result of these splendid triumphs soon manifested itself, in a way most conducive to the existing and permanent interests of our government in India. On the 17th of December, 1803, General Wellesley concluded a treaty of peace with the Rajah of Berar, in his camp at Deogaum, in which he renounced all adherence to the confederacy, ceded to the company the provinces of Cuttack and Balasore, and stipulated never to retain in his service the subjects of any state which might be at war with England.

"This treaty, which thus deprived Scindiah of a powerful confederate, was soon followed by another between that chieftain and General Wellesley, which was concluded on the 30th of December, 1803, and included many conditions highly favorable to the British interests in India. The subsequent events of the Mahratta war, including the defeat and subjection of Holkar, who still continued a sort of predatory hostility, belong rather to a history of India than a biography of the duke of Wellington, for though the army which he still commanded in the Deccan, occasionally co-operated with the forces under general Lake, yet no opportunity presented itself for General Wellesley to assume an active station. A few anecdotes therefore which connect themselves personally with him, as resulting from the brilliant events of his campaign, are all that remain to be told before the reader will have to view him filling an important space in the politics of Europe, both domestic and foreign.

"In April 1804, General Wellesley visited the presidency of Bombay, and was there received with all the distinction due to the conqueror of Assye. The most flattering and respectful addresses were presented to him, expressive of the high sense entertained of his important services, to which he replied with that modesty peculiar to elevated minds and conscious genius, ascribing all his successes, not so much to his own presiding skill and animating example, as to the zealous services of the officers under him, and the unwearied bravery of his troops. Due notice also was taken of his diplomatic skill in the treaties he had concluded, and it was justly affirmed, that "the difficult nego-

tiations

tations he had carried on with two hostile powers when, at the same moment, his attention was occupied by the operations of the field, did the greatest honour to his talents as a statesman, and displayed a happy union of political skill and military science."

"A distinguished proof of the genuine superiority of this illustrious character, was displayed by his own officers. It may be justly termed a distinguished proof, because illustrative of that unassuming ascendancy which subdues the cavils of rivalry, and conciliates the feelings of subserviency. In February, 1804, they agreed to present him with a vase of gold, worth two thousand guineas, of superior workmanship, with an inscription, recording the battle of Assye. This intention was notified to him by the committee appointed to carry it into execution, and he accepted the honourable memorial with those expressions of personal gratitude and of commendation to the officers themselves, which the occasion so naturally suggested.

"Nor was the government at home unmindful of what was due to such distinguished services. On the 3d of May, 1804, he received the thanks of both houses of parliament, which were conveyed in the most flattering terms: a distinguished honour, and one which he was afterwards to receive by a repetition of glorious deeds. A handsome sword, of the value of one thousand guineas, was also presented to him at Calcutta. On the 1st of September, in the same year, he was elected a knight companion of the most honourable order of Bath, and henceforth he is to be spoken of as the Honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley, till, in the progress of my la-

bour, I conduct him through all the gradations of the peerage.

"It may be doubted, however, whether any of these multiplied marks of private, of national, and of royal distinction, gave him more heartfelt satisfaction than what he derived from an address which was presented to him in the month of July, 1804, by the inhabitants of Seringapatam. In the quality of governor of that city, he possessed ample opportunities of manifesting the beneficence of his character, and when it is recollected how slender was the augmentation of his private fortune, either from his function as governor or commissioner, they who know what such situations in India are commonly made to produce, will best know how to appreciate the moderation, equity, and forbearance of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The exercise of these virtues would, of course, chiefly affect the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, who found themselves secured in the possession of all their political and private rights, the victims neither of extortion nor treachery. In their address they feelingly adverted to these blessings: they declared that "they had reposed for five years under the shadow of his auspicious protection: that they had felt, even during his absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that his care for their prosperity had been extended to them in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied his mind; and that they were preparing, in their several casts, the duties of their thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God who had brought him back in safety."—They concluded with this affectionate and memorable prayer, evidently speaking the language of gratitude for past kindness,

ness, and of sorrow for its future loss. "When greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all casts, and all nations, deign to hear with favor our humble and constant prayer, for your health, your glory, and your happiness!"

"Conquerors and rulers may exult in the adulation of selfishness, or the subdued accents of terror, but he who would not prefer this free and artless offering of a grateful people, strangers in tongue, in religion, and in government, but brethren in the universal language of benevolence and gratitude, would prove himself insensible to the only true glory which can attend upon greatness. It is not the wreath which slaughtered thousands bind around the victor's brow, that stamps upon him the unfading mark of real nobility and honor: ambition, fraud, and tyranny, may obtain this; but it is the application of victory and power to the ameliora-

tion of mankind, to the diffusion of happiness, the maintenance of truth, and the support of justice. This elevated greatness, free from every spot, untouched by the language of reproach, and unsullied even by the breath of envy, belongs in a peculiar manner to the Duke of Wellington, who has passed through all the arduous duties of his splendid career, with the almost unanimous applause and admiration of the world.

"In March, 1805, he prepared to return to England, whither he was followed by the general good wishes and respect of all classes of society in India. He arrived there towards the conclusion of that year, and the distracted state of Europe, caused by the restless ambition, and implacable temper of the late ruler of France, soon presented an opportunity for the employment of his military talents."

[JUVENILE STUDIES AND PROGRESS OF MELANCTHON.]

[From Mr. Cox's Life of this celebrated Reformer.]

"**P**HILIP MELANCTHON was born in Saxony, at the small but pleasant town of Bretten, in the lower Palatinate of the Rhine, on the sixteenth day of February, in the year 1497. The following inscription in his father's house records the event:

DEI PIETATE NATUS EST IN
HAC DOMO DOCTISSIMUS DN.
PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON, D.
XVI. FEBR. A. M. CCCC. XCVII.

"The house which belonged to his parents, containing this inscription and his picture, remained standing in the market place till modern times. During the thirty years war many of the literati and inhabitants of Heidelberg took refuge within the walls of Bretten, but in 1632 it was taken by the Imperialists. In the year 1784 it contained, exclusively of the public buildings, two hundred and sixty-two dwelling houses, and upwards of

of two thousand inhabitants; but in 1789 it was taken, plundered, and almost exterminated by the French; and what their desolating rapacity spared, was at length destroyed under the orders of the Imperial General Ogilvi, by which act of indiscretion, however, he lost the favour of his master.

"The mother of Melancthon was the daughter of John Reuter, a very respectable man, and for many years mayor of the town. Her name was Barbara, and she is represented as a truly estimable woman. His father George Schwartzerd, (for this was the German family name,) was a native of Heidelberg, but settled at Bretten in consequence of his marriage. He filled the office of Engineer or Commissary of the Artillery, under the Palatinate princes Philip and Rupert. Distinguished not only by integrity, prudence, fidelity, and many other virtues, but by his remarkable ingenuity in the invention of all kinds of instruments, adapted either for the purposes of war, or for the fashionable tournaments of the age, he attracted the attention of Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederic, and became well known to many of the most powerful princes. He died in the year 1508, in consequence of having swallowed some water from a poisoned well about four years before, when engaged in the service of his country. He is described not only as a man of the strictest morals and of undissembled piety, but so grave in his manners, as scarcely to admit even of a joke in the ordinary intercourse of life. His wife continued in a state of widowhood twelve years, when, upon the marriage of her son Philip, which gave her some offence, she again entered

into the conjugal state, with a respectable citizen of Bretten.

"The early studies of Melancthon were chiefly committed to the management of his maternal grandfather Reuter. This is to be attributed to the numerous and public nature of his father's engagements. The choice could not have been better made, for his grandfather was unquestionably well qualified for such an important superintendence; and, at the same time, affectionately solicitous about his youthful charge. It must be understood, that he acted in concert with his mother and by her advice.

"Melancthon was at first placed with his younger brother George, at a public school in his native town; but in consequence of a loathsome disease, at that time prevalent in Germany, having found its way into the school, he was soon removed, and put under private tuition.

"Although native genius may have frequently surmounted the greatest disadvantages, it has, in too many instances, been injured by an improper or defective education. Like the body that has been cramped in its growth, but which, notwithstanding, evinces its original strength of constitution by the very deformities into which it shoots, so the vigorous mind, checked or misguided at an early period of life, is prone to neglect the useful and pursue the trifling, to cherish unseemly prejudices and to take an erroneous course. Melancthon remarked of Luther, that, "If he had been fortunate enough to have met with suitable teachers, his great capacity would have enabled him to go through all the sciences. Nor is it improbable that the milder studies of a sound philosophy, and a careful habit of elaborate

rate composition, might have been useful in moderating the vehemence of his natural temper."

"Considering the age in which he lived, and the state of depression which literature in general suffered, Melancthon seems to have fallen into very good hands; and though his natural capacity was the basis of all his future eminence, much is doubtless to be attributed to the guides of his early studies. His preceptor in the Latin language was John Hungerus; a man of great merit, and, at a very advanced period of life, a faithful preacher of the pure word of God at Pforzheim. He was charmed with the rapid proficiency of his pupil, who like other youths of superior talent, was fond of shewing his dexterity by discussing with boys much older than himself the rules of grammar, or the elements of language which they had been taught. In these little contests he was usually victorious; but whilst he never failed to impress others with a sense of his superiority, his excellent spirit and temper compelled them, to mingle esteem with their admiration. At this time he had a stammering, or rather, perhaps, a hesitating mode of pronunciation, which, though never very unpleasant, and probably the effect of modest timidity, and not of any natural impediment in the organs of speech, was so effectually cured by time and care; that afterwards it became scarcely, if at all, perceptible.

"The Academy at Pforzheim, under the immediate superintendence of George Simlerus, was highly celebrated. Simlerus was distinguished by his classical learning. He afterwards became a lawyer of considerable eminence, and a lecturer on jurisprudence at Tubin-

gen. At Pforzheim, Melancthon was introduced to the study of the Greek language, which he prosecuted with great diligence and proportionate success. His brother George and his uncle John were his school-fellows, and they all lodged together at the house of a relation, who was sister to John Reuchlin. This elegant scholar, known to be learned by the name of Capnio, was a native of Pforzheim, and successively a teacher of languages at Basil and at Orleans. His mind, naturally vigorous and industriously cultivated, became a storehouse of various erudition. He was the restorer of letters in Germany, and the author of several treatises on philosophy.

"Reuchlin, or Capnio, took particular notice of the three lads who were inmates at his sister's, and frequently questioned them about their pursuits at school. The genius of Philip could not remain long undetected by so diligent an inquirer and so zealous a friend to literature. His prompt and accurate replies, indicating the rare combination of a studious habit with an extraordinary talent, instantly won his affections, and led him, in some degree, to prognosticate his future proficiency. To testify his regard and to encourage him in the prosecution of his literary studies, Capnio presented Philip with several books; amongst the rest an enlarged Greek Grammar and a Greek and Latin Lexicon. This was a powerful stimulus to his ardent mind, and, dissatisfied with the mere performance of his ordinary exercises, he began to indulge his genius in poetical composition. Although he possessed sufficient inclination, yet he could not command leisure at any subsequent period

period of his life to devote himself much to this fascinating art; but he wrote several epigrams, epitaphs, prologues, and, occasionally, poetical epistles to his friends; and some very excellent judges, to whom may be added even the fastidious Julius Cæsar Scaliger, have commended his verses. Probably the efforts of his premature age to which we have adverted, resembled the frequent productions of the same period, by youths of ability at school. He wrote also at the early age of thirteen, a humorous piece in the form of a comedy, which he dedicated to Capnio, to testify the sense he entertained of his truly parental kindness, and engaged his school-fellows to perform it in his presence. It was upon this occasion his patron and friend gave him the name of Melancthon, a Greek term of similar signification with the German word Schwartzerd. This method of substituting sonorous Greek appellations for their proper names, was at that period a very common practice amongst the learned. Thus Reuchlin from the German word Reuch, smook, was changed by Herniolaus Barbarus into Capnio, a term of similar import.

"Melancthon appears to have cherished a high regard for his early preceptors, and to have retained it through life. His amiable spirit never undervalued the merit of others, nor forgot their claims upon his gratitude. In one of his writings, referring either to Hunгарus or Simlerus, he says, "My preceptor was an excellent grammarian, who took pains to make me understand the construction of every sentence, giving me thirty or forty verses at a time to construe. He would not allow me to slur any

thing over, and as often as I blundered, he would correct me, but with a proper degree of moderation. Thus I learnt the grammatical part of language. He was one of the best of men. He loved me as a son, and I him as a father; and we shall soon meet, I trust, in eternal life! Yes—I was truly attached to him, although he were somewhat severe; yet severity I cannot call it, but rather fatherly correction to stimulate me to diligence."

"After a residence of nearly two years at Pforzheim, Melancthon was sent by his mother and the relation who superintended his education, to the University of Heidelberg; formerly the metropolis, now the second town, of the lower Palatinate, and the birth-place of his father. He was matriculated on the 13th of October, in the year 1509, the twelfth of his age. The University was highly celebrated for its various professors in the different branches of learning, who were soon attracted not only by the extraordinary progress and amiable disposition of their young pupil, but by his zealous efforts to excite his fellow students to the more diligent cultivation of polite literature. Conscious of his own mental superiority, he felt no envious apprehension of their outstripping him; or, if they had, his future character renders it evident, that he would have been the first to rejoice in their success. It was impossible that the union of so much application with so much talent should fail of producing great results. He was accordingly soon looked up to as a first-rate youth, and though but a lad was employed to compose most of the public harangues and discourses of eloquence that were delivered

lived in the University, and wrote some things even for the professors themselves. He was also entrusted with the education of the two sons of Count Leonstein. His proficiency in the Greek was so remarkable, that even at this early age he composed rudiments of the language which were afterwards published.

"During his residence at Heidelberg, Melancthon, who was so eminently formed for friendship, contracted an intimacy with several persons of merit. Among these were Wimphelingus, Sturmius, Gautherus, and Sorbillus. He was an inmate of the well-known Pallas, a man pre-eminently distinguished for his wisdom, virtue and benevolence, and for many years the brightest ornament of the academy.

"Heidelberg had not the honour of educating Melancthon more than three years. He was naturally of a feeble constitution, and the situation of the place did not appear to agree with him. This circumstance, together with a severe disappointment he suffered in being refused a higher degree in the university than he had hitherto obtained, solely, as it was alleged, on account of his youth, determined him to remove to Tubingen, a town on the Neckar, in the duchy of Wurtemberg. The university was daily increasing in reputation, and he entered it in the month of September, 1512. It had been founded by Prince Eberhard I. about five and thirty years before, who had been careful to procure the most celebrated men of the time for professors in every branch of literature and theology.

"At Tubingen our aspiring youth attended all the different professors of classical and polite learning, devoting himself especially to mathe-

matics, jurisprudence, logic, medicine and theology. In medicine he studied Galen so thoroughly, that he could repeat the greatest part of his treatises; and although theology, as it was then taught, consisted in little else than scholastic subtleties, knotty questions, unintelligible jargon, and absurdities compounded of superstition and profaneness, he began to be much devoted to the more sober and rational part of it. Here he first became acquainted with Oecolampadius, who was his senior by several years: and as he mentions in one of his letters, they used to read Hesiod together. But, of all the professors, Henry Bebelius, distinguished for his skill in history, John Brassicanus, John Stöfflerus in the mathematical department, and Francis Stadianus, the public lecturer on Aristotle, appear to have attracted his highest esteem. He has mentioned the two latter in particular with applause and affection in his writings. Stöfflerus had for many years the sole care of calculating and arranging the calendar, a task which Melancthon affirms he executed with great labour and with equal skill. "Had it not been," says he, "for his indefatigable application, we should have known nothing of the distinction of times and the changes of the months—nor of the seasons for ploughing, sowing, planting and other agricultural pursuits, nor of a variety of other useful and ingenious arts." He addresses him in the dedication or preface to his public oration on the Liberal Arts, in these terms: "I am indebted to your kindness not only for what I know, but for what I am desirous of knowing; and I am desirous of knowing whatever becomes me.

How

How can I sufficiently testify my regard and admiration for one who, during the many years in which he has diligently investigated the abstruse parts of mathematical science, has been constantly stimulating the studious in general, and myself in particular, by every mark of kindness, to pursue an honourable renown. Francis Stadianus he describes in the strongest terms: "He was a man of learning, and lived in such a manner as to deserve the affection of all the learned and the good!"

"Melancthon had not yet attained the age of seventeen when he was created Doctor in Philosophy, or Master of Arts. This took place on the 25th of January, in the year 1513; when he immediately commenced a course of private tuition; but not long afterwards he became a public lecturer at Tübingen. General admiration was soon excited by the profound knowledge and elegant taste he discovered in the Latin classics. A considerable portion of time was occupied every day in delivering public lectures, which were not exclusively devoted to the learned languages, but embraced an extraordinary variety of subjects, as rhetoric, logic, ethics, mathematics and theology. At the same time he particularly directed the attention of his scholars to the classical compositions of Virgil, Terence, Cicero, Livy and the Greek writers. He may be justly regarded as the restorer of Terence, whose poetical compositions, through the ignorance of his transcribers and publishers, had hitherto appeared only in a prosaic dress. Melancthon, having reduced them to a proper arrangement, presented them to the public in their present form. In this labour he shewed his discri-

mination and taste; for Cicero eulogizes Terence both for the purity of his diction and the beauty of his compositions, representing them as the rule and standard of the language.

"This bright star in the literary hemisphere, the brighter for the profound darkness which surrounded it, could not fail of attracting the attention of the great men of the age. So early as the year 1515 the sagacious and learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, exclaimed in terms of rapturous admiration, "At Deum immortalem quam non spem de se præbet admodum etiam adolescens et pene puer, Philippus ille Melancthon, utraque literatura pene æquo suscipiendus! Quod inventionis acumen! Quæ sermonis puritas! Quanta reconditarum rerum memoria! Quam variæ lectio! Quam verecunda regięque prorsus indolis festivitas!" i. e. "What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon, though as yet very young, and almost a boy, but equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages! What quickness of invention! What purity of diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of reading! What a modesty and gracefulness of behaviour! and what a princely mind!" A eulogium so remarkable, and bestowed by such a man, on a stripling of only eighteen, was surely no inconsiderable testimony to his wonderful merit.

"Nor was this the only occasion on which this accomplished scholar expressed his admiration. His works abound with similar encomiums: it will be sufficient to select two or three. Writing to Oecolampadius he says, "Of Melancthon I have already the highest opinion, and cherish the most magnificent

nificent hopes: so much so, that I am persuaded Christ designs this youth to excel us all: he will totally eclipse Erasmus!"—*Mosellanus* having interceded with him upon occasion of some injurious reports that had been circulated respecting the remarks of Melancthon upon his paraphrase on the New Testament, and implored him not to suffer himself to be unfavourably impressed by them—*Erasmus* replied, "Philip Melancthon is in no need of my patronage or defence." In a letter which *Erasmus* addressed to him, he concludes thus, "Farewell, most learned Melancthon, use all thine energies that the splendid hopes which Germany conceives of thy genius and thy piety may not only be equalled, but exceeded." On another occasion, in a letter to *Julius Pflug*, the celebrated counsellor of *George*, duke of Saxony, he gives Melancthon this character: "He not only excels in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him!" "Happy," exclaims *Dr. Jortin*, "is the person whom this description suits! It is not safe to attack him; the public will revenge his wrongs and take his part against you!" *Seckendorf* remarks, that were the various eulogies which literary men, and even religious opponents have pronounced upon Melancthon to be collected together, they would fill a very considerable volume.

To a much earlier period, probably, may be referred the oration mentioned in a very curious passage of one of *Hugh Latimer's* sermons, which evinces the astonishing celebrity of this youthful scholar and

reformer, "Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, (or rather Saint Bilney that suffered death for God's word sake,) the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge, for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made Batchelor of Divinity, my whole oration went against Phillippe Melancthon and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge: and hee came to me afterward in my study, and desired mee for God's sake to heare his confession: I did so—and to say the very truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many yeares. So from that time forward I begunne to smell the word of God, and forsooke the schoole doctors, and such fooleries."

"The same *Latimer* afterwards said, in a sermon preached before *Edward VI.* who expected him in England, "I hear say Mr. Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end."

"Melancthon took upon himself the laborious task of revising the works published by *Thomas Anshelmus*, a noted printer at *Tubingen*. The greatest part of his time, not immediately devoted to his professional duties or his private studies, was bestowed in editing a ponderous folio work of *Nauclerus*, to which a preface was prefixed by *Capnio*. Originally, it was, in fact, nothing but a confused heap of fables,

fables, mingled with historical facts; and Melancthon bestowed a labour upon it very disproportionate to its intrinsic merit, in arranging, correcting, purifying, and almost re-writing it. In this case we can only praise him for his industry.

“During his residence at Tubingen, he had an opportunity of rendering essential service to his early friend and patron Reuchlin, or Capnio, who was involved in a disagreeable contention with certain ecclesiastics. It happened thus. The divines and monks of Cologne, instigated by a Jew of the name of Pfefferkorn, who had professed Christianity, obtained an edict from the emperor to authorise them to burn all the Jewish writings as heretical, excepting the Bible. The Jews instantly implored the emperor to suspend his order till these books had been examined by a competent committee of learned men.

To this very reasonable petition he consented. Capnio, who had prosecuted the study of the Hebrew language under some learned Jews, both at Vienna and at Rome, and who had become conversant with the Cabalistic writings, was appointed by the elector of Mentz to be an arbitrator in the controversy. Having given it as his opinion, that no other books should be destroyed but such as were found to be written expressly against Jesus Christ, the emperor approved the decision, and restored the books to the Jews. At this the monks and inquisitors of Cologne were violently exasperated, and not only loaded him with invectives, but used every means to induce the court of Rome to pursue him with the thunder of excommunication. At this critical juncture, Melancthon was of essential use to his friend, and frequent conferences

took place between them, both at Tubingen and at Stutgard, the place where Capnio resided. Neither the advice nor the zealous efforts of a warm friendship were wanting in his defence, which, co-operating with his high literary reputation, the result was, the honourable acquittal of Capnio. This celebrated character died very poor at the age of sixty-seven. “On account of his virtue and merit,” says Melancthon, “his memory ought to be cherished. He served his country with great diligence and judgment, promoted assiduously the Hebrew language, so important to the church, lived in a moderate manner, and was bountiful to the necessitous, especially to scholars. His candour was remarkable, and he was devoid of envy and malevolence. For these reasons he was much esteemed by learned men.”

“One of the earliest of Melancthon’s productions, now extant, is an oration on the Liberal Arts, delivered at Tubingen in the year 1517, at twenty years of age. It indicates the elegance of his mind and the variety of his reading. After a suitable introduction, he relates the classical story of the seven-stringed lyre, and the origin of the liberal arts. The oration proceeds with a detail of these arts and a brief recital of their origin and progress. It glows with animation as it approaches the close. “Let the example of those illustrious persons who surround me, inspire you. Be animated by the great and glorious expectations of your country, and apply the utmost vigour of your minds to what you know to be of pre-eminent importance, the attainment of sound learning and real virtue. Do not be seduced from this noble course by flattering plea-

tures or by evil examples. Let no dishonourable principle influence your minds; and that I call dishonourable which diverts you from the literary pursuits and from the sacred studies to which you are devoted."

"Considering the very important part Melancthon was destined to act in the reformation, it would be pleasing, were it possible, to trace the formation of his religious principles and modes of thinking with as much exactness as we are able to detail his literary career. The history of piety is even more interesting than the history of genius. To discriminate with accuracy the different states of the mind, to ascertain the changes of feeling at successive periods of early life, to witness at once the progressive establishment of moral character and the development of intellectual capacity, is, and ever must be, highly instructive. Melancthon was endowed with a soul formed of the finest materials, cast in the gentlest mould, and ever ready to listen with attention to reason and argument; but in proportion as the original prejudices of education had entrenched themselves in a mind delicate, discerning, and full of sensibility like his, the attempt to dispossess principles so dear to him, must have been difficult and hazardous. It is long before one, so constituted, can renounce what has been held sacred; then, not without obvious and substantial reasons. Offence is easily taken at the first and most distant appearances of what is deemed error, and, under favouring circumstances, in an unenlightened age, an extraordinary degree of superstition is the natural result. Melancthon expresses, on one occasion, the pungent sorrow

which the recollection of his former zeal in the idolatrous services of the Catholic church occasioned. It is easy to believe, therefore, that he must have endured many secret conflicts, many heart-rending struggles, previously to his separation from that communion. The only illustrative fact that has been transmitted to us affords some good evidence that his convictions originated in the best manner, and that his early religious views were derived from the only pure source of instruction. Capnio having presented him with a small bible which had been recently printed at Basil by the well-known John Frobenius, or Froben, Melancthon accustomed himself to write down upon the margin such explanatory hints and such useful illustrations of particular passages, as either occurred to his own reflections or could be collected from the different ancient writers with whose works he was conversant; a practice which at least proves the diligent attention he began to pay to the sacred volume. This Bible was his constant companion. Wherever he went he never failed to carry it with him, and during the public service at church he constantly held it in his hand, to direct and enliven his devotions. This practice furnished an occasion to his bigotted and so less malignant adversaries, who perceived he made use of a volume of a different size from the prayer-book, to represent him as engaged in reading even in the public church, what was very improper both to the occasion and the place! No efforts were omitted to render him odious: but envy and persecution waged an unequal war, and were defeated.

"The spirit manifested by these religious barbarians on this occasion, perfectly

perfectly harmonised with the language of one of the monkish fraternity, whose preposterous ignorance and bigotry have furnished a standing joke ever since the reformation. "A new language," says he, "has been invented, which is called Greek; guard carefully against it, it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe, in the hands of a great many people, a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted to Judaism."

"After a residence of about six years, Melancthon removed from Tübingen to the University of Wittenberg, the metropolis of the circle of upper Saxony. In this situation he was immediately introduced into a scene of great labour and extensive usefulness. This university was founded so recently as the year 1502, under the auspices of the elector Frederic, who spared no pains to advance it to respectability and distinction. The licence of the emperor Maximilian, and the bull granted by the Pope, for its establishment, are still extant. The celebrity of Melancthon, seconded by the powerful recommendation of Capnio, induced the Elector to determine upon giving him employment in the university. Several letters were interchanged on the subject, and the result was, the formal appointment of Melancthon to the Greek professorship. Upon this occasion, Capnio applied to him with prophetic accuracy the remarkable language of Jehovah to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land

that I will shew thee and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing:" adding, "this accords with the presentiment of my mind; and thus I hope it will be with thee hereafter, my Philip, my care, and my comfort!" He went to Wittenberg on the 25th day of August, in the year 1518, at the age of twenty-one. His name is inserted in the documents of the university with marked distinction.

"The general sensation excited at Tübingen on this occasion may be imagined from the language of Simlerus. "The whole city lamented his departure. No one can conceive or estimate how much the academy lost of distinction and of emolument when he departed." His journey was performed on horseback, by way of Nuremberg and Leipsic; and he availed himself of the opportunity of contracting a friendship with Picamerus, Mosellanus, Camicianus and other eminent characters.

"Upon the fourth day after his arrival at Wittenberg he commenced his public duties as a professor in the customary mode of delivering an oration, which attracted an unusual degree of applause. Luther is lavish in his commendations, and in a letter addressed to Spalatine he says that it was inconceivably learned and elegant, and excited such universal admiration, that every one forgot the comparative meanness of Melancthon's personal appearance. In consequence of his settlement at Wittenberg, immense numbers crowded to the university, and his audience sometimes amounted to fifteen hundred persons. He had the honour of being Luther's instructor in the Greek language."

[DOMESTIC LIFE AND CHARACTER OF MELANCTHON.]

[From the same.]

“AS the traveller at “the sweet approach of ev’n,” hastens from incessant toils and conflicting elements, to the shelter of some hospitable roof, where, amidst the cheerfulness and comfort of the social circle, he forgets past difficulties and is strengthened for future exertion: so we may now be permitted to retire for a season, from the thorny paths and stormy atmosphere of polemical discussion, to the bowers of domestic peace.

“Although from the peculiarity of circumstances which surrounded Melancthon, and the important period in which he lived, we are naturally anxious to trace his public career, and follow him through the principal scenes of an active life, yet in order to accomplish the legitimate purposes of biography, it will be proper to turn aside for a moment to visit him in the recesses of privacy, by this means aiming to impart various instruction, as well as to prepare amusement,

“Few persons can claim to rank amongst distinguished scholars or professors, and fewer still are destined by Providence to undergo the struggles, to encounter the resistance, and to pursue the high and holy course of reformers; but every one occupies a place and possesses an influence in the family. One or other of the endearing names of father, husband, parent, child, bro-

ther, sister, friend, belongs to every human being; to these different relations, peculiar and appropriate duties are attached, and from the manner in which they are discharged or neglected, we have an opportunity both of noticing the development of individual character, and of ascertaining the principle upon which the felicity or infelicity of life in a very considerable degree depends. Here we have all the advantage of example, arising from the interesting consideration that another is acting in our own circumstances, and moving in a similar sphere; and if our personal improvement be not promoted, whether the example be good or bad, we must be strangely deficient in moral taste and right feeling.

“The chief actors in seasons of great political change or great moral revolution, are unfavourably situated for the cultivation of the milder graces; by the collision of opposing parties and contradictory opinions, the sparks of intemperate anger are too apt to be struck out, and dispositions even naturally mild, have sometimes been inflamed. But in cases where it has been deemed necessary or prudent, for the sake of the cause, to suppress the rising emotions of resentment, and to check improper violence of language in public, the rage of the heart has burst forth in the circle
of

of unrestrained friendship, and disturbed the hour of private intercourse. Here, however, the character of Melancthon is particularly worthy of admiration. A meek and quiet spirit never forsook him. He always engaged reluctantly in disputation, and was never or seldom irritated by it, even in the smallest degree. He harboured no resentments. When he retired from the field of strife, he laid aside his weapons and most willingly renounced the glory of the controversialist, for the peace and comfort of the domestic man. He did not bring malevolent feelings or angry passions into his family, for in truth he had none to bring. But it would be doing him great injustice to represent him as a tame or effeminate character. Passion he had, but they were under the due regulation of reason and piety. Religion had completed the work of nature; he was kind and gentle upon principle, as well as by constitution. If the emotions of anger at any time arose in his mind, they were instantly suppressed as a weakness unworthy of a man, as a sin unbecoming a Christian.

"In the year 1520, he married a very respectable young lady belonging to one of the principal families in Wittenberg. Her name was Catharine Crappin, and her father was a burgomaster of the town. She is described by Camerarius, whose intercourse with the family was such as to afford him every means of correct information, as a truly religious person, most assiduously attentive to her domestic concerns, extremely liberal to all, and not only benevolent to the poor, and even lavish of her own means of supplying them, but urgent with others whom she could at any time

influence to minister to their necessities. With eminent piety of spirit she united great purity of manners, and avoided all extravagance in dress and all luxury in food. Nothing could be more congenial to the taste of Melancthon, who was never captivated by the blandishments of pleasure, nor seduced by the charms of sensuality. In a letter to Langius, dated in November, he speaks of her in terms of high regard, as possessed of a disposition and manners which entirely corresponded with his wishes: and he represents his marriage as the result of serious deliberation, and conformably to the advice of his friends. Seldom have two individuals become more completely one in spirit and character, and seldom has the marriage contract been more firmly sealed by mutual attachment. Reason, religion, and love, presided over their happy union, and confirmed their solemn vows.

"During this year he commenced a course of lectures on the epistle of Paul to the Romans, and so indefatigable was he in the regular discharge of this and all his academical duties, that the suspension of the usual course even for the single day of his marriage was so remarkable, as to be publicly intimated in the following curious notice.

*A studiis bodie facit ocia grata Philippus
Nec vobis Pauli dogmata sacra leget.*

*Rest from your studies, Philip says you may,
He'll read no lectures on St. Paul to day.*

Liberality was a distinguishing feature in the mind of Melancthon and his excellent wife; and this was apparent both in the common acts of charity, and in the more diffusive spirit of universal benevolence. Neither of them were dis-

posed by oppressive exactions or parsimonious care to enrich themselves. They deeply sympathized with the feelings of the needy and the wretched; never being deaf to their importunities, but readily and most liberally supplying them with money and sustenance. The necessitous might have applied to them the language of St. Paul to the Corinthian church, with the utmost propriety. "To their power, yea, beyond their power, I bear record; they were willing of themselves, praying us with much intreaty, that we would receive the gift." The house was crowded with a constant succession of comers and goers of every age, sex and condition, some pressing in to receive, and others departing well stored from this ample repository of kindness and bounty. It formed a part of their domestic regulations, never to refuse an applicant!

"In addition to those who frequented the house to beg, the celebrity of Melancthon proved a severe tax upon his time, for multitudes resorted to him to seek his advice, to obtain recommendatory letters, to request the correction of their compositions, to lay before him various complaints, to solicit his aid in literary pursuits, or perhaps merely for the purpose of seeing so distinguished a person; all of whom enjoyed free access. Sometimes persons whom he could not altogether approve would solicit his valuable recommendations; these he has been known to dismiss with pecuniary presents, as the best method which his benevolent spirit could devise, of being released from their unwelcome importunity.

"It seems scarcely possible to conceive how amidst such a profusion of benevolence Melancthon

could support his own family, especially when it is recollected, that while none were sent empty away, he not only did not aim to grow richer, but frequently refused those emoluments which others usually grasp after with the utmost eagerness. Instead of availing himself of the influence of the great with whom he was connected to advance him to dignity and opulence, he was known to refuse even the presents of princes. With an admirable disinterestedness, he lectured on divinity and the Holy Scriptures, two whole years without any salary; and when a pension of two hundred florins was assigned him by the elector of Saxony, he excused himself, by saying, "I am unable to devote myself to the duty with sufficient attention and assiduity to warrant an acceptance of it." The Elector, however, by Luther's advice, intimated that it would suffice to give one or two lectures in a week, as his health might permit.

"At the time which will be hereafter more particularly noticed, when the elector Maurice was desirous of attaching Melancthon to his interests, he made inquiry into his circumstances, and whether he was not in need of some pecuniary aid. Upon his dissembling this, the prince told him, he wished he would at least ask some favour, assuring him that whatever it might be, it should readily be granted. He replied, that "he felt perfectly satisfied with his salary, and was not anxious for any augmentation of it, nor indeed for any thing else." Maurice still continued to urge him, and at length he said, "Well, as your highness requires me to ask some favour, I ask my dismissal." The prince found it necessary, however,

however, to solicit his continuance in his professorship, adding to the gentlemen of his court, "That he had never seen or experienced any thing like Melancthon's conduct, who was not only too disinterested to ask for any thing, but would not even accept it when proffered."

"It is proper to mention, with marked respect, an invaluable servant, of the name of John, who lived with him many years. John was a man of tried honesty and fidelity, adorning the humble sphere in which he moved, and very much beloved by his master. To his management we must in part look for an explanation of the mystery to which we have alluded, namely, the possibility of being so lavishly benevolent with such restricted and apparently inadequate means. The whole duty of provisioning the family was entrusted to this domestic, whose care, assiduity and prudence, amply justified the unbounded confidence reposed in him. He made the concerns of the family his own, avoiding all useless expenditure and watching with a jealous eye over his master's property. He was also the first instructor of the children in the family during their infancy. This merits to be distinctly recorded, not only because such a servant is a kind of *rara avis in terris*, but because, as in the present instance, he may contribute essentially to the general good, by preventing the waste of those means which a benevolent spirit will ever feel anxious to consecrate to purposes of public utility. John grew old in his master's service, and in the year 1553, expired in his house, after the long residence of almost thirty-four years, amidst the affectionate regrets of the whole family. He invited the

academicians to his funeral, delivered an oration over his grave, and composed the following epitaph for his tombstone:

Joannes pater Nicri discessit ab uadis
Huc accessit voce, Philippe, tua
Quem comes exilii juvit precibusque fideque
Nunc vere gnato credidit ille dei.
Ipsius hic dominum sepelivit corpus inane;
Vixit, conspectu mens fructurque dei.

Imitated.

Here at a distance from his native land,
Came faithful John at Philip's first command;
Companion of his exile, doubly dear,
Who in a servant found a friend sincere—
And more than friend, a man of faith and prayer,
Assiduous soother of his master's care;—
Here to the worms his lifeless body's given,
But his immortal soul sees God in heaven.

"Perhaps no one ever attended more scrupulously than Melancthon to the injunction of Jesus Christ, "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth; that thy alms may be in secret." He was unostentatious in every thing, but especially in works of charity. Satisfied with the approbation of conscience and of God, he manifested no solicitude for the applauses of men, and was content to do good without being praised for it. It will be easy to believe, that he abounded in acts of kindness, which being known only to himself, no book records excepting the registers of heaven; especially when it is stated from unquestionable authority, that on several occasions when his pecuniary resources have been completely exhausted, he would contrive to supply the necessitous by privately taking cups and other vessels appropriated to domestic use, to a trader to sell, even at a very low and disadvantageous rate.

"Melancthon received many presents of gold and silver coin. These

he

he would often give to the very first person, who from avarice or curiosity might be induced to ask for them; not from any undervaluation of these ancient specimens, but simply from a disposition to oblige. Mere self-gratification appears seldom to have entered into his views, much less did such a feeling acquire any degree of ascendancy over him. His prevailing desire was to communicate pleasure to others and he was satisfied with the feast, the intellectual and moral feast which a refined benevolence can alone provide; in which respect, it must be acknowledged, that in a very important sense "he fared sumptuously every day." On one remarkable occasion when he had accumulated a large collection of coins and curiosities, he offered a certain stranger who seemed peculiarly gratified with the sight, to take any one which he might happen to feel a wish to possess; upon which, the stranger said, with consummate effrontery, "I have a particular wish for them all." Melancthon, though he did not dissemble his displeasure, nevertheless granted his unwarrantable request.

"If the parsimonious or the prudent should be disposed to censure this excessive and prodigal benevolence, alledging that if it be culpable to withhold more than is meet," it is at least not very laudable to squander the gifts of providence indiscriminately upon every class of importunate beggars; be it remembered, that there is an essential difference between an obvious crime and an apparent excess of virtue—between the conduct of the spendthrift and that of the person who is lavishly bountiful. In the one you perceive the very essence

of selfishness, in the other the exuberance of kindness. The one lives only to seek his own gratification; self is the end he pursues, and the contemptible idol he worships; no sacrifices are considered too costly to be offered to this paltry god, and every thing is rendered subservient to this infamous idolatry; the other, considering himself in some degree the depository and trustee of the divine beneficence, and valuing the possessions of life only so far as they provide for his own immediate necessities, and may be made to contribute to the comfort of others, becomes at least serviceable to a number of his fellow creatures. He feels the claims of humanity, and fulfils the high duties of a neighbour. If such a person be a little more liberal in distributing than the narrow calculations of human policy or prudence seem to admit, he acts in conformity with the dictates of a pure and disinterested benevolence, reaps a rich harvest of satisfactions, and manifests the spirit while he fulfils the precepts of the Saviour of the world.

"If it be alledged that it is no one's duty to impoverish himself or to injure his family, even though it be the result not of a selfish but of a benevolent expenditure, this is conceded—yet in the present case, the question does not respect the waste of property already possessed, but the neglect to accumulate. If an individual be satisfied for himself with that station of life which Providence has assigned him, and with those pecuniary resources, small or great, which he already possesses, and if he prefer using that supply which industry, manual or mental, procures for him, in doing good to others, instead of aspiring after the greater honours

or emoluments within his power— if he chose even to refuse them when offered, either from an apprehension of moral danger or from mere indifference, will any one represent this as culpable? Surely we ought rather to admire than to censure such conduct; it evinces a noble spirit of disinterestedness, and a glorious superiority of mind to the attractions of earthly splendour, which is worthy of imitation.

“In this statement of some of the excellent qualities of Melancthon, his extreme candour and kindness must not be overlooked. He was never known to asperse any one, either openly or by insinuation. Nothing was further from his intentions than to injure another's character or reputation, and if his were attacked, no one could manifest a more exemplary patience. He not only could not be moved to resentment by the misconduct of offenders, but did not relax in his benevolence or familiarity with them. No dark suspicions pervaded his mind, no malevolence or envy disturbed his placid spirit. The calm summer of his soul was never beclouded nor distracted with tempestuous passions.

Sympathy with the sufferings of others was not among the least of his eminent qualities, of which, perhaps, it will be the best possible illustration to insert a translation of one of his letters to an afflicted friend, whose sorrow for the loss of a beloved child he hastened (the moment he heard it) to alleviate. His sentiments are to be regarded as those of the heart, and not as the mere effusions of a formal or complimentary friendship. An affectionate disposition may, and indeed will, by a generous participation, share another's woes, even

though it has not yet tasted the bitterness of bereavement or personal affliction of any kind; but in order to afford effectual consolation to the mourner, it seems requisite that the person whose friendly spirit hastens to his relief, should have been himself a sufferer, that he may be duly qualified to select appropriate language, and that the distressed individual himself may be impressed with a consciousness that his words are not words of course. Experience is the best of all instructors, and affliction superinduces a sensibility, and teaches a language which cannot possibly be attained in any degree of perfection by any other process. And, “As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man.” In this view Melancthon was likely to prove a judicious as well as a sympathizing friend, for during the whole of his life he drank deep and drank often, of the bitter cup. The following letter besides claims insertion for its excellence, and as it is without date may be introduced here with propriety.

“To John Pfeffenger, with affectionate salutations.

“God has implanted the principle of natural affection in mankind, for the double purpose of strengthening the bonds of human society, and teaching us to realize the ardour of his love to his own Son and to us. He therefore approves the affection we cherish for our offspring, and the piety of our grief for their loss. Natural affection is peculiarly forcible in minds of a superior order; on which account, I doubt not, that the loss of your son—a son too not only possessed of the most amiable dispositions, but of a mind well stored with

with literature, not only inclined by his very constitution to moral habits, but under the constant influence of true religion, and already engaged in a course of study in which his capacity promised so much—the loss of such a son, I say, must affect you with the deepest grief. And be assured, I am not disposed to accuse you of weakness, on the contrary, I acknowledge—I commend your piety—I truly lament your personal bereavement and the public loss; for I am apprehensive that in these times the churches will feel the want of teachers properly instructed. But you are well aware that we are permitted to mourn, though not immoderately. It is certain that these events are under divine superintendence; it becomes us, therefore, to manifest a due submission of mind to God, and quietly to resign ourselves to his disposal in every season of adversity.

“I will not now advert to the physical causes of death, for though naturally exposed to various diseases, let us rather regard the will of God in this dispensation, and not so much our own loss; and let us realize the blessings which in being removed from this afflictive life and these calamitous times he is called to share. If we truly loved him, we shall rejoice in his happiness; and if we rightly understand Christian truth, we shall be disposed to congratulate him upon the society of the heavenly assembly, where he no longer drinks the streams of knowledge mingled and polluted as they are in the present world, but enjoys free access to the pure and infinite fountain of wisdom, holds intercourse with the Son of God himself, the prophets and apostles, and with inexpressible

delight joins in praising God for so early an admission to that illustrious assembly; the thought of which may well enkindle within us a desire to escape from our earthly imprisonment.

“Perhaps it increases your sorrow to recollect his capacity, his erudition, his virtue; and you fondly wish for the charming company of such a son. But these very excellencies themselves ought to diminish your regrets, because you know how they contributed to the good of many during the short period of his mortal life, so that he was not a useless incumbrance upon society. You witnessed the evidences of his thriving piety in this world of trial, which were but the beginnings of celestial life, and proved that his departure hence was only a removal to the happy intercourse of heaven. In fact, as often as you reflect upon those qualities of your dear son, you have reason to be thankful to God, who has shewn such kindness both to you and to him, as to confer upon him the greatest of all favours: for a grateful mind will record mercies as well as crosses.

“It is becoming, therefore, as you know, to be resigned to the will of God who requires us to moderate our griefs, and to believe that no real evil has befallen your son. Let these considerations afford you comfort and repress undue anxiety. The minds of men are naturally influenced by examples, for it seems proper that we should not refuse to endure the afflictions incident to others, and which must be sustained as the common law of our nature. How calamitous must the death of Abel have appeared to our first parents, by the murder of whom their future hopes in refer-

ence to the church seemed to be cut off in regard to their own family, and how much greater cause for sorrow attached to them, when the human race consisted of so small a number, than can belong to you, who possess a surviving family, in which distinct evidences of piety may be traced? They were doubly wounded by the death of one son, and still more by the wickedness of his impious brother.

“Innumerable instances might be adduced from the history of all ages. Recollect the old Bishop of Antioch, whose three sons were slain by the tyrant Decius, in the very presence of their parents, who not only witnessed his cruel conduct, but exhorted and encouraged their children to suffer: after which, their mother beheld the murder of her husband, and having embraced the cold remains of her children and her husband, solemnly committed them to the grave.

“You remember also, the history of the Emperor Mauritius, who stood a silent spectator while his son and daughter were slain, but when the murderer approached his wife, he exclaimed amidst a flood of tears, “Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments.”

“Wise men have often inquired with astonishment, for what reason the feeble nature of man is oppressed with such a weight of afflictions; but we who can trace the causes to a divine origin, ought to be resigned to the appointments of God, and avail ourselves of those remedies for grief which divine goodness has revealed: and while these are your solace, reflect upon this bright example of domestic piety.

“If when you are absent for a season from your family, and placed at a distance amongst per-

sons uncongenial to your taste, the hope of returning home alleviates your vexations; so now you may be stimulated to patience by the consideration that in a little time you will again embrace your son in the delightful assembly of the *skies*, adorned with a more splendid distinction than any station on earth can command, I mean, with the glory of God, and placed among prophets, apostles, and the shining hosts of heaven, there to live for ever, enjoying the vision of God, and the enraptoring intercourse of Christ himself, the holy apostles and prophets. Let us constantly look forward to this glorious eternity during the whole of our troublesome pilgrimages as to the goal of our course; and let us bear with the greater fortitude our present afflictions because the race is short, and we are destined not to the fugitive enjoyments of this life, but to the possession of that blessed eternity in which we shall participate the wisdom and righteousness of God.

“But as you, my learned and pious friend, are well acquainted with these truths, I have written the more briefly; and I pray God to invigorate both your body and mind. You remember it is said, ‘In him we live and move and have our being.’ Farewell.”

“The preceding letter renders it almost superfluous to state as a matter of fact, what must be at once obvious to every reader, and what every future transaction in Melancthon's life will render increasingly evident, that he was remarkable for piety; humble, genuine, undissembled piety. The association of great intellectual capacities with bad moral habits is always to be deeply deplored, and

no exterior embellishments of nature or art, no power of mind, no fascination of manners, can render an infidel in principle and a profligate in character otherwise than offensive and contemptible. Vice always degrades even the great, while religion inexpressibly ennobles even the little. In the present instance we have not to weep over talent perverted and abused by vicious associations, but to rejoice in seeing it devoted to the best of purposes, and forming an alliance with true piety, which was in fact the pillar of his confidence, the brightest ornament of his unblemished character, the consolation of his most desponding hours, the stimulating motive of all his public exertions, and the law of his family.

"Among other interesting fragments of Melancthon's composition, a short but expressive grace, designed for the table, and probably used by himself, is extant.

BENEDICTIO MENSÆ.

*Hic Epulis donique tuis benedicite Christo
Ut foveant ju-su corpora fessa tuo,
Non alit in fragili panis modo corpore vitam
Sermo tuis vitæ tempora longa facit.*

THE TABLE BLESSED.

To these provisions which enrich our board,
The gifts thy liberal Providence bestows,
Saviour, thy benediction now afford,
From which alone their power to nourish flows.
A few short years material food supplies
Corporeal waste, and cheers our fainting hearts;
But thy imperishable word imparts,
A principle of life that never dies.

Or,

O Saviour! —
Bless what thy providential care
Has for our bodies given;
But thy good word (superior fare!)
Sustains the soul for heaven.

"Melancthon was characterized by sincerity, and totally devoid of

every thing like deceit and dissimulation. There were no reserves about him; all was transparent, open, and honest, while at the same time, his manners were remarkably captivating. From this temper resulted a freeness in common conversation, which led him sometimes to express himself with a degree of inconsideration: and even when his intimate friends have endeavoured to check his frankness from an apprehension of what indeed not unfrequently happened, that his words would be invidiously misrepresented, such was his consciousness of entire purity of motive, that they could seldom or never succeed in rendering him cautious. He was not only communicative, but his conversation was seasoned with wit. Disputing one day with a certain Italian on the real presence in the Eucharist, "how is it," said he, "that you Italians will have a God in the sacramental bread—you, who do not believe there is a God in heaven?" When he first changed his religious views, he conceived it impossible for others to withstand the evidence of truth in the public ministry of the gospel, but after forming a better acquaintance with human nature, and living to witness the futility of those fond but ill-founded expectations which a warm hearted piety is at first disposed to cherish, he remarked, that "he found old Adam was too hard for young Melancthon."

"He was possessed of an extraordinary memory, and maintained that temperance in eating and drinking, that equanimity of mind, and those habits of reflection which essentially conduce to the perfection of this faculty. He was also inquisitive and read much, but with proper selection; retaining not only the

the general strain of the discourse, but the very words of the writer. Nor were these merely lodged in his memory, for he was remarkable for the facility with which he could call into use whatever he knew. The various kinds of information he gained were so arranged in the different compartments of his great mental repository, that he could at any time, and without difficulty, find whatever he wanted: for he had the power of recollecting as well as of retaining knowledge. This qualification fitted him for controversy, and made him peculiarly feared by his opponents.

"Such was his modesty that he would never deliver his opinion upon important subjects without deliberation and serious thought. He considered no time misspent and no pains ill bestowed in the search of truth, and he was incessantly occupied in examining for himself. Sophistry and every species of evasion in argument excited his just abhorrence; seldom or never could it escape his penetrating eye, and whenever he detected it no considerations could deter him from expressing the most marked disapprobation. His own conceptions were clear, his language perspicuous, and his intentions upright. There was such a transparency in the whole stream of his argument in public discourses or disputations, that you could see to the very bottom of his motives and principles.

"He was kind to a fault; and so exceedingly humble, that in the common concerns of life he was not ashamed to stoop even to menial offices if they were not base or dishonourable. Frequently he would put to shame the ill-humoured disinclination of the lowest servants to discharge any part of their duty, by doing it himself.

"The same happy combination of modesty and humility characterized all his deportment, and in a very conspicuous manner influenced his private conduct, his public transactions, and his various writings. It is not every author, however conscious of the blemishes which may have disfigured his first publications, that would be willing to make concessions of this description. "Nothing is more foolish than to attempt the defence of folly. An ingenuous mind will acknowledge its mistakes, especially in subjects of a literary kind, and candidly confess its weakness or negligence in order that youth may learn from the example of others, to be more diligent in investigation and more careful in their mode of study. I will not scruple therefore to censure some things in this (the first) edition of my own writings, and will not only recapitulate the course of my juvenile studies, but explain my meaning in some public transactions, and state why I issued certain theological publications."

"M. Baillet, with a zeal natural to one of his faith, is anxious that the church of Rome should be duly honoured as the mother of so illustrious an offspring. "His parents," says he, "were most excellent Catholics, irreproachable in their manners, exemplary in their conduct, careful to maintain in their family the fear of God and a due observance of his commandments, walking before God with a simplicity, a fidelity, and a zeal like that of primitive Christians. I feel myself constrained to state these particulars, that you may remember to attribute to Melancthon's excellent education all that you read or hear said of his sweetness of temper, courtesy, temperance, modesty, and others virtues, for which the-Protestants

testants have so much extolled him : and that you may consider these qualities as produced or cherished in the bosom of the Catholic church." Varillas, one of the greatest enemies of the reformation, has nevertheless spoken of him in the following manner: "He possessed a sweetness and mildness of temper, that rendered him incapable of returning injury for injury. In observing the exactest rules of morality, he only followed his inclination, and notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, he practised the utmost generosity his means would allow. No German wrote the Latin language with greater ease or in a more intelligible manner, yet he was never so attached to his own productions, or so prejudiced in their favour as to refuse making any corrections suggested by his friends."

"Neither Melancthon's attachment to literature, nor his multifarious engagements in public seduced him from the cultivation of domestic feelings, and the discharge of parental duties. His wife and children, ever dear to his heart, were not forgotten amidst the deepest abstractions of study, or the greatest perplexity of engagement.

"The habits of studious men have sometimes been represented as tending to disqualify them for the familiar intercourse of domestic or social life. It is often long before the clouds which profound study gathers over the mind can be entirely chased away, even by the cheering influence of innocent conviviality. At the same time a great man never appears greater than in descending from the high station where public opinion or extraordinary genius has enthroned him to an approachable familiarity. It is

then his friends will no longer censure his abstractions nor his affectionate family deprecate his fame. Melancthon may be appealed to as a pleasing illustration of this remark. A Frenchman one day, found him holding a book in one hand and rocking his child's cradle with the other. Upon his manifesting considerable surprise, Melancthon took occasion from the incident to converse with his visitor on the duties of parents, and on the regard of heaven for little children in such a pious and affectionate manner, that his astonishment was quickly transformed into admiration. The fondness he cherished for his own family extended to children in general. He possessed, in a very eminent degree, the rare art of making himself a captivating and instructive companion to them. He descended with the most happy ease to their level, promoted by his jocularly their little pleasures, and engaged with all his heart in their games and festivities. He would often exercise their ingenuity, by devising fictions and puzzles, and took great delight in relating useful scraps of history or memorable tales.

"He always estimated time as a most precious possession. It is said of him, that when he made an appointment, he expected not only that the day or the hour, but that the minute should be fixed, in order that time might not be squandered away in the vacuity or idleness of suspense.

"In his youth he was remarkably troubled with sleeplessness, which the regularity of his general habits at length overcame. He usually rose at twelve o'clock, but when he retired to rest we cannot tell, no doubt at an early hour. When

letters or papers arrived in the evening he always referred them to the next morning for inspection, lest the hours devoted to sleep which he found indispensable to the due preservation of health, should be disturbed.

"His matrimonial connection was not only a happy, but a very lasting one. Formed for each other, this favoured pair were not destined to suffer the pangs of early separation; but lived, so far as can be

ascertained, in undisturbed harmony for thirty-seven years. They had four children, two sons and two daughters. Of the former little or nothing is known. It seems probable they died in early life, for in a letter written to Camerarius, his most intimate friend, in April 1524, he intimates their delicacy of constitution which seemed to require some change of air, on which account he meditated their removal for a little time to Leipsic."

[EARLY VIRTUES AND MILITARY FAME OF SOBIESKI.]

[From Mr. Palmer's Authentic Memoirs of his Life.]

"**JOHN SOBIESKI**, the patriot, the warrior, and finally the king of Poland, was born in the year 1629 at his father's castle of Olesko, in the palatinate of Red Russia. The families from which he was descended were equally distinguished for the antiquity of their origin, and the succession of patriotic virtues which endeared their memory to Poland.

"James Sobieski, the father of these memoirs, in addition to his appointment to the starosty of Javarow, received the honour of being four times elected Marshal of the Diet, before he was called to take his seat in the senate, as Castellan of Cracow; a dignity which he proved himself perfectly qualified to sustain with honour.

"He married Theophila Zolkiewska, heiress to the celebrated general of that name; by whom he had two sons and one daughter. Mark, the elder son, was a youth of mild and amiable character; but

his talents were not sufficiently distinguished to prevent his being wholly eclipsed by his younger brother John, whose actions we are about to record.

"Neither the high station which James Sobieski filled, nor the many diplomatic negotiations in which he was from time to time engaged with foreign courts, on the part of the republic, prevented him from taking an active share in the education of his sons. He appointed for their tutor, Stanislaus Orchowski, a man well qualified to discharge the trust reposed in him; and devoted many of his own leisure hours to the preparation of a treatise on education for his assistance.

"This work has been denominated, by a modern Pole, the best practical treatise on physical and moral education which his country has produced. He describes it as breathing the wisdom of a tender father, and the patriotism of an enlightened citizen, anxious to render his

his sons worthy of the country, to whose service, from their birth, he had devoted them.

"The branch of the young Sobieski's studies over which the Castellan personally presided, was that of gradually developing the real interests of Poland, and habituating his sons to write and speak in defence of those interests. He seconded also the successful efforts of their tutor, to form in their young minds that habit of application which he had himself acquired; and without which, as he well knew, no reasonable hope could be entertained of solid advantage, from even the most promising talents.

"The ardent and impetuous disposition of his younger son rendered him so susceptible of lively impressions, as to justify the opinion that his character received an early bias from the tenor of an inscription engraven on the tomb of his maternal grandfather, which enjoined some descendant of that hero to avenge the disrespect that had been shewn by the Ottomans to his manes. James Sobieski, who felt that to a free country, surrounded like Poland by restless and intrusive enemies, no talents could be more valuable in her patriotic sons than those martial ones which at once taught her enemies to respect her territories and preserve her independence inviolate, could not remark without pleasure the emotion which John betrayed on reading this inscription. From that period the boy began to display instances of a noble spirit, and a thirst for military glory; which his father was careful, without repressing, to temper with a love of justice, beneficence, and sacred respect for the laws.

"When he judged them capable

of profiting by the study of other manners, customs, and prejudices, James Sobieski resolved on sending the youths into foreign countries, where he exhorted them to employ their time in the acquisition of useful knowledge; observing humorously—"As for *dancing*, my sons, you will have sufficient opportunities of learning to dance from the Tartars." The brothers quitted Poland on their way to Paris, not then foreseeing that they had bidden adieu for the last time to their excellent father.

"France was just entering into the civil war of the Fronde at the epoch of their arrival; and the political principles in which the Sobieskis had been educated, naturally tended to interest them in the popular cause. This interest was rendered still warmer on the part of John, by the intimacy and ultimate friendship which he formed with the distinguished leaders of the League, the Great Condé, and his heroic sister Anne of Bourbon, duchess de Longueville. Of this friendship, founded on an admiration of their genius, he, through his life, gave repeated testimonies. On his first introduction to the prince, yielding to an impulse of his native frankness, he told him, that in his admiration of the illustrious character of a conquering hero, he lost sight of the splendour attached to the rank of a prince of the blood royal of France.

"Resolved to let no occasion escape him, by which he might be fitted for the great part he designed one day to act, John Sobieski prevailed on his father to purchase him a captain's commission in the corps of grand musketeers of France; by which means he gained much useful experience in the tactics of that country during his abode in it. His
laudable

landable pursuits, however, were from time to time chequered by others of an opposite nature. Endowed with remarkable advantages of person, frank, animated, and engaging, he perhaps found it scarcely possible, amidst the dissipation of Paris, to avoid some affairs of gallantry in which he became unfortunately engaged. The consequence attending one of them involved him, after he ascended the throne of Poland, in some unpleasant embarrassments with Louis XIV. which terminated in a manner mortifying to his pride.

"Our young Poles, after quitting France, visited England, Germany, Italy, and Constantinople; in which city they made a considerable stay, anxious to acquire an intimate knowledge of a power which was so frequently at variance with Poland, and on which John cherished the hope of one day avenging the insult shown to the remains of his illustrious grandfather, the inscription on whose tomb he had taught himself to regard as a posthumous injunction particularly addressed to himself.

"The intelligence of their father's death, and that an alarming insurrection of the Cossacks had threatened desolation in the heart of Poland, determined the brothers, instead of penetrating into Asia, as they had first intended, on hastening back to their own country.

"At that period (1648) Casimir V. had just succeeded to the throne of his deceased brother Uladislav VII. the greatest error of whose reign was that of deviating from the beneficent policy of Stephen Battori, which uniformly protected the rights granted to his new subjects the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Uladislav, towards the close of his 1815.

reign, had been so unjust and impolitic as to connive at the aggressions of the Polish nobles in the palatinate bordering upon that country, who assuming the conduct of tyrants towards the Cossacks, violated with impunity their privileges, invaded their property, and completed the desperation of the aggrieved by destroying their churches. Provocations so insufferable had at length roused to rebellion this hitherto loyal people. They had been, on their first revolt, defeated by the Poles, and compelled to purchase a cessation of hostilities by delivering up their general, whose life the Poles promised to respect; notwithstanding which they basely beheaded him.

"The second rebellion to which the Cossacks had been goaded, was occasioned by the atrocious conduct of Jarinski, a Polish noble, who had been intrusted with a command in the Ukraine. This man, a disgrace to his country, found there a respectable Cossack, by name Kmilienski, living peaceably on his paternal property, which he had rendered valuable by the efforts of his own industry. The cupidity of Jarinski was excited by contemplating the possessions of the Cossack, on which he endeavoured to seize forcibly; but failing in this attempt, he found means to revenge his disappointment by setting fire to some mills of Kmilienski, dishonouring his wife, and, by way of climax to his barbarity; afterwards murdering her on the bleeding body of her son. The undone Cossack demanded justice at the throne of Uladislav, and his complaints were echoed by multitudes of his oppressed brethren; but Uladislav was deaf to the general appeal, and absolutely denied all redress.

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"Sove-

"Sovereigns should shun the danger of exciting, by injustice, the indignation of a brave and loyal people. The timely interference of the king might have appeased the exasperated Cossacks; his refusal created in them the most ungovernable fury. Uladislav did not, however, live to see the dreadful effects of his misconduct; he expired at the very moment that the Cossacks, with Kmilienski at their head, were forcing their way, with irresistible impetuosity, into the heart of Poland, and putting to the sword every noble whom they encountered.

"At Pilawicz it was hoped their progress would have been stopped by their encounter with the Polish army commanded by the crown-general Potoski, an officer of high reputation; but the Cossacks, in whose leader despair supplied the want of experience, as it did that of discipline in his troops, gained a complete victory over these veteran forces, and pushed forward to Leopold, the capital of Red Russia, which surrendered at discretion.

"Kmilienski, in the inextinguishable fury which agitated him, retaliated, with interest, every wrong which he had suffered; refining upon the insults that had been offered to his own religious prejudices, by compelling all the Polish priests, who fell within his power, to espouse nuns, and conform to the ritual of the Greek church.

"The terrors which preceded the devastating effects of his advance had now spread to Cracow, whence it was thought necessary to remove to a place of greater safety the crown, recently placed on the head of Cassimir. It was at this crisis that the young Sobieski re-

ceived a summons from their mother, commanding them to hasten to the assistance of their bleeding country, and endeavour, by their patriotic efforts, to repair the loss Poland had sustained in the death of their father.

"In the mean time, the new king showed himself disposed to listen to the dictates of humanity, rather than to the voice of his clamorous nobles, who called on him to put himself at the head of a powerful army, and march against the rebels.

"Cassimir, whose unadulterated mind regarded with abhorrence the wanton and atrocious cruelty which the Cossacks had experienced from the Poles, replied firmly, that he should first endeavour to appease them by negotiation, and offers of satisfaction, before he directed his arms against a brave people, who had been driven into rebellion by oppression and injustice.

"These sentiments of moderation were so little relished by the turbulent nobles, that, in defiance of the king, fifty thousand of them took up arms, and marched into Little Volhinia; where their conduct and bravery so ill seconded their presumption, that they were beaten and routed by ten thousand of the enemy.

"The Cossacks were soon after joined by very powerful allies in their neighbours the Tartars. The khan, who conceived that he had been deeply injured by the late king Uladislav, in his suppression of a pension which had been long paid to him and his predecessors by the crown of Poland, seized on the present as a favourable moment to execute the vengeance he meditated. He accordingly dispatched a considerable force to act in conjunction with

with the rebels, in the hope of completing the ruin which threatened the republic.

"The principal armies of Poland had been defeated, her king and nobles were at variance, and her enemies were laying waste her territories, when the young Sobieski returned to Warsaw. Their intention was that of immediately joining a body of the nobles, who, having found safety in flight after their late defeat, had assembled in considerable force in Lower Volhunia. But this design on the part of John was suddenly frustrated by his too great impetuosity, which involved him in a duel with a Lithuanian noble of the name of Paz, the members of whose family were remarkable for the overbearing arrogance of their manners. In this encounter Sobieski received so severe and dangerous a wound, that he was compelled to abandon all thoughts of accompanying his brother, and had the mortification of seeing him depart alone, while he was confined to his bed, at once a prey to self-reproach, and an object of displeasure to his patriotic mother, who could not easily pardon his having risked, in single combat, a life which she considered the property of his country. But the anger of Theophila Sobieski towards her younger son was soon absorbed in grief for the loss of her elder.

"The result of the battle, in which Mark had engaged, against the united power of the Cossacks and the Tartars, was still more disastrous to the Poles than either of those which had preceded it. They suffered the most signal defeat; and the unfortunate Mark Sobieski, together with a considerable number of Polish nobles, fell into the hands of the Tartars, by whom they were

inhumanly put to death, and their remains denied the common rights of sepulture.

"Casimir, now convinced that no other course was left to restore tranquillity to Poland, put himself at the head of the whole disposable force of the republic, and by the exercise of his royal authority endeavoured to unite the jarring interests of the nobles, which had hitherto unhappily distracted his councils and divided his efforts.

"John Sobieski, become by his brother's death the representative of the united houses of his ancestors, and appointed by Cassimir to the starosty of Javarow, was now about to enter on a career calculated to draw forth all the latent resources of his great mind.

"No sooner was he recovered from the effects of his imprudent duel, than, eager to repair his fault, he put himself at the head of a select troop, and joined the royal standard. Some serious skirmishes, which were but the prelude to a general engagement, afforded him early opportunities of proving, that to the undaunted valour of a soldier, he joined that happy quickness of discernment which characterizes the accomplished general. An event occurred before the decisive battle, which though at first it seemed to threaten inevitable ruin to Poland, in its fortunate result at once evinced the respect which Sobieski had early acquired among the soldiery, and the empire his genius gave him over the minds of others.

"At the very moment an attack of the camp of Zborow was hourly expected from the enemy, a mutiny broke out in the Polish army, and every method of persuasion, remonstrance, menace, and even force, had been vainly tried to reduce it to

order by their general Czarenski, who at length abandoned the attempt as hopeless. At this desperate crisis, Sobieski, (then in his twenty-first year), with a temerity which excited considerable surprise, petitioned the general to intrust to him the quelling of this alarming revolt. Czarenski consented, yet expecting little advantage from the efforts of a youth so very recently entered on the career of arms.

"On being charged with the negotiation, Sobieski at once threw himself within the power of the armed and enraged multitude, with an intrepidity and firmness of soul which excited their involuntary astonishment and respect. Seizing on this auspicious moment, he addressed them with all that passionate and persuasive eloquence for which he became through life so greatly celebrated; and inflamed with that holy love of his country which burned in his own breast, he soon rekindled in theirs that spark of patriotism which had been stifled only, not extinguished.

"Sobieski had the glory of leading back to the king his repentant troops, and of seeing them, soon after, prepared to repel the enemy with renovated sentiments of loyalty and unanimity. His majesty gave an immediate mark of his gratitude to our young officer, by making him standard-bearer to the crown.

"Concord was but just restored in the army of the republic, when the united forces of the enemy made a desperate attempt to force the Polish camp; but the reclaimed troops, animated by their young hero, formed so impenetrable a rampart, that after an obstinate and bloody conflict during three successive days, which cost the Cossacks and Tartars upwards of twenty

thousand men, they retired without having gained any advantage over the royal party. The immediate effect of this disappointment was to dispose them to listen to such terms of negotiation as Casimir desired should lead to peace.

"Conformably with the mild policy by which he still hoped to bring back the rebels to their allegiance, he proposed to forgive them all past offences; to restore to them the undisturbed exercise of their religion; to maintain twenty thousand armed Cossacks, as militia, in the palatinate of Kiow for its future defence; and to appoint no other than a noble of the Greek church as its governor. On the part of the Cossacks he demanded only this condition: that their general, as a mark of his return to his duty, should ask pardon on his knees for the excesses he had committed. Kmilienski submitted to the humiliation required of him, and peace was, for a time, established. On behalf of the khan, the principal stipulations were, that his suppressed pension should be restored to him, and that he should be allowed to choose from the Polish officers a hostage, who was to accompany him to Tartary, as a security for the fulfilment of these engagements.

"That the esteem and confidence which Sobieski had already acquired in the army of the republic had extended also to that of her enemies, became manifest on this occasion. The khan, who had marked his conduct with silent admiration while they had been opposed to each other as foes, now gave a public testimony of it by selecting him as his hostage; while Sobieski, whose heart was engrossed by the interests of his country, hailed with pleasure the opportunity this choice offered

offered him of acquiring such a knowledge of the Tartars, as he might, at some future day, render subservient to the advantage of the republic. The consequences, in a great measure, answered his hopes, since, although the friendship and confidence with which he inspired the khan, during his continuance near him, had not the power to detach him immediately from the Cossacks, it enabled him soon after to draw him over to the succour of Poland in one of her most critical situations.

“ Meanwhile it could not be expected, from the general clash of interests, that the peace which Casimir had purchased by such great sacrifices could be of long duration. On the one hand, the majority of the Polish nobles thought the king had degraded the republic, by granting terms which appeared to them utterly humiliating, and waited only for a favourable pretext to renew the war with some show of justice; while on the part of the Cossacks, in addition to the suspicions naturally excited in them by the avowed enmity of the nobles, the bad habits into which they had degenerated during the late depredations had ill disposed them to return willingly to the peaceful labour from which they had been unhappily diverted by the late commotions. The Tartars also, who had tasted the enjoyment of the plunder they had wrested from the Poles, were much inclined to renew a contest by which they hoped still further to enrich themselves. Where the wishes of all the other parties, therefore, tended so decidedly to war, the pacific disposition of the king could do little towards maintaining peace. Sobieski had not been long returned to Poland when

the Cossacks and Tartars once more appeared in arms.

“ The Polish troops first encountered them on the borders of the palatinate of Beltz. Sobieski, who was in the hottest part of the battle, received a wound in his head; but the Tartars, with the loss of six thousand men, were completely defeated, while Kmilienski, with a part of his Cossacks, found safety in flight.

“ A new ally had in the interim started up to his aid in the Czar Alexis, who thinking the present distracted state of Poland a favourable opportunity for the recovery of Smolensko, (which had been taken from Russia by the Poles,) suddenly seized on that city, and by this act of hostility tempted the Cossacks and Tartars to join their remaining forces to his. Thus strengthened, Wilna, and several other places of importance, rapidly fell before them.

“ During the scenes of carnage and devastation which for the three following years ensued, the services which Sobieski had rendered the republic were acknowledged by his appointment to a distinguished command in the cavalry. Never had Poland greater need of sons, who, like himself, united the patriot and the warrior, than at this period. As if their bleeding country had not yet sufficiently suffered from the horrors of intestine war, a party of the discontented nobles invited Charles Gustavus (lately become king of Sweden by the abdication of Christina) to invade her with a powerful army.

“ The Swedish monarch first seized upon Great Poland and Masovia; Cracow but feebly resisted him; and the unfortunate Casimir, finding himself abandoned by so considerable a body of his nobles, with

with the troops under their influence, fled into Silesia for safety; while the conqueror, after strongly garrisoning Warsaw, pushed his successes into Prussia.

"Except the crown general, Sobieski was now the chief hope of Poland and her fugitive king. Firm in his duty, he continued, however ineffectually, to grapple with the enemy; and though with forces so disproportionate he was generally overpowered, the resources of his genius still supported him in arms, and taught him to draw, even from the bosom of defeat, the certain means of future conquest.

"Between Elbing and Marienburg he had an opportunity of showing what might have been expected of him had he been more adequately supported. He defeated, with four hundred horse, a choice body of six hundred Swedish cavalry commanded by a near relation of Charles Gustavus. But in the mean time the unfortunate Casimir had the mortification of seeing Lithuania voluntarily put herself under the protection of Sweden, to avoid the miseries which threatened to attend her subjugation by force of arms.

"At this dreadful juncture, the address of Sobieski greatly tended to ward off the blow which threatened the republic with immediate ruin. Availing himself of the knowledge he had gained of the Tartars, and the esteem he had created in their prince, while he lived among them as a hostage, he found means at this critical period to detach them from the interests of Russia, and fix them in those of Poland. The khan was prevailed on to furnish an army for her defence, and Sobieski was appointed to command it.

"Under a general of less capacity, no reasonable expectation could have been entertained of assistance from a host of men hitherto accustomed only to rapine and plunder, impatient of control, and ever ready to fly on the first show of resistance. But through the example and discipline of Sobieski they soon acquired firmness, order, and obedience; while, by imparting to them a portion of his own ardour for military glory, he taught them to make the enemy dearly purchase the victories they obtained.

"The Poles, goaded to despair by the enormous contributions extorted from them by their conqueror, and at length animated by the patriotic example of Sobieski, resolved, unanimously, to throw off the grievous yoke which had been imposed upon them, or perish in the attempt. Every man became a soldier, and Casimir returned to support by his presence the revived courage which displayed itself among his subjects.

"The crown general and Sobieski, respectively at the head of the Poles and Tartars, speedily changed the aspect of affairs. The Swedish troops which had been left to overawe Lithuania were attacked, defeated, and put to the sword. Warsaw was delivered from the enemy's garrison, and every day some new success extended over a wider space the blessings of renovated freedom.

"In the mean while intelligence arrived that the king of Sweden, at the head of his army, strengthened by a reinforcement from the elector of Brandenburg, was advancing out of Prussia. Sobieski, with his characteristic celerity, took such measures as enabled him to check his dangerous progress, by blocking him
up

up between the Vistula and the Samus, where he cut off his provisions and harassed him by continual skirmishes. Affairs were in this situation when information was brought him that six thousand Swedish troops, with general Douglas at their head, were marching to the relief of their king. Sobieski instantly resolved on cutting off this assistance; and leaving his infantry to continue the blockade, rapidly marched his cavalry to Pileza, swam across the river, and surprising Douglas, defeated and put to flight his troops.

"But while these successes seemed to promise a favourable issue to the disasters of Poland, fortune was in reality preparing new trials of her valour and constancy.

"Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, in the hope of deposing Casimir and succeeding to his crown, invaded Poland at the head of thirty thousand men; to hinder whose junction with the main army of Charles Gustavus it was necessary to dispatch a division of the Polish troops. This circumstance was rendered the more unfortunate, as the king of Sweden, having taken advantage of Sobieski's march to meet Douglas, broke through the Polish infantry, and pushed forward on Warsaw, to which city he immediately laid siege.

"A general engagement ensued, which was continued with unrelaxing fury during three days. The Tartars under Sobieski performed prodigies of valour; but victory declared in favour of Charles Gustavus, who again became master of Warsaw. His triumph was, however, very dearly purchased, and of short duration; while Sobieski found consolation for his defeat in the happy consequences which soon af-

ter followed his patriotic exertions. Those exertions had assisted to suspend the frightful revolution with which his suffering country was threatened; time had been gained; and in that valuable interval political views had raised up in Denmark a formidable force against the chief enemy of Poland; and thus a brighter hue was soon cast over the prospects of the republic.

"The Danes, alarmed at the conquests of Charles Gustavus, declared war against him, and by invading his territories compelled him to abandon his late acquisitions to defend them. From the period of his drawing off his troops from Poland, he was assailed by too many enemies to find leisure, during his short life, for renewing hostilities against that country. He died three years after quitting it; and that event was soon followed by the conclusion of a treaty of peace between Sweden and the Poles.

"In the interim, Lubomirski, the lieutenant-general of the Polish army, and Sobieski, by retaliating on the territories of Ragotski the hostilities with which he had afflicted their country, had compelled that prince to accept peace from the republic on the most humiliating terms. He was obliged to pay a large sum to the king of Poland, to do him homage, and to break off his connection with the Swedes; concessions which deprived him of all future power to annoy that prince. The combined army of the Poles and Tartars now turned its exertions against the only enemies which remained of the late formidable conspiracy, the Mucovites and Cossacks. In order to prevent a junction of their forces, Sobieski was dispatched to interrupt the advance of the latter, whom he attacked with such

such intrepidity, that though with very inferior numbers, he obtained over them a complete victory.

"The ill-fated Kmilienski, whose first alienation from his allegiance had been caused by intolerable oppression, but whose hostilities subsequent to the concessions of Casimir had proved him a confirmed and dangerous rebel, fell into the power of Sobieski, and was delivered up by him into the hands of the offended king. The report of these events so dispirited the Muscovites, that the Polish army found them an easy conquest. Wilna, and the several other places which had fallen into their hands, were speedily recovered by the Poles, and a general peace was once more established on terms very favourable to the republic.

"The services which Sobieski had rendered his country were not long after further rewarded by his nomination to the dignity of grand marshal of the crown, vacant by the banishment of Lubomirski. That noble, while grand marshal and lieutenant-general of Poland, had rendered himself obnoxious to the court by his warm opposition to the attempt of Casimir to nominate his successor, in violation of one of the fundamental laws of the republic. Some discontents about the same time having broken out among the Polish troops on account of pay, Lubomirski was accused by the court party of being the secret fomenter of them. A diet was in consequence convened for the purpose of examining how far the lieutenant-general was implicated in the mutiny. But Lubomirski, either through the belief that he should not be treated fairly, or conscious of some guilt, instead of obeying the summons to appear, withdrew to Breslaw; which being construed

into an avowal of his crime, he was, as a traitor, condemned to forfeit his estate, his honours, and his life.

"The year following, that in which Sobieski was nominated to succeed Lubomirski as grand marshal of the crown, he was, by the death of Czarenski, elevated to the still higher dignity of lieutenant-general. He had not long been possessed of this important office, when he was called upon to execute a painful duty in the discharge of its functions. The banished Lubomirski, resolved to seek from force of arms the redress which he thought had been denied him by Casimir, returned to Poland with a body of eight hundred men; but this little party, increasing as it advanced, by the partisans of its leader, was soon in a condition to obtain the advantage in several engagements with the royal forces.

"At length, increased by malcontents to the number of eighteen thousand, the troops drew near the grand army of the republic in the palatinate of Cujavia. Sobieski for the first time acted, on this occasion, as a general in the Polish army; yet his situation was attended by circumstances of a very distressing nature. It was under Lubomirski that he had first exercised the profession of arms, and in conjunction with him he had often fought the battles of his country: now his best energies were to be exerted against this very veteran whom he had been early taught to reverence; while the troops which he commanded were natives of the same soil as those they were to oppose, and had, like himself, often embued those very weapons in the blood of their common enemies which were now to be turned against each other.

"But

"But however deeply Sobieski grieved at the necessity, his duty no less imperiously called on him to reduce them to obedience. The army of the republic, consisting of twenty-six thousand men, was only separated from that of Lubomirski by a morass. Unfortunately Casimir had put himself at their head, and commanded them to pass the swamp in order to give immediate battle to the rebels. Sobieski earnestly remonstrated with the king on the fatal result which threatened to attend this step; but Casimir, with his characteristic pertinacity, peremptorily insisted, and the consequences which Sobieski had clearly pointed out to him followed. The king's troops, in crossing the swamp, became embarrassed, and found the utmost difficulty in disengaging themselves; while Lubomirski fell impetuously on them as they struggled out of the morass, not affording Sobieski time to form them; so that the royal army was overpowered without the possibility of coming to action.

"Casimir, who from the other side of the morass was a witness to the effect of his own egregious folly, had leisure to repent the sacrifice of

four thousand men; the rest, by the talents of Sobieski, were extricated from their peril, and under his skillful dispositions effected a retreat, the conduct of which reflected the highest honour on him as a general. Casimir, full of grief and mortification, rejoined his troops, and encamped on the river Pileza, where he soon manifested an inclination to come to an amicable adjustment with Lubomirski, which desired end was effected on the following conditions:

"The king agreed to enter into a solemn engagement never again to interfere in the choice of his successor to the crown; to pay the sum which had been refused them; to revoke his sentence of banishment against Lubomirski; and to call no one to account for what had passed. On his side Lubomirski evinced no desire of being reinstated in the dignities of which he had been deprived, but retired to Breslaw, in which city he died within six months after.

"Sobieski had been one of the greatest sufferers by the late disturbances, his estates having been ravaged, and his stables plundered of his most valuable stud of horses."

[SOBIESKI IN THE CHARACTER OF CROWN GENERAL OF POLAND.]

[From the Same.]

"TRANQUILLITY was now awhile restored to Poland, and Sobieski in his thirty-sixth year, for the first time since his entering on the profession of arms, found himself at liberty to enjoy the charms of peace. It was during this short but eventful interval from toil, that

in an evil hour he became seriously captivated by a lady, who, notwithstanding the remarkable beauty of her person, the sprightly graces of her conversation, and the high favour in which she stood at court, proved herself utterly unworthy the affection with which she inspired Sobieski,

Sobieski, since she never scrupled to sacrifice his glory to her own private views.

" Mary Casimira de la Grange, a native of France, was descended from two ancient families of the province of Berry. Her father, the marquis d'Arquien, was captain of the guards to Philip duke of Orleans; and her mother, Frances de la Châtre, had been governess to Louisa, queen of Poland. Their daughter, at the age of eleven, attended her majesty from France in quality of maid of honour, and had been uniformly treated by that princess with peculiar marks of confidence and favour. She had first given her hand to prince Zamoiski, by whom she had four children, all of whom died in infancy; and by the subsequent death of their father she became a widow a few weeks only before her introduction to Sobieski.

" Still young, and distinguished above all the other females of the court, the elegance of her figure, the majestic expression of her countenance, the brilliancy of her complexion, and the sparkling vivacity of her eyes, added new attractions to the wit that enlivened her conversation. The immediate impression which this accomplished princess made on Sobieski was so great, that he would not submit to the delay of their union till the period of her mourning had elapsed.

" The queen was made acquainted with the lieutenant-general's passion for her favourite, and finding little difficulty in discovering that it received encouragement from the lady, she declared it to be her pleasure that the marriage should take place without further delay. As little more, however, than two months had passed of the princess

Zamoiski's widowhood, it was thought necessary, in order to save appearances, to have the ceremony performed with the utmost privacy; and pope Innocent XII. (then apostolic nuncio in Poland) conferred the nuptial benediction on this hasty union.

" This lady, destined now to share the fortunes of Sobieski, proved that she was not more remarkable for her personal recommendations than for the selfishness of her character. She had so long taken part in the cabals and political intrigues by which her mistress agitated the republic, and disgraced the court of Casimir, that a taste for them seemed interwoven with her very nature. Her fault, however, in the end met its punishment, since she defeated some of her dearest wishes by the excess of artifice which she practised for their accomplishment. Yet it was long before the native candour of Sobieski permitted him to discover in a woman, whom he passionately loved, faults from which he was himself so entirely exempt.

" The year following his marriage, Sobieski succeeded the deceased Potoski in the first office of the republic, that of crown general of Poland, which constituted him commander-in-chief of the army; while by that of grand marshal, which he still retained, he was the chief of the police also. This was the first instance of an individual having been allowed to unite these high offices, a proof of the extraordinary confidence which was reposed in him by the republic.

" The condition in which Sobieski, on his appointment, found the army, was so miserable, that his new office seemed to be little more than a nominal one; and long in-
testine

testine wars had so drained both the population and the treasury of Poland, that when he proposed recruiting the army, now reduced to between ten and twelve thousand men, he was answered by the grand treasurer, that the republic had not the means left to support the old troops, still less to furnish money for levying new ones.

"Affairs were in this situation, when intelligence reached Warsaw that the Cossacks, complaining of fresh grievances, under their new general Doroszenski, and joined by an army of eighty thousand Tartars, had passed the frontiers of Poland, and were laying waste Podolia, Volhinia, and the palatinate of Russia. The news found Casimir so wholly abandoned to grief for the recent death of his queen, that he made no attempt to stop the torrent of disaster which now threatened to overwhelm Poland. On the crown general, therefore, rested the sole hope of the republic. On this occasion Sobieski gave a striking proof that his was not a character to be depressed by danger; on the contrary, that his energies ever rose proportionably to its magnitude. Rousing himself from the comparative inaction in which his last year had been spent, he became at once the soul of Poland. He emptied his private purse, and even borrowed large sums of money on his personal credit, to supply the public treasury. He formed magazines of provisions, and from his own territories recruited the army of the republic; by which means he soon increased its disposable force to twenty thousand men. With his accustomed celerity he then sent detachments to the different passes of Poland, in order to stop the inroads of the detached bodies of Tartars, at the same

time intrusting Piwot, an officer, whom (though usually the leader of a marauding party) he well knew to possess the abilities of a general, with a troop of two thousand horse, ordering him to scour the country, and harass the invaders. Then, having disposed his main army to march towards the enemy, he wrote to his consort (at that time on a visit to her family in France) a letter, in which, with that confident anticipation of victory which often commands it, he detailed his projected plan of operation, assuring her that it must lead to the inevitable ruin of the immense forces of the invaders. This letter was shown by her to the great Condé, with a view to draw from him his opinion of its contents; and he ingenuously told her that he could not encourage her hopes, as he saw no possibility of the success with which the crown-general flattered himself.

"In reality, it required all the resources of Sobieski's genius, and as intimate a knowledge of the enemies with whom he had to cope as he possessed, to surmount the various difficulties with which he had to contend. His own officers, not comprehending the scope of his plans, loudly condemned the disposition of his forces. This disapprobation soon produced a dangerous effect on the soldiers, who began to manifest strong symptoms of dissatisfaction; but Sobieski, not less capable of speaking than acting with effect, took no other measure than that of summoning the troops around him.

"Soldiers (said he), it is my fixed determination to make no change in my plans; on the event I rest my acquittal or condemnation; but if any among you fear a glorious death, let them retire. For myself, I will remain with those
brave

brave fellows who love their country too well to abandon its general. Yonder crowd of robbers excites no fear in me. I know that the God of Christians often gives the victory in a just cause to the smaller number, nor do I doubt but that he will protect us against these infidel invaders."

"The auditors of Sobieski looked at each other in confusion, and not a single man deserted him. Had the enemy's troops been determined on pushing forward into Poland, Sobieski well knew that they would have met with nothing capable of impeding their progress; but he had justly calculated on their first attacking his little army, on the ground that it would appear to them more expedient to subdue, than to leave his forces in their rear. Sanguine as to the result of the conflict, yet neglecting no means within his abilities to insure what he expected, he availed himself of his experience in the peculiar talents of each officer, so to dispose him as to call forth his exertion in the way most beneficial to the general safety; while his own unremitting vigilance and comprehensive mind embraced every department, and watched over the whole.

"Meanwhile the enemy, like swarms of bees, began to pour their numbers on all sides of the Polish encampment, and were every where received with the most undaunted bravery by the little army of Sobieski, his artillery playing the whole time upon the assailants. At length a weak point of the camp was for a moment forced, when the Poles, with desperate fury, rushed thither, repulsed, expelled, and pursued the invaders far beyond the entrenchments.

"The plain was soon covered

with the dead bodies of the enemy: but Sobieski, ever tempering his valour with prudence, recalled his victorious troops within his entrenchments, there to await some favourable moment for renewing the contest; for he thought it would be daring too much to hazard a turn of fortune, in case so superior an enemy should rally, where he had every thing at stake.

"The seven following days produced repeated attacks from the enemy; against which the Poles not only continued to defend themselves with the same invincible courage, but made several sallies, which proved not less destructive than their first to the Cossacks and Tartars.

"At length the decisive day of conflict arrived: the enemy, astonished and enraged by so obstinate a resistance from a handful of men, resolved upon a general assault; while Sobieski, who had anticipated the approaching crisis, by sending orders to his various detachments to draw near him with the utmost precaution and privacy, had made every preparation in his power to turn it to his own advantage. Instead of waiting the enemy's assault within his entrenchments, he now led forth his troops to meet it. The barbarians, astonished at such boldness, testified their savage joy, as the Polish squadrons advanced, by uttering loud cries, which were quickly succeeded by the battle.—Torrents of blood had flowed, yet victory seemed uncertain, when the several detachments of Sobieski burst upon the enemy, and, with irresistible impetuosity attacking them in flank, threw them into terror and disorder. The brave Piwot in particular, who (in his zeal to justify the confidence which had been reposed in him by the crown general) had been occupied

pied in laying waste the quarters of the Cossacks, carrying off their convoys, and repulsing their foraging parties, now rushed on the invaders with his two thousand horse, overturning and scattering them before him. The very peasants, catching the general enthusiasm, turned their instruments of husbandry into weapons of offence, and joined the troops of Sobieski in sharing a victory which soon became complete.

"As Sobieski proceeded to examine into the extent of the depredations committed by the enemy, he found whole villages sacked; churches burnt; the palaces of the nobles levelled with the earth; heaps of murdered Poles piled on their ruins, and the whole frontier presenting one wide scene of desolation. Such spectacles only swelled the public tide of gratitude towards the hero who had delivered Poland from these hordes of barbarians; and Sobieski had the additional gratification of learning that his victory, in so unequal and apparently so desperate a conflict, had excited the surprise and admiration of his first pattern in arms, the great Condé, and was applauded by the first generals of France. Soon after this decisive battle the enemy sued for peace, which was granted on terms of mutual satisfaction.

"The grateful homage which Sobieski received from all ranks of citizens, on his return to Warsaw, burst forth in enthusiastic acclamations on his re-entering the capital so lately the scene of despair.

"A meeting of the diet was, soon after his arrival, convoked; when, in conformity with the laws of Poland, the crown general rendered publicly an account of the instructions he had received from the senate; his own plan of operation;

and the success which had crowned the close of the campaign; recapitulating with warmth the distinguished actions of those who had shared his labours, but passing lightly over his own.

"Loud plaudits from all orders of the assembly bore testimony to the approbation which his discourse had excited in them. When the acclamations had subsided, the vice-chancellor arose, and addressing Sobieski as the deliverer of his country, returned solemn thanks to him in the name of the republic, and to all those who had assisted him in its preservation.

"The sublime pleasure which a mind like his must have experienced at the universal sentiment of gratitude manifested by that country to which he so early devoted himself, had scarcely had time to subside, when he received intelligence of the birth of his first son, and the safety of his wife, who was still with her relatives in France. Louis XIV. on this event testified his esteem for the crown general of Poland by answering at the font for his infant son, who was named James Louis, after his illustrious grandfather and the French monarch.

"Casimir, still wholly absorbed by sorrow for the loss of his queen, gave no other token of interest in the late critical situation of his kingdom, than by appearing at the great church of Warsaw to join in the general thanksgiving which was offered up to heaven for the happy termination of so threatening a war. His next public act was that of abdicating a throne, which his inclinations and habits incapacitated him to sustain, surrounded as it was by continual storms.

"The attention of Poland now became wholly turned to the choice
of

of some successor to the feeble Casimir; and the giddy people, whose delight is novelty, showed more eagerness to fill his vacant place, than caution to fill it wisely.

"Many foreign candidates disputed the honour of their choice, whose various merits the several orders of the republic were warmly discussing on the appointed day, when they were joined on the field of election by two palatines, who presented a young Pole, by name Michael Wiscanowski, and immediately proceeded to propose and nominate him, as a descendant of Koribut, uncle to the great Jagellon.

"The vice-chancellor, not penetrating into the artifice of these palatines, (whose sole motive in this nomination was to ascertain how far a native of Poland would be agreeable to the diet, without compromising a party of the nobles which was desirous of advancing one of their order to the sovereignty), precipitately swayed the feelings of the multitude by crying out "Long live king Michael!" And the whole assembly forgetting, in their kindling enthusiasm, the motives which had a moment before actuated them to plead with intemperate warmth for the other candidates, echoed from mouth to mouth, "Long live king Michael!"

"It was now too late to direct the tide of favour from this new idol to a more judicious choice; and the reluctant primate was forcibly compelled to proclaim the election, to the chagrin and disappointment of the party who had trusted to the insignificance of the man as a bar to such an event.

"Amongst the immense crowd which was present at this unexpected proclamation, there was not one person so greatly astonished by

it as the new king himself, who possessed no other claim to the dignity which had been so suddenly conferred upon him, but that of his descent from Koribut. His father had been palatine of Russia, and had once possessed a fine estate in the Ukraine, but had seen it wrested from him by the Cossacks. The mean abilities of Michael, joined to the poverty and obscurity in which he had been obliged to live, seemed to preclude all chance of his ever rising to any dignity in the state; and so little interest had he taken in the election, that instead of repairing to the field, he had retired to the church of Recollects at Warsaw; whence he had been drawn by the palatines without a shadow of suspicion of what were their intentions in doing so. He shed tears after his election, as they dragged him to the throne, protesting that he was incapable of filling it; but his new subjects, scarcely yielding in superstition to the ancient Romans, in the first moments of their senseless joy discovered too many happy omens to doubt the wisdom of their choice. During the election a dove had flown across the inclosure where the senate was debating; and a swarm of bees had hovered over Michael without hurting him. These presages were strengthened by so many others of a fortunate nature, which were said to have occurred to the very priests while performing their sacred functions, that the giddy multitude were impatient to commence a reign which they believed destined to bring back prosperity to Poland. They caused Michael to be crowned, therefore, with so much precipitation, that some of the most important articles of the *Pacta Conventa* were omitted in his coronation oath, a negli-

a negligence of which they had afterwards sufficient leisure to repent.

"Indeed, no monarch was ever more incapable of governing than the new king; and from sovereigns who know not themselves how to govern, a wise choice of ministers can rarely be expected. Casimir Paz, the head of one of the most considerable families in Lithuania, and the grand chancellor of that duchy, was a man of great abilities, who soon won the entire confidence of his sovereign, which he abused by aggrandizing his own family at the expence of the public good and Michael's honour. His brother, Michael Paz, the grand general of Lithuania, was an officer well versed in military affairs, but of an envious, fiery, and capricious temper, which made him the rival of Sobieski. Such were the two favourites by whom Michael became completely governed. The new king was scarcely seated on his throne, when more than one cause arose to open the eyes of his subjects on the egregious folly of their choice. The Cossacks had heard with jealousy the exaltation of a man, whose first use of power, they believed, would be to recover the large possessions in the Ukraine which they had taken from his father. As the only means of dispelling their fears, they boldly demanded that he should voluntarily renounce claims which they were resolved at all hazards to dispute, if necessary. In the then exhausted state of the republic, it is not surprising that the Poles should have been anxious for the king's compliance with these demands, rather than renew a war recently terminated.

"His majesty, however, was far more disposed to gain time with the Cossacks, with a view ultimately

to baffle their aim, than to consent to the sacrifice required of him. No one, he knew, was so well qualified to transact these negotiations with success as Sobieski; yet he felt extreme reluctance, even for his own interest, to employ talents which he already hated him for possessing. But necessity at length prevailed, and the crown general was charged with the embassy.

"He found Doroscensko so inflexibly bent on Michael's compliance with his first demand, as to compel him, although reluctantly, to have recourse to measures of a less friendly nature. Anxious to spare as much as possible the effusion of Polish blood, and conscious of the great inferiority of his forces to those he was about to oppose, he summoned policy to the aid of arms; and by setting up a new general among the Cossacks, in opposition to Doroscensko, he turned the tide of their animosity against each other.

"While the rival generals were dividing the attention and energies of the soldiers, Sobieski seized the crisis of their dissensions to reduce the whole district between the Bog and the Neister to the obedience of Poland. Doroscensko, every where worsted, had no other means of saving the rest of the Ukraine than by threatening to give it up to the Turks, if Sobieski pushed him to extremities; a threat which at once suspended the victorious career of the crown general.

" "We know not which most to admire, your valour or your prudence," wrote the vice-chancellor of Poland to Sobieski, in the name of the king and the republic: with a mere handful of men, your genius has enabled you to open to us a passage into the Ukraine, and will

will doubtless complete your glory by its reduction. Envy herself is compelled to own that Poland owes to you its safety."

"A mind like that of Sobieski must have felt it a noble revenge thus to extort from his enemies an acknowledgement of the services by which he had requited their malice.

"It was, however, far from the enlightened policy of the crown general to push to absolute despair those whom he still considered as the children of the republic. Like Fabius Maximus, he thought, that "if care and kindness had been found the most effectual method to subdue the stubborn temper of dogs and horses," he who commands *men* should endeavour to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness. His earnest advice, therefore, was to induce the Cossacks to return to their allegiance by clemency, as the only method to prevent an alienation, which must render those once valuable subjects a perpetual scourge to Poland.

"In these temperate wishes Sobieski was supported by the majority of the senate and the whole of the deputies assembled at the diet; but Michael, who, without consulting the republic, had recently espoused the emperor Leopold's sister, was now entirely surrounded by the creatures of that monarch, who swayed his actions according to the pleasure of their imperial master; and who, on the present occasion, so warmly combated the policy of the crown general, that they induced the diet to dissolve before any step could be taken to restore tranquillity to the Ukraine.

"Doroscensko, in the interim, learning the particulars of what had passed at Warsaw, and fearful of ultimately falling into the hands of an

offended sovereign, was now driven exactly into that step from which Sobieski had so earnestly desired to withhold him; he threw himself and his fellow Cossacks on the protection of sultan Mahomet, and thus the Ukraine became united with Turkey.

"The Porte was at that period engaged in immense preparations for the invasion and destruction of the German empire; while the storm with which she menaced Christendom was rendered more alarming from the sultan's possessing in his grand vizier a general capable of executing the daring schemes which, as minister, he had planned. Kiuperli had signalized his great military talents by his victories over the Austrians, his conquests in Hungary, his subjection of Transylvania, and his capture of the island of Candia: nor was he esteemed greater in the field than in the cabinet.

"The acquisition of the Cossacks to the interest of his master at once suggested to Kiuperli that their views against the empire might be facilitated by first employing the Ottoman forces in the subjugation of Poland. He consequently proposed it in the divan; but being answered, that to make war on the Poles without a previous demand and refusal of justice from them on behalf of the Cossacks, would be to commit an equal injustice with that which was made the pretext of the impending war; and the mufti agreeing in this opinion, Kiuperli immediately addressed to the republic of Poland the following manifesto:

"Poles, when you assert that the Ukraine belongs to you, and that the Cossacks are your natural subjects, you forget that we know this nation was formerly free and inde-

Independent, that it voluntarily submitted itself to you, and upon conditions which you have violated. In consequence of the monstrous outrages which you have committed against the Cossacks, they have taken up arms to recover their former liberty, and the laws of nature authorize them to do so. They have besought the Sublime Porte to receive them under the shelter of its powerful protection, and extend to them the assistance which it never withholds from the oppressed. Mahomet, the invincible; has consequently sent the sabre and the standard to Doroscensko, the chief of the Cossacks. Learn hence, that it is for you to hasten and compose the difference with the sultan my master, who is already on his march to Adrianople; since, if you allow him to reach your frontiers with his immense forces, the dispute will no longer be decided by treaty, but by the sword and the wrath of the God of vengeance."

"Sobieski had not returned to Warsaw at the arrival of this threatening mandate; but the senate immediately assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration what might be the best measure for the republic to adopt: but the time for deliberation was principally spent in expressions of indignation, that the manifesto had not been written by Mahomet himself instead of his grand vizier; a circumstance which was construed into an insulting mark of contempt.

"The partizans of Michael taking advantage of this idle warmth about punctilio, laboured to prove that the sultan's not writing himself was sufficient evidence that he was not serious in his threats against Poland. They argued, that it was highly improbable he should

break his treaty with the republic to league with a robber (for such they called Doroscensko); but that; even admitting his hostile intentions, they might reasonably build on the assistance of Russia, to which they should probably add that of Germany also.

"These speculative arguments were answered by the more experienced part of the senate, by remarking that it was a far wiser plan to deprive the Porte of all pretext for disturbing Poland, by satisfying the Cossacks, than to involve her again in a destructive war, under the hope of assistance which they might not in the end receive. The primate also pronounced this to be his opinion; yet he declared that nothing decisive ought to be determined on during the absence of the crown general; whose patriotism, talents, and the essential services he had already rendered his country in her contests with the Cossacks, alike established the propriety of his first delivering his sentiments on a subject of such vital importance to the state.

"Nothing could be more grating to the king than the public utterance of sentiments such as these; since, already jealous of the consideration in which Sobieski was held by the republic, he was anxious to avoid every measure which tended to augment his power. The lateness of the hour, however, obliged him, although reluctantly, to suspend proceedings till the following morning.

"On that day intelligence was brought that Sobieski was approaching Warsaw; and the majority of the senators immediately went out to meet and conduct him to the senate. On his entrance there, he was complimented by being pub-

licely told, that "the gown and the sword equally became him, and that he had entwined the laurel amidst his fasces."

"But however gratifying to the crown general such an address might have proved at a period of less danger, he felt nothing now but impatience that a moment should be lost in diverting their attention from the public interests. The blind infatuation which lulled the king and his council into a fancied security at a period when ruin was ready to burst over them, astonished and transported him. He exhorted his majesty, in a strain of energetic eloquence, to treat with the Cossacks before it was absolutely too late; he pointed out to him the concessions which could with honour be made by Poland, and which would even yet appease them; and warmly combated the absurd belief that Mahomet's was but a vain threat, when opposed to the notorious fact of his actual advance towards the Polish frontiers.

"But Sobieski addressed in Michael one equally deaf to the voice of reason and of truth: the latter persisted in refusing to return any answer to the manifesto of the Porte, and in treating its menaces as beneath his notice. The disgust engendered by this stupid obstinacy, in neither treating for peace nor preparing for war, speedily gave birth to a league for the dethroning of the king. This league, which was headed by the primate, consisted of several of the first officers of the crown, and the chief of the nobles.

"In consequence of the queen of Poland being sister to the emperor of Germany, it was thought proper to acquaint that monarch with their designs; and in doing so

they laid before him the many grievances which the imbecility of Michael had brought on their country. The reply of his imperial majesty was couched in terms of much decent sorrow at the awkward necessity of wresting the sceptre from the hands of Michael; yet declared that he should not oppose the measure, provided they pledged themselves to divorce from him his sister, and to elect prince Charles of Lorraine as his successor.

"The next step of the league was to consult the queen of Poland; who, on learning the emperor's concurrence with the plan, as the price of her consent to the dethroning and divorcing her consort, insisted only that his successor to the crown should stipulate to espouse herself. The consent of the nobles to this notable piece of forecast rendered every thing thus far easy, they proceeded to the last step which they deemed necessary, that of gaining over the crown general to their scheme, who had hitherto been kept entirely ignorant of it.

"The conduct of Sobieski had so uniformly indicated the firm supporter of the crown, that, indignant as they knew his feelings were towards Michael, and certain as appeared the ruin of Poland if that imbecile prince continued at its head, they were doubtful if even these considerations would induce him to join the league. Yet the part he should resolve on taking, it was evident, must decide the fate of their projects.

"Sobieski, after listening to the explanation of them, hesitated not, in a case of such dire necessity, to espouse the cause of his country against the monarch which it had with so much precipitate folly set up. Yet his penetration instantly revealed

revealed to him, that the deposition of Michael was the only part of the leaguers' scheme from which any benefit could arise to Poland. It was the creatures of Leopold who had influenced him in his late pertinacious obstinacy; for, consulting the obvious interest of their master, they had endeavoured to direct the storm with which the Porte had long threatened Vienna, towards Poland. In accepting a king, therefore, from the empire, what could they expect but the same pernicious influence over the councils of the republic which had reduced it to its present difficulties? Such were the arguments by which Sobieski prefaced his advice; to guard against the future interference of Leopold by cultivating the friendship of France, and selecting from that nation a king, whose connections as well as talents might ensure from every friend to Poland the approbation of their choice. That choice he directed to the duke of Longueville, nephew of the prince de Condé, and only son of the duke de Longueville by his duchess, Anne of Bourbon. The young duke had already given proofs, under the eye of his uncle, that he inherited that prince's valour and love of military glory.

"The confederated nobles, clearly perceiving the advantage of replacing Michael by a member of the house of Bourbon, readily acquiesced in the wishes of Sobieski: a discreet emissary was in consequence dispatched to France, invested with powers to settle the preliminary arrangements with the court of Versailles; while the league, on its part, demanded of Michael a new diet, as a step necessary to complete their plans.

"That prince, now himself pas-

sion-struck at the near approach of the Turkish forces, dared not refuse a concession necessary to the properly arming of the republic for its defence; so that every thing seemed to favour the views of the confederacy.

"This diet (which assembled in 1672) was rendered remarkable in the annals of Poland by the extraordinary scene it exhibited. The primate, who, as head of the league, was deputed to lay open its designs, electrified the king by recapitulating the many instances of injustice, imbecility, and flagrant violation of the *Pasta Conventa*, by which he had disgraced his reign, forfeited the confidence of his people, and absolved them from their oath of allegiance. These bold assertions were followed up by the associated nobles, who unequivocally declared that the king must choose between the alternatives of voluntarily abdicating the throne, or preparing to be forcibly expelled from it. Then leaving him to recover at his leisure from the consternation into which he was thrown, they set out to meet with due honours the duke of Longueville; whom they now hourly expected.

"But on reaching the sea-coast, a disappointment awaited the league as little expected as it was embarrassing. Instead of finding their party strengthened by the presence of their new sovereign, they received a dispatch, informing them that the duke de Longueville (who had accompanied the French army in its so much vaunted passage of the Rhine near the fortress of Tholaa) had fallen a victim to an act of imprudence which had greatly endangered the life of the prince de Condé also.

"This perplexing disappointment

ment to the league dissipated at once the fears and confusion of Michael, who, sensible that among his enemies was to be ranked the whole of the higher order of nobility, turned his hopes to the support of the lower, of which he had himself formed one at the period of his election. This class, consisting of a hundred thousand men, he precipitately assembled six leagues from Lublin, and putting himself at its head, he had the gratification to find every individual ready to swear that he would, at the risk of life and fortune, join to maintain him on the throne. Following up these new measures, and regardless that the republic acknowledged but two grand generals, Michael proceeded to create a third, in whom he vested the powers of a dictator, licensing him to raise a new army for the protection of the royal confederacy, and to restore the ancient militia. He then issued mandates to the senators, and all persons in office, to join his standard immediately, on pain of confiscation of property and loss of dignity.

"His majesty, had, however, soon the mortification to discover that the death of the person whom the confederated nobles had chosen for their new king had by no means disposed them to show obedience towards himself; he consequently proceeded to pronounce the sentence he had threatened, condemning the primate and Sobieski, as chiefs of the league, to lose their lives.

"The army of the crown general, which he had in the interim assembled in the citadel of Lovicz in the palatinate of Rava, now formed itself into a confederacy, opposing to the lower order of nobles oath to oath. They swore in

the name of God and of Sobieski to maintain the rights and privileges of their country, as handed down to them by those ancient warriors who had purchased them with their blood; to recognize no generals but those who were invested with their staffs before the breaking out of the present disturbances; to make known to Sobieski whatever might come to their knowledge, that might prove detrimental to the common cause; to preserve their secrets inviolate; and to consider every man an enemy to his country who enlisted under any other banner than their own.

"This oath had been but recently taken by the army, when information was brought that Michael had set a price on the head of its general. An universal shout of indignation and horror against the king and his confederates instantly burst from the camp; the soldiers, laying their sabres in the form of crosses, solemnly swore to defend and avenge their commander. "I accept your protestations," replied Sobieski, affected by their enthusiasm; "but remember, the first duty I require of you is to save your country."

"In reality, Sobieski's thoughts were too much engrossed in planning how he might best meet the coming storm, to bestow a thought upon his personal safety. He knew, that while the republic was arming against itself, Kiuperli, having received no answer to his manifesto, had procured the menaced war to be pronounced a just one in the divan, and had seen it sanctified by the fests of the mufti. Already the horses' tails, ensigns of blood and havoc, were waving over the walls of the seraglio, and Mahomet, like a devastating torrent, approached

approached to overwhelm the unhappy country of Sobieski.

"Kamienieck, the capital of Podolia, and the key of Poland, became the first object of the crown general's cares, as he was well convinced the Turks would open the campaign by laying siege to it. It was a citadel fortified still more by nature than by art. Built upon a steep rock, whose base was washed by the river Smotrick, which nearly encompassed it, it had in all ages been regarded as the bulwark of Poland, and long had been contemplated with envy by the Turks, and jealousy by the Tartars. Sobieski's first care was that of dispatching thither eight regiments of infantry to reinforce the garrison.

"It was now that one of the most fatal effects inseparable from civil dissensions first became manifest to the crown general. The governor, who was warmly attached to Michael, refused to admit the troops of Sobieski, fearful of giving his interest a preponderance in a place of so much importance.

"Meanwhile Mahomet, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, had passed the Danube near Sillistria, crossed Walachia and Transylvania, thrown bridges over the Niester at the foot of the walls of Choczimi, and soon appeared before Kamienieck. He was there met by the khan Selim Gierai, accompanied by Meradin and Galga, his sons, with one hundred thousand Tartars under his command. The sultan, dividing this irregular force into three bodies, sent them to make predatory excursions as far as the Vistula, while the Cossacks carried desolation on the opposite side.

"Michael, with his hundred thousand nobles, was closely shut

up within his encampment, and Sobieski was still at the head of his little army at Lowicz, when an act of temerity in Meradin rendered manifest the incorrigible degeneracy of the king, and the inefficiency of his forces. The young Tartar prince, as he skirted the palatinate of Lublin, daringly directed his march between the two Polish camps; at which Michael was seized with so great a panic, from a suspicion that he was acting in concert with Sobieski, that he fled precipitately to Lublin; and the whole multitude of his attendant nobles, catching the infection of terror, disappeared with extraordinary celerity.

"Meanwhile Sobieski, sensible that he must expose his little army, consisting of thirty thousand Poles, to certain and useless destruction, by the attempt to relieve Kamienieck, which was surrounded by one hundred and fifty thousand Turks, saw the necessity of abandoning that fortress to its dreadful fate. By doing this, he was enabled to prove of inestimable use to Poland, in stopping the influx of Tartars and Cossacks, who were already desolating that afflicted country.

"He first encountered Meradin, and engaged him with such signal success, that he fled, nearly alone, to the camp of his brother; who, to avoid a similar disaster, pushed forward to join his father. The rapidity of Sobieski's movements, however, frustrated his plans; he intercepted the young Tartar, engaged and defeated him. Then leaving his infantry to guard the spoils, he closely pursued the fugitives, and overtook them just as they had reached the khan. The latter, not having yet engaged his troops, he found in a condition to give

give him battle. But Selim, like a true Tartar, was too solicitous to preserve the precious metals, rich furs, horses, and cattle, of which he had plundered Poland, to risk the loss of his booty in the romantic attempt to redeem the honour of his sons. His only aim, therefore, was to avoid an encounter which must endanger them; while Sobieski, incessantly hovering near him, watched for a favourable position to attack his retreating enemy.

"At the foot of the Carpathian mountains, in a narrow defile in which the Tartars had not room to draw up their troops, the crown general commenced his assault. It was followed by a long contested and bloody action, which terminated in the flight of Selim Gierai and his sons; who, beside fifteen thousand slain, a great number of prisoners, and the whole of their immense booty, left behind them above thirty thousand Poles, whom they had been leading into slavery.

"It was an affecting sight, after the retreat of the Tartars, to see these grateful creatures, who a few hours before believed they were for ever cut off from again beholding their wives, their children, or their homes, throw themselves in a transport of joy at the feet of Sobieski, blessing him as their preserver. The crown general, touched to the soul at this scene, prostrated himself beside them, and by his example directed their thanksgiving to a higher source.

"But while he was thus gloriously employed in freeing his country from the Tartars, Kiuperli had not not been less active before Kaminiack. During a period which historians have varied from twelve to thirty days, the constant discharge of cannon, which the vizier

kept up from five batteries soon reduced the city to ruins.

"In this state of wretchedness the besieged received an offer from Kiuperli to be allowed the liberty of retiring unmolested, with their arms and baggage, provided they would peaceably deliver up the fortress to him in twenty-four hours.

"This humane proposal, at a moment when (as was well known to them) he had made every disposition for a general storm, determined their conduct; and Kaminiack was surrendered to the Turks on the 29th of August, 1672.

"The sultan, by this time master of the whole of Podolia, as well as of its capital, sent Gierai's sons into all the places of the Ukraine that were possessed by the Cossacks, and encamped himself at Boudchaz with his main army; while Sobieski, on leading back his victorious troops from the foot of the Carpathian mountains, was greeted with the intelligence that disaster had been heaped upon disaster during his absence. He had no time, however, to expend on vain regret, as every effort of his mind was requisite to form some plan of attacking the Turks, wherein his own genius might supply the want of numbers.

"While the crown general was himself making every possible exertion to recruit his small army, he sent a detachment to reconnoitre the sultan's camp at Boudchaz; but all his patriotic plans were suddenly frustrated, not by the sultan's troop, but by the degeneracy of Michael. This pusillanimous prince, still enclosed within the walls of Lublin, learned with equal consternation the rapid progress of the sultan and the victories of the crown general.

Yet

Yet however great were his terrors of the Ottoman arms, of Sobieski they were still greater, since he would rather have seen Poland perish than owe to him its preservation. No sooner was he convinced that the crown general had raised new levies, and was preparing to try his talents against Kiuperli, by disposing his forces to advance upon Boudchas, than he sent a secret emissary to the camp of Mahomet to sue with abject humility for peace, leaving that potentate master of every condition, provided he would acknowledge him as king of Poland.

"Mahomet, as the price of this condescension, insisted on retaining Kaminiack with the whole of Podolia; demanded that the republic should henceforth renounce all pretensions to the Ukraine; admit the Cossacks to be vassals of the Ottoman empire; and, as the last stage of degradation, that she should thenceforth acknowledge herself tributary to the Porte, by an annual payment of twenty thousand lion-dollars.

"These ignominious terms were eagerly accepted, in preference to the risk of elevating Sobieski still

higher in the esteem of his countrymen, by perhaps giving him the opportunity of placing them in a condition to treat with the enemy upon equal terms. Kiuperli, in advising the sultan to these stipulations, well knew that the king of Poland could not of himself perform them, as he possessed the privilege of making neither peace nor war without the sanction of the diet. Yet he was satisfied with having for the present added a province to his master's dominions, which he took care to use every precaution to retain. He was, besides, about to leave in Poland a spirit of internal discord which promised to consume her, without any further sacrifice of the blood of Mussulmen. His chief care, therefore, was to leave the requisite forces to preserve his conquests in subjection, and to overawe the Cossacks. Having removed the inhabitants of Podolia to the other side of the Danube, placed two thousand spahis in their desolated province, and encamped eighty thousand Turks at Choczim, for the purpose of enforcing the submission of Poland, he followed Mahomet and the remainder of his troops to Constantinople."

[SOBIESKI'S SIGNAL DEFEAT OF THE TURKS BEFORE VIENNA.]

[From the Same.]

"**M**EANWHILE the Turks had completed their ever slow but ever magnificent preparations for war, and assembled with the armies of the Tartars, the Wallachians, the Moldavians, and the Hungarians—all tributaries of the

Porte, in the plains of Adrianople; each vassal prince heading his own troops. There Mahomet, seated on an elevated throne, commanded his various hosts to pass in review before him.

"Perhaps no spectacle was ever more

more calculated to gratify the self-love of a despot, and to inflame him with a thirst for universal dominion, than that now presented to the monarch of the Ottomans.

"Two hundred thousand men filed off beneath his throne, all devoted to obey the mandates of his ambition. These regulars were followed by numerous volunteers, officers of baggage and provision, servants and mechanics of every description, the retinues of five sovereign princes and of thirty-one bashaws, while three hundred pieces of cannon closed the magnificent procession.

"The grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, was the last of the train who approached the sultan, by whom he was honoured with the highest mark of esteem and confidence which he could bestow. Mahomet presented to him his imperial catescheriff, an instrument which invested the grand vizier with the same unlimited authority which the sultan would have himself possessed had he headed the Ottoman army.

"Mahomet, inflated by the many brilliant triumphs of his arms under the command of Kiuperli, while he had been himself immersed in the effeminate pleasures of his seraglio, seems to have been culpably indifferent as to whether or not the successor he had appointed to that great man was capable of sustaining the reputation which, under him, the Ottomans had acquired. While the armament, commencing its march on the right of the Danube, proceeded to cross the Save, the sultan retook his road to Constantinople, amusing himself as he journeyed with the diversion of hunting.

Kara Mustapha, in order (as he expressed himself) "to level the

tree first, that the branches might more easily fall into their possession," resolved on marching directly to Vienna; and his approach towards Newhasel with the whole of the Turkish force, induced the duke of Lorraine to raise the siege of that place; and after throwing a part of his infantry into Raab and Comora, to fall back with the remainder and his cavalry on Vienna.

"That capital was already in a state of the utmost confusion and distress. On the first intelligence of the rapid advance of the enemy, Leopold with his whole family and court had fled for refuge to Passau; and the pusillanimous part of the inhabitants, eager to follow his example, crowded every avenue from the city with trains of carriages, in which they had deposited their most valuable effects. Happily, many of those firmer citizens who remained behind to brave the approaching foe, were animated by nobler feelings. Every effective man, whatever his rank or profession, flew to arms for the preservation of the capital, eager all to share in the severest military duty; while the duke of Lorraine, after aiding count Staremberg, the governor, in repairing the dilapidated fortifications, and in placing the city in a posture of defence, reinforced the garrison with eight thousand infantry, and retired with his cavalry behind the Danube, where he encamped on a spot favourable for watching the motions of the enemy and intercepting his communications, till by the arrival of the expected succours he should be in a condition more effectually to cope with him.

"The 14th of July, the day following that on which the duke had finished his arrangements, the Turkish army reached the vast plain before

fore Vienna, and in a short time completed the investment of the city, and began its offensive operations.

“ Unfortunately for those shut within its walls, the ardour with which the king of Poland had laboured to put his army in a condition to march to their relief, was so ill seconded by the grand general of Lithuania, that though Vienna was at length reduced to a state of the utmost distress and danger, the troops of the duchy were still unprepared to join the royal standard.

“ Had Sobieski been capable of harbouring the passion of revenge, the humiliating concessions to which this delay reduced the late haughty emperor must have given him secret satisfaction, amidst the vexations and disappointments to which the perverseness and disobedience of Paz once more exposed him. While the king was awaiting the arrival of the Lithunians, Leopold, under his own hand, addressed to him the most humble entreaties that he would no longer postpone placing himself at the head of the German forces. It was now too late, he remarked, to hope that the Polish army could arrive in time for the preservation of the capital; but as the name alone of Sobieski, so terrible to the enemy, was sufficient to palsy his efforts, he expected every thing from his majesty's presence.

“ Forcibly as this letter proved the desperate situation of the capital, the duke of Lorraine's dispatches still further confirmed the fact, that if Sobieski would save the city he had not a day to lose in marching to its assistance.

“ Every resource that valour and patriotism could inspire, had been nearly exhausted by the noble Stäemberg and his adherents; but fa-

mine and disease had at length assailed them, the Turks had possessed themselves of the principal outworks of the city, and the garrison was in hourly expectation of being taken by storm. The duke of Lorraine, whose post was too advantageous to be quitted till he was joined by some of the promised succours, had effected every thing within his power by sending frequent detachments from his little camp, who had interrupted the communications of the vizier. At the head of one of these parties, the duke of Baden captured an immense convoy of provisions and ammunition, which was travelling from Hungary for the use of the enemy; and he had also the good fortune to intercept and put to flight Tekeli, on his progress to Presburg; whither Kara Mustapha had dispatched him to secure that important passage across the Danube. Still these partial successes had afforded no alleviation to the distresses of the besieged. All that the duke of Lorraine could do for them was to revive if possible their expiring hopes, by promises of speedy relief. His communication with the city seemed totally cut off; yet he found among his soldiers a man, whose readiness in undertaking his hazardous mission proved him to be not inferior in heroism to Pontius Cominus, the emissary of Camillus. The Austrian soldier, by swimming across several arms of the Danube and braving every impediment, conveyed to the governor of Vienna the grateful promise of speedy deliverance.

“ The king of Poland was indeed hastening to render him his utmost aid. On receiving the last gloomy intelligence from the empire, he resolved on no longer allowing the Poles to await the arrival of the Lithuanians;

Lithuanians; but, placing his whole disposable force, consisting of twenty thousand men, under Jablonowski, with orders to march with all-possible expedition to join the duke of Lorraine, he departed himself with an escort of only two thousand cavalry, and traversed "with the rapidity of a Tartar horde" Silesia, Moravia, and that part of Austria which lay between him and the German troops. In this route, rendered extremely dangerous with so slight a guard by the numbers of Turks and malcontents who infested those countries, he was accompanied by his eldest son prince James, who had earnestly besought the king to let him share his perils.

"Sobieski directed his march to Tulu (a town fifteen miles west of Vienna), at which place the emperor had engaged that he should find the whole German force assembled to receive his command. Great were his surprise and indignation, therefore, to perceive that these promises were so far from realized that the bridge was scarcely half constructed; and except two battalions of horse which guarded its head, no other troops were collected there to receive him than the handful of men under the duke of Lorraine.

"This breach of promise on the part of Leopold in a moment roused the impetuosity of Sobieski's temper, and in his anger he exclaimed, "Does the emperor mean to treat me as an adventurer? Solicited by him I have left my own army, that without delay I might take the command of his—Forgets he that it is for him, not myself, I am come to fight?"

"But this ebullition of passion was soon allayed by the judicious interference of the duke of Lorraine,

for whose noble character the king of Poland entertained a high esteem; and with his native good humour all his pleasantries were not long after restored, by an event as agreeable to him as it was unexpected. So zealously had Jablonowski followed up the directions of his master, that the Polish army, which had been left by him at so great a distance, actually arrived at Tulu before the new levies of the empire.

"The king, in high flow of spirits at this circumstance, was surrounded by the German princes (who on intelligence of his arrival had preceded their troops to compliment him); when, as the Poles were passing in review, Lubomirski whispered his master, that it would be for the credit of the republic to cause a shabbily accoutred battalion, which was in the rear of a fine body of horse, to halt till the obscurity of night should enable it to escape remark. But Sobieski, whose affection for even the meanest of his brave companions in arms made him revolt from showing them an indignity, far from acquiescing in the proposal of his officer, fixed general attention on the battalion, and at the same time imparted to it a portion of his own happy hilarity, by humourously exclaiming, "Pray admire that invincible body: it has sworn never to wear other clothes than what it captures from the enemy. During our last war every man was clad in the Turkish habit."

"It was on the 5th of September that the Polish army reached Tulu, and on the 7th they were joined by those of the empire. The army thus assembled scarcely amounted to seventy thousand men, a number nearly

nearly tripled by the enemy; but the king of Poland on this occasion remarked, that in weighing the probable event of the encounter, they ought rather to take into account the grand vizier's military capacity than the magnitude of his army. "Is there a general amongst you," asked he, "who at the head of two hundred thousand men would have suffered this bridge to be constructed within five leagues of your camp? The man is an absolute driveller."

"Tuln was separated from the plain in which the Turks were encamped by a chain of mountains, offering but two roads to Vienna, one over their summits, the other at their base. The passage of the first was attended with danger, difficulty, and fatigue; but as it was considerably the nearer, Sobieski, who trembled lest the city might yet fall before he should be able to make an effort for its preservation, resolved on scaling it.

"In making this election the king erred. Accustomed to see his soldiers surmount obstacles greater than those which threatened the present march, he did not foresee that a part of the army would be involved by them in great perplexities.

"The Germans, after repeated but ineffectual efforts to drag their cannon across the mountains, were compelled to abandon the attempt as hopeless. The Poles, on the contrary, found their exertions crowned with success, and had the honour of having conveyed to the field of battle the whole of the artillery which was used at the relief of Vienna.

"But while by three days of incessant toil they were performing this essential service, the miseries of the besieged city had reached their acme. Many officers of the first rank

and merit had already fallen in its defence, many more were hourly swept off by famine and disease. The cannon now but feebly manned, or dismounted, could no longer return with effect the fire of the enemy; while the progress of the miners, who had already penetrated to the foundation of the Imperial palace, kept the surviving inhabitants in hourly dread of perishing by the resistless power of that tremendous engine of destruction. The chief support of the citizens, the intrepid count Staremberg, whose last billet to the duke of Lorraine had contained only these expressive words, "No more time to lose, my lord, no more time to lose!" was himself attacked by the fatal malady which contributed to devastate the capital. Hope seemed absolutely to have expired, when the king of Poland, reaching the heights of Calemberg, gave the renovating signals to the city that succour was at hand.

"While Vienna was obscured from Sobieski's sight by the fire and smoke which enveloped her, the intermediate space exhibited to him a spectacle calculated to fill him with indignant surprise. As if in mockery of the want and desolation to which the grand vizier had reduced the late magnificent seat of the western empire, the Ottoman camp, spreading its gaudy pavilions over the vast amphitheatre beneath and the several islands of the Danube, displayed with ostentatious profusion every luxury which art could furnish to gratify the sated senses. The scene rather resembled an Asiatic pageant than a besieging army. Yet while the inquiring eye of the king of Poland, assisted by his telescope, took in its magnitude and splendour, he discerned symptoms

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of the want of that order, energy, and discipline, which could alone render it formidable to him.

"Kara Mustapha had indeed given sufficient proofs that Mahomet could not have intrusted his armament to less worthy hands. The city might have been long before taken by storm, had not the avarice of the grand vizier withheld him from sharing with his soldiers the spoils of the capital, which he meant wholly to appropriate. The janizaries had penetrated into his motive for protracting a siege of which they were heartily weary, and disaffection had sprung up amongst them; while the vizier, blindly trusting for security to his numbers, abandoned himself to dissipation, and neglected to perform the necessary duties of his station.

"No sooner had the king of Poland reconnoitred the enemy, than he declared to his generals that they could gain no honour by defeating the grand vizier, so easy would the task be rendered by his manifest ignorance and presumption.

"Meanwhile those signals from the Christian army which were hailed with grateful rapture by the besieged, overwhelmed with astonishment and confusion the chief of the besiegers. Scarcely could Kara Mustapha credit the evidence of his senses, which told him that the united forces of the empire and Poland were approaching to relieve Vienna over mountains which he had till then considered as impassable.

"Stunned by this unexpected event, he suffered the night to wear away in perplexity and irresolution: but at sun-rise the following morning (12th of September) he was roused from his stupor by the information that the hostile army had actually begun its descent from the mountains. Immediately quitting

his pavilion, he hastened with the vassal princes to a spot favourable for reconnoitring the strength of the enemy; whence he perceived, with no very pleasing feelings, the firm and orderly movements of the allies, who marching in close ranks, and preceded by their cannon, stopped at intervals to fire on the advanced parties of the Tartars, and to reload their artillery.

"The grand vizier at this sight impatiently issued orders for the immediate storming of Vienna by his janizaries, while the remainder of the army should march to oppose the advance of the Christians. Not scarcely had he spoken, when a discovery of the khan of the Tartars struck a universal panic into his troops. Pointing to the banners, just then discernible, which were streaming from the lances of the Polish guards, that chief exclaimed, "By Allah, the king is at their head!"

"This was a stroke for which the Ottomans were wholly unprepared. It brought back instantly to their memory in all their original terrors the defeats of Choczim—of Leopold—of that before Trembula, where the numbers of Sobieski had been still more disproportioned than the present; and from that moment they anticipated as inevitable a repetition of those scenes of dire disgrace.

"It was now too late for Kara Mustapha, who bitterly repented his late inactivity, to endeavour at rekindling in his troops the ardour which his own misconduct had damped, or to infuse into them hopes of victory in which he could not himself indulge. Instead of perceiving that his long-wished-for command to storm the city had rekindled in the janizaries the fire which had been suffered to consume itself in idleness and discontent, he

had

had the mortification to discover that they prepared to obey him with undisguised reluctance, sullenness, and contempt.

"An assault made under the influence of such feelings, against a garrison roused to the height of enthusiasm by the near prospect of deliverance, was happily no longer fraught with the same imminent danger to Vienna as must have attended its earlier attempt; since the besieged, forgetful of hunger and disease, rallied round their posts, and repulsed every effort of the assailants with the most admirable constancy.

"In the mean time the king of Poland, ably supported by the German princes, compelled the Ottomans, who attempted to dispute his descent in the plain, to retire with precipitation towards their camp, on the border of which they drew up in line of battle. Sobieski halted for a short time to restore the Christian army to the order which had been deranged by the late contest, and then led it forward to a general attack of the grand vizier; who, as a last resource to renovate the courage of his mussulmen, erected beside a red pavilion in their centre the standard of Mahomet, usually esteemed by them a sacred pledge of victory.

"An awful pause succeeded to the moment which placed the hostile armies face to face. It was broken by Sobieski's commanding the Polish cavalry to charge; when, as if animated by one spirit—and that the spirit of their king—they rushed towards the sacred standard which marked the vizier's station—pierced the lines of the enemy—and with irresistible impetuosity penetrated to the squadrons which encircled the Turkish chief.

"While their further advance was for a while desperately opposed by the spahis, who on that memorable day were the only Ottoman troops who fought bravely, the German princes made a fine attack on the right wing of the enemy, Jablonowski one of equal skill on the left, and the duke of Lorraine fell on the centre with his wonted firmness and ability; the king of Poland, who had planned, directing and animating the whole.

"The Ottoman army, dispirited, and without confidence in its commander, very feebly sustained the shock of this onset; while the spahis, seeing themselves unsupported by the janizaries, or the tributary powers who had been so uniformly defeated when opposed to the king of Poland, that they seemed to have lost the capability of contending with him—found that their utmost efforts in favour of Kara Mustapha could no further avail, than to allow him time to secure his personal safety by a disgraceful flight.

"With the grand vizier disappeared the standard of Mahomet; and intelligence of his desertion spreading rapidly from wing to wing of the Turkish army, irretrievable anarchy succeeded. Each individual of that vast multitude, now being actuated solely by the wish of self-preservation, thought only of escape; so that the rout became general; and Vienna was thus, in the space of a few hours, rescued from the merciless grasp of the Turks.

"The extreme darkness of the night, which had by this time closed in, induced the king of Poland, in opposition to the wishes of the duke of Lorraine, to forbid all pursuit of the enemy beyond the field of combat; or any attempt to enter the deserted

deserted camp of the Ottomans before morning, on pain of death.

"This unpopular command was neither the offspring of improper timidity, nor an overweening fondness for exercising supreme power, but resulted from wisdom and experience. The uncommon obscurity of the night, which had saved a considerable portion of the enemy from slaughter, and which rendered pursuit highly hazardous to the victors, would have favoured an enterprise against which Sobieski thought it necessary to be prepared. He well remembered the imminent danger to which the Poles had exposed themselves, when fortune had decidedly declared in their favour, by a premature eagerness to share in the spoils at Choczim; and now perceived that, by yielding to the present impatience of the army to take possession of the treasures left in the fugitives' camp, he should expose it to the risk of a still greater danger. Well versed in all the wiles of the enemy he had routed, he felt the necessity of guarding against his stealing back, under cover of the darkness, to rush on the Christians while they might be intent on plundering his abandoned pavilions; since, if taken unprepared, they might even in the moment of exultation fall an easy prey to their lurking and vindictive foe.

"Firm in his determination to trust nothing to chance, when vigilance could with certainty preserve the signal advantages he had gained, the king of Poland was equally regardless of murmurs or remonstrances; and strictly enforced obedience to his command, that the whole of the Christian army should remain under arms on the field of battle during the remainder of the night.

"Early on the following morning the king of Poland gave the signal for the Christian army to take possession of the Ottoman camp; a permission which was eagerly seized by the soldiery, who rushed forward impatient to remunerate themselves for their past privations, by dividing the rich spoils of the enemy.

"On entering the deserted pavilions of the mussulmen, however, they were for awhile checked by a spectacle which chilled with horror even the hardest of those veterans who had just quitted the sanguinary field of combat. All the Turkish women, many of them young and beautiful, who had accompanied their husbands in this fatal expedition, lay murdered in their tents by the hands of those very dastards who, though equally bound by honour and humanity to have protected them, preferred this savage alternative to incumbering their flight with these unhappy victims, or leaving them to the disposal of their conquerors. This scene of slaughter was rendered still more affecting by numbers of little deserted creatures, whose lives their ferocious fathers had spared; many of whom, too young to be conscious of their forlorn condition, were seeking that nourishment from their inanimate mothers which death had deprived them of the power to afford. More than five hundred of these helpless innocents were collected with great tenderness, and placed under the care of the bishop of Newstadt; who benevolently undertook to see them properly protected, and educated in the Christian faith.

"The treasures which had been abandoned by the Ottomans were found to be immense, and were duly apportioned according to the several claims of the victors. All the

the cannon which Mahomet had transported into the empire with the presumptuous design of her perpetual subjection, was justly decreed to remain with her, as a future protection against similar attempts. So valuable was the share allotted to the king of Poland, that he was induced with his accustomed pleasantries to write to the queen that the grand vizier had left him his residuary legatee; and that on his return to her he was in no danger of meeting with the reception of a Tartar husband when he carries back no booty to his wife.

"On the morning subsequent to the battle, count Staremberg, the governor of Vienna, went to pay his respects to Sobieski; and to invite him, in the name of the grateful inhabitants, to visit the city which he had rescued from such an extremity of wretchedness.

"The king of Poland willingly consented; and surely no triumph was ever more calculated to touch the heart than that which crowned his entrance into the German capital! a triumph gratifying to the pride and ambition of his noble mind, but still more so to all the kindlier feelings of his benevolent heart.

"Such was the excess of gratitude which animated the citizens, that they pressed round him with an enthusiasm which long impeded his progress, eager to kiss the feet, touch the garment, and behold the countenance, of him whom they unanimously hailed as their deliverer, their father, the best and greatest of princes.

"Sobieski shed tears as he contemplated these genuine effusions of gratitude in creatures whose pale and emaciated faces too plainly demonstrated the extreme of pinching

misery from which he had rescued them; and he declared to his friends near him, that neither glory nor dominion was capable of affording him a joy comparable to that which he experienced in the consciousness of having been instrumental in restoring to happiness this late suffering people.

"At length the king was permitted to proceed to the metropolitan church, in which he piously offered up thanks to the Omnipotent, who had in the hour of battle strengthened the arms of the Christians and confounded their enemies. After the performance of this sacred duty he consented to indulge the citizens, who were still anxious to be near him, by dining in public. In the evening he returned to the camp, followed by the same rapturous acclamations which had greeted his entrance into Vienna.

"The warmth with which the inhabitants of the capital testified their gratitude to the king of Poland seems first to have roused the emperor to a sense of the ignominy attending his having wholly abandoned, to another, those exertions, for the preservation of the empire which honour and duty alike called on him to have at least assisted to perform. It would be irrational to expect that a monarch, who had been thus negligent of his own glory, could possess the magnanimity requisite to enable him to meet with due gratitude a rival whose services to Germany rendered still more conspicuous by comparison his own disgrace. Leopold, dissatisfied with himself and disgusted with the croud of flatterers who had advised and shared his flight, set out on his return to his capital in a state of feeling far from enviable.

"As he proceeded, melancholy instances

instances of the havoc and desolation which the enemy had scattered on all sides increased his discomfiture: but when he drew near the city, and heard the discharges of artillery in honour of the king of Poland, his irritation reached its climax;

and bitterly reproaching the counsellors of his flight, he refused to proceed, that he might spare himself the humiliation of witnessing in his own capital the triumph of another."

[ANECDOTES AND CHARACTER OF MR. FOX.]

[From Sir N. W. Wraxall's Historical Memoirs of my own Times.]

"MR. FOX, from the union of birth, connexions, talents, and eloquence, which met in his person, had become, in the beginning of 1781, confessedly without any competitor, their leader. Having attained his thirty-second year, he consequently united all the ardour of youth, to the experience acquired in maturer life. It was impossible to contemplate the lineaments of his countenance, without instantly perceiving the indelible marks of genius. His features, in themselves dark, harsh, and saturnine, like those of Charles the Second, from whom he descended in the maternal line; derived nevertheless a sort of majesty, from the addition of two black and shaggy eye-brows, which sometimes concealed, but more frequently developed, the workings of his mind. Even these features, however seemingly repulsive, yet did not readily assume the expression of anger, or of enmity; whereas they frequently, and as it were naturally, relaxed into a smile, the effect of which became irresistible, because it appeared to be the index of a benevolent and complacent disposition.

His figure, broad, heavy; and inclined to corpulency, appeared destitute of all elegance or grace, except what was conferred on it by the emanations of intellect, which at times diffused over his whole person, when he was speaking, the most impassioned animation. In his dress, which had constituted an object of his attention, earlier in life, he had then become negligent, even to a degree not altogether excusable in a man, whose very errors or defects produced admirers and imitators. He constantly, or at least usually, wore in the House of Commons, a blue frock coat, and a buff waistcoat, neither of which seemed in general new, and sometimes appeared to be threadbare. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that these colours, like the white rose formerly worn by the adherents of the family of Stuart, then constituted the distinguishing badge or uniform of Washington and the American insurgents. In this dress he always took his seat, not upon the front opposition bench, but on the third row behind, close to that pillar supporting the gallery, which is nearest to the Speaker's chair. He

was not till 1782, or rather till the beginning of 1783, that with Lord North by his side, he first began to sit on the opposition bench, technically so denominated in ordinary language. I am sensible that these minute particulars are in themselves unimportant, but they nevertheless approximate and identify the object. And that object is Mr. Fox.

"His paternal descent was by no means illustrious, nor was the elevation of his family sufficiently instant, to shed over it that species of genealogical respect, only to be derived from the lapse of time. Collins, indeed, says, in his "*Peerage*," when treating of the barony of Holland, that "there were foxes in England before the Norman conquest." But, I have always understood that his grandfather, who rose to considerable eminence, and was created a baronet by the name of sir Stephen Fox; had been a chorister boy in the Cathedral of Salisbury, when in 1652 he accompanied lord Wilmot to France, after the defeat of Charles the second at the battle of Worcester. It has been maintained, and I have heard it asserted, that their names were originally Palafox; that they formed a branch of that noble Arragonese family, so distinguished in the present age, by the glorious defence of Saragossa; and that they first came into this country in 1588, when one of the Spanish Armada being stranded on our coast, the survivors, among whom was a Palafox, settled in England. I have however always regarded this story as a mere fable. Sir Stephen Fox, towards the end of a long life, during which he made great advances to honours and dignities, having married, became at seventy years of age, the father of two sons born at the same birth. These twins were both in 1815.

process of time elevated to the peerage; a fact which had antecedently been realized to a certain degree in the Cecil, as well as in the Herbert family, under James the first. Charles the first again exhibited it in the house of Rich; and we have since seen it exemplified in the families of Walpole, of Hood, and of Wellesley.

"While the elder son of sir Stephen Fox was created earl of Hchester, by George the second; the youngest, Henry, acquired a barony in the beginning of the present reign, by the title of lord Holland. He was unquestionably a man of very eminent attainments, possessing a classic mind, cultivated by study, adorned by travel, and illuminated by a taste for the elegant arts. But, he is better known in the political history of the late reign, where he performed a principal part in the ministerial, as well as parliamentary annals, till he sunk under the superior ascendant, sustained by the irresistible eloquence, of the first earl of Chatham. Of immeasurable ambition, and equally insatiable of wealth, lord Holland was enabled, by possessing the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces, which he held during several years in time of war, to accumulate an immense fortune. It was not however attained without great unpopularity and obloquy, which accompanied him to the grave; and exposed him to much, perhaps to unmerited, abuse or accusation. His moral character did not indeed stand as high in the national estimation, either in a public, or in a private point of view, as did his abilities. But he cemented the greatness of his family, by allying himself with the ducal house of Lenox.

"Of his three sons, lord Holland
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early perceived the extraordinary talents which nature had conferred on the second; and in the fond anticipation of that son's future political elevation, exhausted on his education every effort which might expand or mature his opening capacity. But, he adopted a vicious and dangerous principle, in ordering that the boy should neither be contradicted, nor punished, for almost any acts in his power to commit, of puerile misconduct or indiscretion. "Let nothing be done to break his spirit," said lord Holland; "the world will effect that business soon enough." When he made the tour of France and Italy, he was accompanied by a gentleman of eminent parts, Mr. Macartney; who afterwards, towards the close of a life passed in the public service, attained, himself, to the peerage. We may see, in the letters of Madame du Deffand to Horace Walpole, what species of impression Mr. Fox's endowments, and the sallies of his juvenile impetuosity, made on the minds of the Parisians. They seem to have considered him as a sort of Phenomenon, which dazzled and astonished, more than it pleased or delighted them. Before he attained fully to the age at which he could constitutionally vote, though he might speak, in parliament, his father procured him a seat in the House of Commons; and his talents, aided by his connexions, placed him towards the close of 1772, on the ministerial bench, as a member of the Board of Treasury. He occupied the situation about two years.

"This early association to Lord North's administration, might nevertheless be considered as an unfortunate circumstance in its results, since it involved him in the

unpopularity attached to various measures then adopted by the government, which subsequently led to a rupture with America. That even previous to his attainment or acceptance of office, he was considered by the enemies of administration, as a devoted partizan of ministry, in training for future desperate service, is evident from the manner in which "Junius" speaks of him. Writing to the duke of Grafton, in June, 1771, he says,— "In vain would he (the King) have looked round him for another character so consummate as yours. Lord Mansfield shrinks from his principles. His ideas of government perhaps go farther than your own, but his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding. Charles Fox is yet in blossom; and as for Mr. Wedderburn, there is something about him, which even treachery cannot trust." These ministerial fetters did not however long detain him in bondage. The sarcastic mode of expression chosen by lord North, to communicate Mr. Fox's dismission from the Treasury Board, is well known. "His Majesty," observed the first minister to some persons near him, "has named new commissioners of the Treasury, among whom I do not see the name of the hon. Charles James Fox." From that period, having inlisted under the banners of opposition, and being aided by the errors or misfortunes of the American war, he attained in the course of about six years to the highest eminence among the formidable body of men, who then opposed the measures of the crown.

"Pleasures of every description to which his constitution or inclinations impelled him, divided however with political pursuits, the early

early portion of his life; some of which, if fame reported truly, might have furnished matter for a new "Atalantis." It may be curious nevertheless, for those persons who only remember him either as a leading member of the minority, or in office as minister, to contemplate Mr. Fox when at the head of the Ton, who were then denominated "Macaronis." Mason describes, or produces him under that character, in the "Heroic Epistle to sir William Chambers," published, I believe, early in 1774. After enumerating, with vast felicity of humour and satire, the asiatic diversions supposed to be exhibited for the amusement of the British sovereign, he thus concludes: I cite by memory:

"But hark! The shouts of Battle sound from far!
The Jews and Macaronis are at war.
The Jews prevail, and thundering from the Stocks,
They seize, they bind, they circumcise Charles Fox.
Fair Schwellenbergen smiles the sport to see;
And all the Maids of Honour cry To he."

"Neither the pleasures of refinement, nor of licentious love, nor the social conviviality of the table, although he might occasionally indulge in each of those gratifications, constituted, however, his predominant passion. All his inclinations, from a very early age, seemed to be concentrated in a more fatal attachment to play. In the prosecution of that propensity, he had squandered prodigious sums before his father's decease, with which lord Holland's paternal fondness furnished him. To the same pursuit, or rather rage, he subsequently sacrificed a sinecure place of two thousand pounds a year for life, the clerkship of the pells in Ireland; of which he came into pos-

session by the demise of his elder brother, Stephen, in December, 1774. After holding it scarcely ten months, he sold it to Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since better known as earl of Liverpool; and he disposed in a similar manner, of a fine estate situated at Kinggate in the isle of Thanet. The office had been procured for him, as the estate had been bequeathed to him; by his father. We must confess that these scandalous irregularities of conduct, or rather vices of character, remind us more of Timon and of Alcibiades, than of Pericles, or Demosthenes.

"Fox played admirably both at Whist, and at Picquet; with such skill indeed, that, by the general admission of Brookes's club, he might have made four thousand pounds a year, as they calculated, at those games, if he would have confined himself to them. But, his misfortune arose from playing at games of chance, particularly at Faro. After eating and drinking plentifully, he sat down to the faro table, and inevitably rose a loser. Once indeed, and only once, he won about eight thousand pounds in the course of a single evening. Part of the money he paid away to his creditors, and the remainder he lost again, almost immediately, in the same manner. The late Mr. Boothby, so well known during many years in the first walks of fashion and dissipation; himself an irreclaimable gamester, and an intimate friend of Fox; yet appreciated him with much severity, though with equal truth. "Charles," observed he, "is unquestionably a man of first-rate talents, but so deficient in judgment, as never to have succeeded in any object during his whole life. He

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loved only three things; women, play, and politics. Yet, at no period, did he ever form a creditable connexion with a woman. He lost his whole fortune at the gaming-table; and, with the exception of about eleven months, he has remained always in opposition." It is difficult to dispute the justice of this portrait. Perhaps we might add, that towards the close of his career, he emulated the distinction of an historian; in the pursuit of which object he made great efforts, and with a view to facilitate it, he appears principally to have undertaken his journey to Paris in 1802. Whether he succeeded better than in the former attempts, posterity will determine: but he would certainly have attained a more elevated place in the temple of historic fame, by imitating the line of Xenophon or of Sallust, who commemorated the transactions of their own times, than by taking Livy for a model.

"Before he attained his thirtieth year, he had completely dissipated every shilling that he could either command, or could procure by the most ruinous expedients. He had even undergone at times, many of the severest privations annexed to the vicissitudes that mark a gamester's progress; frequently wanting money to defray his common diurnal wants, of the most pressing nature. Topham Beauclerk, himself a man of pleasure and of letters, who lived much in Fox's society at that period of his life, used to affirm, that no man could form an idea of the extremities to which he had been driven, in order to raise money, after losing his last guinea at the faro table. He has been reduced for successive days, to such distress, as to be under a necessity

of having recourse to the waiters of Brookes's club, to lend him assistance. The very chairmen, whom he was unable to pay, used to dun him for their arrears. All dignity of character, and independence of mind, must have been lost amidst these scenes of ruinous dissipation. In 1781, he might however be considered as an extinct volcano; for the pecuniary aliment that had fed the flame was long consumed. Yet he then occupied a house or lodgings in St. James's-street, close to the club at Brookes's, where he passed almost every hour which was not devoted to the House of Commons; and during lord North's administration, parliament usually remained sitting, with short adjournments, from November till July. That club might then be considered as the rallying point and rendezvous of the opposition; where, while faro, whist, and suppers prolonged the night, the principal members of the minority in both houses met, in order to compare their information, or to concert and mature their parliamentary measures.

"Nature, besides the extraordinary endowments of mind which she conferred on Fox, had given him likewise a constitution originally capable of prodigious exertion. But he had early impaired his bodily powers, by every excess, added to the most violent mental agitations. These acts of imprudence had produced their inevitable consequences, though for some time counteracted by youth, or obviated by medical aid. As early as 1781, Mr. Fox was already attacked with frequent complaints of the stomach and bowels, attended by acute pain; to moderate the symptoms of which, he usually had recourse to Laudatum. The strong-

set frame must indeed have sunk under such physical and moral exhaustion, if he had allowed himself no interval of relaxation or repose. But happily, his passion for some of the amusements and sports of the country, almost rivalled his attachment to the gaming-table. No sooner had the shooting season commenced, than he constantly repaired to Norfolk. Lord Robert Spencer generally accompanied him; and after visiting various friends, they sometimes hired a small house in the town of Thetford, rose at an early hour, and passed the whole day with a fowling-piece in their hands, among coveys of partridges and pheasants, for successive weeks, during the autumn. These salutary occupations never failed of restoring the health that he had lost in St. James's-street, and in the House of Commons.

"Nor did the rage for play ever engross his whole mind, or wholly absorb his faculties. Nature had implanted in his bosom many elevated inclinations, which, though overpowered and oppressed for a time, yet, as he advanced in life, continually acquired strength. If ambition formed the first, the love of letters constituted the second, of these passions. When he contemplated the extent of his own talents, and compared them with those of lord North, or of every other individual in either House of Parliament; it was impossible for him not to perceive the moral certainty of his attaining by perseverance, in the course of a few years, almost any public situation to which he might aspire. In the possession and enjoyment of power, he necessarily anticipated the recovery of that independence which he had

sacrificed at the gaming-table; as well as the means of recompensing the zealous friendship or devotion of his numerous adherents.

"No man in public life ever possessed more determined friends, or exercised over them a more unbounded influence; though he was by no means as tractable and amenable to reason or to entreaty on many occasions, as the apparent suavity of his disposition seemed to indicate. Even interest could not always bend him to a compliance with its dictates, nor expostulation induce him to pay the most ordinary attention to persons who had materially served him. In 1784, at the election of a member for Westminster, which was very obstinately contested; Horace Walpole, afterwards earl of Orford, whose age and delicate health prevented him from almost ever leaving his own house; yet submitted to be carried in a sedan chair, from Berkeley square, to the hustings in Covent-garden, to vote for him. But, no remonstrances could prevail on Fox to leave his name at Mr. Walpole's door, though he passed it continually, in his morning walks. Hare himself, who was one of his most favoured associates, vainly exerted every effort to make him say a few civil words to a lady of quality, by whom he was seated at supper in a great public company, met expressly to celebrate the success of his election: a success, to which, that lady, as he knew, had contributed by every means in her power; and who, as her reward, only aspired to attract his notice or attention for a few minutes. He turned his back on her, and would not utter a syllable. Hurt at Fox's neglect, Hare, who sat nearly opposite to him, and who was accustomed to treat him with

with the utmost freedom, took out a pencil, wrote three lines, and pushed the paper across the table to his friend. The lines I shall not transcribe, as they were too energetic, or rather, coarse, to allow of their insertion: but they adjured Fox, (in language as strong as Mæcenas used to Augustus, when he wrote to the emperor, "Siste tandem, Carnifex!") to turn himself round towards the lady in question. He calmly perused the billet, and then, having torn it in small pieces, which he placed on the table; without appearing to pay any attention to Hare, he turned his back. if possible, still more decidedly on the person, in whose behalf the exposition was written. These facts were related to me by a nobleman who was present on the occasion.

"If ever an individual existed in this country, who from his natural bias, would have inclined to maintain in their fullest extent, all the just prerogatives of the crown; and who would have restrained within due limits, every attempt on the part of the people, to diminish its influence; we may assert that Fox was the man. The principles of his early education; the example and exhortations of his father, for whom he always preserved an affectionate reverence, which constituted a most pleasing feature of his character; his first political connexions;—all led him to the foot of the throne. He had tasted the comforts of office under lord North, and his very wants rendered indispensable a return to power. Nor, whatever moral disapprobation his private irregularities unquestionably excited in the breast of a sovereign, whose whole life was exempt from any breach of decency or decorum;

could those defects of conduct have formed any insurmountable impediment to his attainment of the highest employments. In point of fact, neither the duke of Grafton, whom "Junius" stigmatizes as "a libertine by profession;" nor the earls of Rochford and Sandwich, nor lord Weymouth, nor lord Barrington, nor lord Thurlow, had been distinguished by sanctity of manners, though they had all occupied the first situations in the state. Sir Francis Dashwood, who afterwards became premier baron of England, under the title of lord le Despenser, and whom lord Bute made chancellor of the exchequer in 1762, far exceeded in licentiousness of conduct, any thing exhibited since Charles the second. He had founded a society, denominated from his own name, "the Franciscans," who, to the number of twelve, met at Medmenham Abbey, near Marlow in Bucks, on the banks of the Thames. Wilkes was a member of this unholy fraternity, of which he makes mention in his letter to earl Temple, written from Bagshot, in September, 1762. Rites, of a nature so subversive of all decency, and calculated, by an imitation of the ceremonies and mysteries of the Roman Catholic church, to render religion itself an object of contumely, were there celebrated, as cannot be reflected on without astonishment. Sir Francis himself officiated as high priest, habited in the dress of a Franciscan monk; engaged in pouring a libation from a communion-cup, to the mysterious object of their homage. Churchill, in his poem of "The Candidate," has drawn him under this character, at Medmenham: but I cannot prevail on myself to cite the passage. Immorality, or
even

even profligacy, abstractedly considered, formed therefore, it is evident, no bar to employment under George the third.

"Fox's error arose, if not wholly, yet principally, from a different source. In the ardour of political opposition, stimulated perhaps by domestic wants of many kinds, finding himself so long excluded from office, and conscious that he was become personally obnoxious to the sovereign, by embracing the cause and the defence of his revolted subjects beyond the Atlantic; Fox did not always confine himself within a constitutional and temperate resistance to the measures of the crown. Mingling the spirit of faction with the principles of party; while he appeared only to attack the minister, he levelled many of his severest insinuations or accusations at the king. He consequently obstructed the attainment of the object, which lay within his grasp. As the American war drew towards its termination, he observed scarcely any measure in the condemnation which he expressed for the authors of the contest.

"When the new parliament met on the first day of November, 1780, and it was proposed in the address to the throne, that the House of Commons should acknowledge, "the sole objects of the king's royal care and concern, were to promote the happiness of his people;" words merely complimentary; Fox, rising in his place, exclaimed,—"We are called on to recognize the blessings of his majesty's reign. I cannot concur in such a vote, for I am not acquainted with those blessings. The present reign offers one uninterrupted series of disgrace, misfortune, and cala-

mity!" Only a few weeks afterwards, in January, 1781, when the debate on the Dutch war took place,—"The reign of Charles the second," observed Mr. Fox, "who twice engaged in hostilities with Holland, has been denominated an infamous reign: but, the evils inflicted on this country by the Stuarts, were happily retrieved by a revolution; while the ills of the present reign admit of no redress." He even proceeded to draw a sort of parallel, or rather contrast, of the most invidious description, between Catherine the second, and George the third; who having ascended the thrones of Russia and of Great Britain, nearly about the same time, had exhibited an opposite line of conduct; the former empire rising under Catherine, into eminence; while England governed by George, sunk into contempt.

"In November, 1779, he far exceeded even the foregoing remarks, when he did not hesitate to compare Henry the sixth, with his present majesty; and to assimilate their characters, qualities, and the disgraces of their respective reigns, as affording the most complete resemblance. "Both," he observed, "owed the crown to revolutions: both were pious princes, and both lost the acquisitions of their predecessor." The speeches of Fox, it must be owned, breathed a very revolutionary spirit, throughout the whole progress of the American war. Smarting under such reflections, the King began to consider the principles and the doctrines of Fox, as inseparably implicated with rebellion. From that instant, the splendor of his talents only enhanced the magnitude of his offence. His uncle, the duke
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of Richmond, who seemed to emulate the same distinction, and who indulged himself in remarks equally severe on the supposed interference of the crown in perpetuating the struggle, might find pardon in the mediocrity of his abilities. But, Fox's fault necessarily inspired deeper feelings of resentment, and may be said to have eminently contributed to the misfortunes of his political life.

"Amidst the wildest excesses of youth, even while the perpetual victim of his passion for play, his elegant mind eagerly cultivated at intervals, a taste for letters. His education had made him early acquainted with the writers of Greece and Rome, historical, as well as philosophical and poetical. The beauties of Horace, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Cicero, which were familiar to him, seemed always to present themselves to his memory, without an effort. When speaking in parliament, he knew how to avail himself of their assistance, with a promptitude and facility that it is difficult to imagine. Burke himself was not his superior on this point. So well had he been grounded in classic knowledge, that he could read the Greek, no less than the Roman historians, as well as poets, in the original; and however extraordinary the fact may appear, he found resources in the perusal of their works, under the most severe depressions occasioned by ill success at the gaming table. Topham Beauclerk, whom I have already had occasion to mention, and who always maintained habits of great intimacy with Fox; quitted him one morning at six o'clock, after having passed the whole preceding night together at faro. Fortune had been most unfavourable

to Fox, whom his friend left in a frame of mind approaching to desperation. Beauclerk's anxiety respecting the consequences which might ensue from such a state of agitation, impelled him to be early at Fox's lodgings; and on arriving, he enquired, not without apprehension, whether he was risen. The servant replying that Mr. Fox was in the drawing-room, he walked up stairs; and cautiously opening the door, where he expected to behold a frantic gamester stretched on the floor, bewailing his misfortunes, or plunged in silent despair; to his equal astonishment and satisfaction, Beauclerk discovered him intently engaged in reading a Greek Herodotus. "What would you have me do," said he, "I have lost my last shilling!" Such was the elasticity, suavity, and equality of disposition that characterized him; and with so little effort did he pass from profligate dissipation, to researches of taste or literature. After staking and losing all that he could raise, at faro; instead of exclaiming against fortune, or manifesting the agitation natural under such circumstances, he has been known to lay his head on the table; and retaining his place, but, extenuated by fatigue of mind and body, almost immediately to fall into a profound sleep.

"Mr. Fox was not only conversant with the works of antiquity: modern history, polite letters, and poetry, were equally familiar to him. Few individuals were better instructed in the annals of their own country. Having travelled, when young, over France and Italy, he had studied the finest productions of those countries, so fertile in works of genius, at the fountain-

fountain-head. Davila and Guicciardini, he read in the original. Danté, Ariosto, and Tasso, constituted the frequent companions of his leisure hours, whom he perused with delight; and the beautiful pages of which authors, as he proceeded, he constantly marked with his own hand. For the poem of the "*Orlando Furioso*," I know that he expressed great partiality. Nor was he devoid himself of some portion of poetic talent, as many compositions of his pen which remain, sufficiently attest; though, for ease, delicacy, and playful satire, he could not stand a competition in that branch of accomplishment, with his friend and companion, colonel Fitzpatrick. The verses, or epigram, written on Gibbon's accepting the employment of a lord of trade, in 1779, beginning,

" King George in a fright,
Lest Gibbon should write
The history of England's disgrace;
Thought no way so sure
His pen to secure,
As to give the Historian a Place ;"

" I have always understood to be from Fox's pen, though it is disowned by Lord Holland, as " certainly not his uncle's composition." I know however, that some years afterwards, when his effects were seized for debt, and sold, a set of Gibbon's "*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*," in the first leaf of which, Fox had with his own hand inserted the Stanzas in question; produced a very considerable sum, under the belief or conviction that he was their author.

" Fox conversed in French, nearly with the same purity and facility, as he did in English; writing in that language not less

correctly, nor with less elegance. A man of his high birth and connexions, possessing qualifications so rare, independent of his parliamentary abilities, seemed to be pointed out by nature, for the superintendence of the foreign department of state. Those persons who anticipated the fall of lord North's administration, already imagined that they beheld Mr. Fox in that situation, for which talents and education had evidently designed him. Yet, after contemplating the portrait which I have here sketched, and which, I imagine, even his greatest admirers will admit to do him no injustice; it is for impartial posterity to determine, whether, on full examination of his merits and defects, George the third may be considered as most deserving of approbation or of blame, in never having at any period of his reign, voluntarily called Mr. Fox to his counsels. If energy of mind, enlargement of views, firmness of character, amenity of manners, acquaintance with foreign courts and languages, facility in conducting business, and prodigious intellectual powers, combining eloquence, application, as well as discernment;—if these endowments are considered as forming an incontestable claim to public employment, unsustained by moral qualities, or by property; we must condemn the sentence of exclusion passed upon him. Those persons, on the other hand, who consider all talent, however eminent, as radically defective, unless sustained by decorum, and a regard for opinion; as well as all who prefer sobriety of conduct, regularity of deportment, and the virtues of private life, above any ability which nature can bestow on man;—lastly, all who regard judgment, under

under the controul of strict principle, as the most indispensable requisite of a minister, to whom the public honour and felicity are in some measure necessarily entrusted;—such persons will probably

hesitate before they decide too hastily, on the degree of censure or of commendation, which the King's conduct towards Fox ought to excite in our minds."

[ANECDOTES AND CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.]

[From the same.]

THE champion wanted by the crown, and who seemed to be made for the conjuncture, presented himself in Pitt. His name, rendered illustrious by his father; the decorum of his manners, so opposed to those of Fox; even his very youth, which should have operated against him, appeared to recommend him to national favor. The King availed himself of these aids, to overwhelm the "coalition" under the ruins of the fortress which they had constructed, and fondly deemed inassailable. Only time was still wanting, in order to awaken and to animate the nation at large; which, not yet fully informed upon all the points of Fox's bill, required to be roused into exertion, before the last address should be made to them as electors. Pitt, with a judgment beyond his years, instead of prematurely dissolving the House of Commons, as a man of meaner talents, or of less resource, would have done; undertook the experiment of endeavouring first to conciliate, or to convince, the majority; thus allowing the popular sentiment full leisure to expand, and finally to overpower all resistance: while he reserved for

the proper moment, whenever it should be thoroughly matured, his final appeal to the country, by a dissolution. Such was the real state of affairs in the last days of December, 1783, at the time when Pitt, contrary to all precedent, and under apparent difficulties the most insurmountable, ventured to accept the reins of government.

"It forms an object of the most natural curiosity, minutely to survey him at this critical period of his life. He was not then much more than twenty-four years and a half old, and consequently had not attained the age, at which many individuals, under the testamentary dispositions of their parents, are still legally considered to be in a state of tutelage or minority. In the formation of his person he was tall and slender, but without elegance or grace. His countenance, taken as a whole, did not display either the fine expression of character, or the intellect of Fox's face, on every feature of which, his mind was more or less forcibly depicted. It was not till Pitt's eye lent animation to his other features, which were in themselves tame, that they lighted up, and became strongly

strongly intelligent. Fox even when quiescent, could not be mistaken for an ordinary man. In his manners, Pitt, if not repulsive, was cold, stiff, and without suavity or amenity. He seemed never to invite approach, or to encourage acquaintance; though, when addressed, he could be polite, communicative, and occasionally gracious. Smiles were not natural to him, even when seated on the treasury bench; where, placed at the summit of power, young, surrounded by followers, admirers, and flatterers, he maintained a more sullen gravity than his antagonist exhibited, who beheld around him only the companions of his political exile, poverty, and privations. From the instant that Pitt entered the doorway of the House of Commons, he advanced up the floor with a quick and firm step, his head erect and thrown back, looking neither to the right nor to the left; nor favouring with a nod or a glance, any of the individuals seated on either side, among whom many who possessed five thousand a year, would have been gratified even by so slight a mark of attention. It was not thus that lord North or Fox treated parliament; nor from them, would parliament have so patiently endured it: but Pitt seemed made to command, even more than to persuade or to convince, the assembly that he addressed.

"In the flower of youth when he was placed at the head of administration, he manifested none of the characteristic virtues or defects usually accompanying that period of life. Charles the twelfth, king of Sweden, could not have exhibited more coldness, indifference, or apathy towards women; a point of his character on which his ene-

mies dwelt with malignant, though impotent, satisfaction: while his friends laboured with equal pertinacity to repel the imputation. To him the opposition applied, as had been done to his father, the description given of a Roman youth:

"*Multa tulit, sectique Puor; undavit et alaj;*
"*Abstulit Venere*"

"In order to justify him from such a supposed blank in his formation, his adherents whispered, that he was no more chaste than other men, though more decorous in his pleasures; and they asserted that he made frequent visits to a female of distinguished charms, who resided on the other side of Westminster bridge: but I never could learn from any of them, her name or abode. Pitt's apparent insensibility towards the other sex, and his chastity, formed indeed, one of the subjects on which the minority exhausted their wit, or rather their malevolence; as if it had been necessary that the first minister of George the third should be, like the chancellor of Charles the second, "the greatest libertine in his dominions." I recollect, soon after Pitt became confirmed in power, his detaining the House of Commons from the business of the day, during a short time, while he went up to the House of Lords; and as Mrs. Siddons was to perform the part of "Belvidera" that evening, when Fox never failed, if possible, to attend in the orchestra at Drury-lane, the opposition impatiently expected Pitt's return, in order to propose an adjournment. As soon as the door opened, and he made his appearance, one of them, a man of a classic mind, exclaimed,

"*Jam redit et Virgo!*"

"If

"If, however, the minister viewed women with indifference, he was no enemy to wine, nor to the social conviviality of the table. His constitution, in which a latent and hereditary gout early displayed itself; which disorder, heightened by political distress, domestic and foreign, carried him off at forty-seven; always demanded the aid and stimulus of the grape. It was not therefore in him, so much a gratification or an indulgence, as a physical want, though he unquestionably yielded to its seductions, without making any great effort at resistance; resembling in this respect, a distinguished consular character of antiquity, relative to whose virtue Horace says,

"*Narratur et Prisci Catonis,
Sæpe Mero caluisse, Virtus.*"

"In the autumn of 1784, he had indeed nearly fallen a victim to one of those festive meetings, at which no severe renunciations were enjoined by the host, or practised by the guests. Returning by way of frolic, very late at night, on horseback, to Wimbledon, from Addiscombe, the seat of Mr. Jenkinson, near Croydon, where the party had dined, lord Thurlow, then chancellor, Pitt, and Dundas, found the turnpike gate situate between Tooting and Streatham, thrown open. Being elevated above their usual prudence, and having no servant near them, they passed through the gate at a brisk pace, without stopping to pay the toll; regardless of the remonstrances or threats of the turnpike man, who running after them, and believing them to belong to some highwaymen, who had recently committed depredations on that road, discharged the

contents of his blunderbuss at their backs. Happily he did no injury. To this curious and narrow escape of the first minister, which furnished matter of pleasantry, though perhaps not of rejoicing, to the opposition, allusion is made in the "rolliad;"

"How as he wander'd darkling o'er the plain,
His reason lost in Jenkinson's Campaign,
A peasant's hand, but that just Fate withstood,
Had shed a Premier's, for a robber's blood."

"Probably, no man in high office, since Charles the second's time, drank harder than Pitt's companions; as, in addition to the individuals already named, we should not omit the duke of Rutland and lord Gower, neither of whom professed or practised mortification. Once, and once only, the House of Commons witnessed a deviation from strict sobriety in the first minister and the treasurer of the navy; who having come down after a repast, not of a Pythagorean description, found themselves unable to manage the debate, or to reply to the arguments of the minority, with their accustomed ability. No illiberal notice or advantage was however taken of this solitary act of indiscretion. The House broke up, and it sunk into oblivion. Fox never subjected himself, either in, or out of office, to similar comments. He was always fresh; but, the treasury bench, under the coalition ministry, had not wanted some noble advocates for the quick circulation of the bottle.

"Pitt, at his coming into office, was soon surrounded by a chosen phalanx of young men who participated in his triumph, pressed near him on a day of expected debate, and constituted the resource of his
leisure

leisure hours. Powis, when describing about this time, "the forces led by the right honourable gentleman on the treasury bench," in his speech of the 9th of March, 1784, only a few days previous to the dissolution of parliament; said, "The first may be called his body guard, composed of light young troops, who shoot their little arrows with amazing dexterity, against those who refuse to swear allegiance to their chief." High birth, personal devotion, and political connexion, more than talents, formed the ordinary foundation of the minister's partiality for those distinguished individuals; most of whom, with only one exception, we have since seen elevated to the peerage, or loaded with preferments and sinecure appointments. In general, the duke de Montausier's observation to Louis the fourteenth, when speaking of Versailles, "*Vous avez beau faire, Sire, vous n'en ferez jamais qu'un favori sans m rite;*" might well apply to them. With Fox's associates and comrades, Hare, Fitzpatrick, and Sheridan, they could sustain no competition for mental endowments. Lord Grenville, then Mr. William Grenville, must not however be included in this remark. His near connexion with the first minister, by consanguinity, when added to his distinguished abilities, placed him on far higher ground. As little will the observation apply to lord Mornington, since created Marquis Wellesley; to the present earl of Harrowby, then Mr. Ryder; or to Wilberforce; all three, men of undisputed talents.

"In suavity of temper, magnanimity of disposition, and oblivion of injury or offence, Fox rose superior to Pitt. Even Dundas pos-

sessed far more liberality of character, as he manifested on many occasions. I have heard Fox, after dealing out the severest insinuations or accusations against lord North, when that nobleman was at the head of the treasury, towards the end of the American war; on being convinced that he had exceeded the fair limits of parliamentary attack, or had deviated into personal abuse, explain, retract, and apologize for his violence or indecorum. Mr. Pitt, though he rarely committed such a breach of propriety, and was more measured in his censure or condemnation, seldom, if ever, made concession. He even tried, at an early period of his ministerial career, to overbear Sheridan, by making sarcastic allusion to the theatrical employments or dramatic avocations of that eminent member, as forming a more appropriate object of his attention, than parliamentary declamation and pursuits: allusions, which, however classic the language in which they were couched, might be justly deemed illiberal in their nature. But, Sheridan, with admirable presence of mind, turned against him his own weapons; leaving behind him the impression of his genius, drawn from the very key on which Pitt had pressed, when he applied to the first minister the denomination of the "angry boy," with which Ben Jonson furnished him on the instant.

"In classic knowledge and acquirements of every kind, as drawn from Greek and Roman sources, Pitt and Fox might fairly dispute for pre-eminence; but the latter left his rival far behind, in all the variety of elegant information derived from modern history, poetry, and foreign languages. We ought not, indeed,

indeed, to be surprized at this superiority, if we recollect that Fox was above ten years older than Pitt; that he nourished a much stronger natural attachment to polite letters, and enjoyed infinitely more leisure for its indulgence. Pitt, as far as my means of information ever enabled me to form a judgment, possessed comparatively small general acquaintance with those authors, which furnish the libraries of men of taste and science. How indeed, we may ask, should he ever have attained it? Several months before he completed his twenty-second year, he found himself with a very slender fortune, placed in the House of Commons, which situation opened to his aspiring and ambitious mind, the most brilliant prospects of elevation. From that period, if we except the prorogation of 1781;—for in 1782, he was chancellor of the exchequer, and in 1783, he visited the continent;—what portion of time could he devote to literary pursuits or accomplishments? Near seven years later than the period of which I speak, in the autumn of the year 1790, when it was expected that a rupture would have taken place between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, respecting the affair of Nootka Sound; conversing with him on the subject of the Spanish possessions lying along the shore of the Pacific ocean, he owned that he not only never had read, but, he assured me, he never had heard of commodore Byron's narrative of his shipwreck in the "Wager," on the coast of Patagonia:—a book to be found in every circulating library. But, on the other hand, the rapidity and facility with which he acquired, digested, and converted to purposes of utility, his knowledge, was alto-

gether wonderful. With the French language he was grammatically conversant; but, at twenty-five, he spoke it imperfectly, and wrote in it without freedom or facility, though he subsequently improved in these particulars. I repeat it, as a secretary of state for the foreign department, he could have sustained no competition with Fox, in all the branches of solid, or of ornamental attainment, that qualify for such a situation.

"It is not easy to decide relative to their respective superiority in eloquence. Fox's oratory was more impassioned: Pitt's could boast greater correctness of diction. The former exhibited, while speaking, all the tribunitian rage: the latter displayed the consular dignity. But, it must not be forgotten that the one commonly attacked, while the other generally defended; and it is more easy to impugn or to censure, than to justify measures of state. Had they changed positions in the House, the character of their speeches would doubtless have taken a tinge, though it would not have been radically altered, by such a variation in their political destiny. From Fox's finest specimens of oratory, much, as it appeared to me, might have been taken away, without injuring the effect, or maiming the conclusion. To Pitt's speeches nothing seemed wanting, yet was there no redundancy. He seemed, as by intuition, to hit the precise point, where, having attained his object, as far as eloquence could effect it, he sat down. This distinctive and opposite characteristic of the two men arose, partly at least, from an opinion or principle which Fox had adopted. He calculated that one-third of his audience was always either absent, or

at dinner, or asleep, and he therefore usually made a short resumption or epitome of his arguments, for the benefit of this part of the members. So that, after speaking at great length, and sometimes apparently summing up, as if about to conclude; whenever he saw a considerable influx of attendance, he began anew: regardless of the impatience manifested on the part of those, whose attention was already exhausted by long exertion. Pitt never condescended to avail himself of such a practice; neither lengthening his speeches, nor abbreviating them, from any considerations, except the necessity of fully developing his ideas. Indeed, so well was the relative proportion of time generally taken up by the two speakers, known to the old members, that they calculated, whenever Fox was three hours on his legs, Pitt replied in two. In all the corporeal part of oratory, he observed likewise more moderation and measure than Fox; who on great occasions, seemed like the Pythian priestess, "to labour with the inspiring God," and to dissolve in floods of perspiration. The minister, it is true, became sometimes warmed with his subject, and had occasionally recourse to his handkerchief: but, rather in order to take breath, or to recall his thoughts, by a momentary pause, than from physical agitation.

"A vital defect in Pitt's composition as a man, must be esteemed his want of economy: it was hereditary, constitutional, and insurmountable. The great earl of Chatham, his father, had to contend with the same deficiency; and never understood, as lord Holland had done, the art of accumulating

a fortune. But, the first Mr. Pitt, besides the lucrative sinecure of the privy seal, which he held during several years, enjoyed the estate of Burton Pynsent in the county of Somerset, bequeathed to him by sir William Pynsent; together with a pension of three thousand pounds a year, bestowed on him by the crown. None of these possessions however descended to his second son, whose whole patrimonial inheritance amounted, I believe, only to five thousand pounds; and it never received any ostensible augmentation, except a legacy of three thousand pounds, bequeathed him in October, 1787, by the duke of Rutland. We may therefore be enabled, with these data, to form some idea of the elevation of Pitt's mind, his contempt of money, and his disregard of every selfish or interested object; when, on sir Edward Walpole's decease in January, 1784, he disdained to take the clerkship of the Pells in the exchequer, though, as the head of that department, he might have conferred it on himself; though lord Thurlow pressed him not to reject such a fair occasion of rendering himself independant; and though every man in the kingdom must have approved the act, on an impartial survey of his situation. For he might not have retained his official employments a single week. Perhaps it is to be regretted that he should have made such a sacrifice of private interest to glory: but it operated throughout his whole life, and even beyond the grave, by its effect on parliament and on the nation. Antiquity cannot exhibit any more shining instance of disinterestedness, either drawn from Theban and Athenian story, or
from

from the consular ages of Rome. Juvenal's observation on human nature,

"*Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
Præmia si tollas?*"

did not seem to apply to Pitt. Possibly, however, on a deep estimate, he found even his pecuniary recompense in this noble act of renunciation. The House of Commons would hardly have bestowed the posthumous marks of solid admiration and respect, which they voted in 1806, on any minister who had enjoyed, during two and twenty years, a sinecure place of three thousand pounds per annum, in addition to his official emoluments.

"The salaries annexed to the place of first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, even though unaided by any private fortune, yet undoubtedly, with prudent management, might have been found adequate to Pitt's expenditure. But, unsupported by economy, they proved wholly insufficient for the purpose. When he was appointed first minister, his youngest sister, lady Harriet Pitt, resided with him, and superintended his establishment in Downing street. She possessed in addition to other eminent intellectual endowments, that quality which her father and brother wanted; and so long as she personally controlled his domestic affairs, I have been assured that they were restrained within very reasonable limits. Unfortunately for him, in September, 1785, within two years after he came into power, lady Harriet gave her hand to Mr. Elliot, who became lord Elliot on his father's demise; and subsequent to her marriage, Pitt's pecuniary con-

cerns fell into the utmost disorder. Debts accumulated; and it was commonly asserted, that the collectors of the taxes found more difficulty in levying them from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, than from almost any other inhabitant of Westminster. Even tradesmen's bills were said to be frequently paid, not in money, but, by ordering new articles, and thus augmenting the pressure of the evil itself.

"It was not till 1792, on the earl of Guildford's decease, that Mr. Dundas having learnt the intelligence, and knowing his friend's disinterestedness, hurried to St. James's, went into the closet, and asked of his Majesty the place of lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, for Pitt; which office the King immediately conferred on him, though it had been previously intended by the sovereign, as I know, for the late duke of Dorset. Such was the superiority of the first minister's mind, to every object of personal emolument or acquisition, that he disdained to ask any reward, even from the prince whom he had so long and so efficaciously served. For my knowledge of this curious and interesting fact, I am indebted to the right honourable William Dundas, nephew to the late lord Melville, whose authority on such a point, is superior to all contradiction. The salary, which in Mr. Pitt's person was rendered nominally three thousand five hundred pounds a year, might have formed a very handsome addition to his income: but, the necessary deductions of many kinds, to be made from that sum; the expenses which he incurred in altering or embellishing Walmer castle; and more than both, his facility or liberality in granting small pensions to inva-

lided or aged artificers, of various descriptions, belonging to the Cinque Ports;—these combined causes reduced the real receipt below half its ostensible amount. Yet when he went out of office in 1801, loaded with debts, he possessed no other independent means of subsistence. It is indeed true, that as early as 1790, he had been elected master of the Trinity House; but I have always considered that appointment, though honourable, as unproductive of any pecuniary emolument. When we reflect on the circumstances here enumerated, we may regret, but we cannot wonder, that after holding the reins of government, almost his whole life; and conferring so many dignities, as well as offices, during a period of near nineteen years; he should die not only poor, but, oppressed under a burthen of debt. Yet must we distinguish between a sort of virtuous, or at least venial poverty, if I may so express myself, caused by want of economy, in a man who devoted his exertions to the public service; and Fox's similar wants, produced by a rage for play, which not only reduced him from affluence to a state of dereliction, but finally compelled him to accept an eleemosynary contribution from his political and personal friends, in order to furnish him with the means of subsistence. It is unnecessary to contrast the two positions, or characters, which undoubtedly excite in our minds very opposite sensations, and awaken widely different degrees of moral censure or disapprobation.

"Pitt's great superiority to his antagonist, and his consequent ministerial success, flowed principally from two causes. The first was his admirable judgment. That in 1815.

telligence restrained his parliamentary exertions during the American war, and induced him, while heaping accusations on the ministers, to spare the king. I know that he received a hint, soon after he began to speak in the House of Commons, warning him to avoid that rock on which Fox had split, and to be cautious how he mentioned, or alluded to, the royal name. He did not despise the advice. The same superior intelligence impelled him, when lord North was driven from power, to refuse office under an administration, which, he foresaw, from its component materials, could only be of short duration. It dictated to him, to take the chancellorship of the exchequer under lord Shelburne; but it equally suggested to him, the impracticability of retaining the situation of first minister, when pressed by his majesty in March, 1783, to assume that high office, after the earl of Shelburne's resignation. In renouncing a situation so flattering to his pride and his ambition, though it lay within his grasp, he exhibited, when not twenty-four, the deepest and calmest discernment: for, if he had yielded to the wishes of the sovereign, it seems certain that he could not have maintained himself in power against Fox and lord North, who had not then committed any other act calculated to excite the public condemnation, except the mere approximation of their respective parliamentary adherents, and their own political union. Pitt, with consummate judgment, waited till the coalition had brought forward the "East India Bill," and could no longer recede, in order to profit of their indiscretion. He accepted in De-

ember, the employment, which, nine months earlier, he had wisely declined; exhibiting, on both occasions, equal ability: but he never associated lord Shelburne to his power, nor allowed him a place in the cabinet. His whole conduct, while struggling against Fox's majority in the House of Commons, during successive months, formed the triumph of paramount capacity, over imprudence and rapacious precipitation. If we were to pursue the comparison lower in Pitt's life, we should trace the same effects resulting from similar causes, during the critical conflict between him and Fox, in the winter of 1788; when the latter, instead of advising the heir apparent to accept the regency under any conditions, however severe, on which parliament might think proper to confer it during the king's malady, laid claim to it as a matter of right. The minister instantly perceived, and fastened like an eagle, on his adversary's error; which, by producing delay, happily allowed time for his majesty's recovery, and of course perpetuated the duration of Pitt's power.

"The second point that gave him an ascendant over Fox, arose from the correctness of his deportment, and regularity of life. This circumstance, which, under Charles the second, would have counted for little in the scale, operated with decisive effect under a prince such as George the third. Nor did it produce less beneficial results with the people at large. Some internal guarantee, drawn from moral character, high integrity, and indisputable rectitude of intention, seemed indeed necessary, in order to justify to the nation, the choice of the sovereign, when entrusting

to a young man, destitute of property, the finances and concerns of an empire, reduced by a long and disastrous war, to a state of great depression. Pitt had in fact no other stake to deposit, as a security for his good conduct, unless we take into our calculation, his possible reversion of the earldom of Chatham. He had likewise to contend with another deficiency. During the whole course of the eighteenth century, and I believe I may say, since the accession of Elizabeth, he is the only English first minister who lived and died in a state of celibacy. He was not therefore attached to the commonwealth by those endearing ties, which blend the statesman, with the husband and the father; thus giving a species of compound pledge for good conduct, to the country. Mr. Pelham, who presided over the councils of Great Britain during ten years, under George the second, was, it is true, like Pitt, only a younger son of a noble House; but his brother, the duke of Newcastle, might be justly considered as one of the greatest subjects in fortune, as well as in rank, to be found within the kingdom. Mr. Pelham, who married a daughter of the duke of Rutland, had likewise by her a numerous family, and possessed in his own person, considerable landed property.

"Even Fox, though he remained long unmarried, yet finally entered into that state; and he aspired to have done it much earlier in life, if his efforts for the purpose had not proved unsuccessful. During the early part of Hastings's trial, in 1787, he raised his eyes and hopes to the duke of Newcastle's box in Westminster hall, where usually sat Miss Pulteney, afterwards created
by

by Pitt, countess of Bath in her own right; then justly esteemed one of the greatest heiresses in the kingdom. After exhibiting his powers of oratory, as a public man, in the manager's box below, he sometimes ascended in his private capacity, to try the effect of his eloquence under the character of a lover. All his friends aided a cause, which, by rendering their chief independent in his fortune, would have healed the wounds inflicted by his early indiscretion. General Fitzpatrick usually kept a place for him, near the lady; and for some time the courtship assumed so auspicious an appearance, that I remember, Hare, when speculating on the probable issue of the marriage, said, with admirable humour, that "they would inevitably be duns, with black manes and tails:" alluding to the lady's fair complexion and red hair, contrasted with Fox's dark hue. The

affair nevertheless terminated, from whatever cause, without success. Pitt, though, at different periods of his life, he distinguished certain ladies, some of whom I could name, by marks of great predilection; and in one instance seemed even to meditate marriage, yet never persisted in the attempt: but his name, descent, abilities, and private character, surmounted every impediment to his elevation. Fox could no more have been placed at the head of the treasury, than Dean Swift could have been made archbishop of Canterbury; or than lord Bolingbroke under queen Anne, or the duke of Wharton under George the first, could have filled the office of first minister. He wanted, like them, an essential quality; high moral character. Of this deficiency he was, himself, sensible, and was said to have once, expressed his conviction of it, in laconic, but forcible terms."

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

GOLD PITS OF SHARONDO.

[From the Second Volume of Mr. PARK's Travels in Africa.]

JUNE 4th.—Early in the morning departed, and having passed the village Eercella, remarkable for a grove of large Sitta trees, about one o'clock arrived at Baniserile, and halted under a tree near the wells. This being his Majesty's birth day, pitched one of the tents, purchased a bullock and a calf for the soldiers: in the afternoon had them drawn up, and fired; and made it as much a day of festivity as our circumstances would permit; and though we were under the necessity of drinking his Majesty's health in water from our canteens, yet few of his subjects wished more earnestly for the continuance of his life and the prosperity of his reign.

"Baniserile is a Mahometan town; the chief man, Fodi Braheima, is one of the most friendly men I have met with. I gave him a copy of the New Testament in Arabic, with which he seemed very much pleased.

"June 5th.—Employed in purchasing rice, having received information that there was a great scarcity of that article to the east-

wards. Bought the rice both here and at Julifunda with small amber No. 5; and I found that though a scarcity existed almost to famine, I could purchase a pound of clean rice for one bead of amber, value 2d. sterling.

"Purchased three ass loads, and on the 6th purchased two ass loads more, making in all 750lb. of rice. This day one of our guide's people went away to purchase slaves at Laby in Foot-Julla, distant three long days travel. The people here assured me it was only three days travel from Badoo to Laby. Had a squall with thunder and rain during the night. As the loads were put into the tent, they were not wetted, but one of our carpenters, (old James,) who had been sick of the dysentery ever since we crossed the Nerico, and was recovering, became greatly worse. Observed mer. alt. of ☉ $161^{\circ} 8'$ latitude $13^{\circ} 35'$.

"Dentila is famous for its iron; the flux used for smelting the iron is the ashes of the bark of the Kino tree. These ashes are as white as flour: they are not used in dying
blue

blue, and must therefore have something peculiar in them. I tasted them: they did not appear to me to have so much alkali as the mimosa ashes, but had an austere taste. The people told me, if I eat them, I would certainly die.

"June 7th.—Departed early in the morning, and as the carpenter before mentioned was very weak, appointed two soldiers to stay by him, and assist him in the mounting, and to drive his ass. Four miles east of Baniserile came to the brow of a hill, from which we had an extensive prospect eastwards. A square looking hill, supposed to be the hill near Dindikoo, in Konkodoo, bore by compass due East.

"Shortly after crossed the bed of a stream running towards the Faleme river, called Samakoo on account of the vast herds of elephants which wash themselves in it during the rains.

"Saw their foot marks very frequently, and fresh dung. Heard a lion roar not far from us. This day the asses travelled very ill on account of their having eat fresh grass, as we supposed.

"Obliged to load the horses, and at noon halted at a large pool of water in the bed of the Samakoo, called Japanga.

"From the time of our crossing the Samakoo to our halting place, we travelled without any road; our guide being apprehensive that as there existed a war a little to the south, and the people were in arms; they might attempt to cut off some of the fatigued asses in our rear.

"In the afternoon resumed our march, and travelled without any road over a wild and rocky country. Obliged to leave two of the asses on the road, and load all the horses. We did not reach the wa-

tering place till quite dark, and were obliged to fire muskets frequently to prevent us from straying from each other.

"June 8th.—Early in the morning resumed our march, and about two miles to the east came to the brow of a hill, from whence we could distinguish the course of the Faleme river by the range of dark green trees which grew on its borders. The carpenter unable to sit upright, and frequently threw himself from the ass, wishing to be left to die. Made two of the soldiers carry him by force and hold him on the ass. At noon reached Madina, and halted by the side of the Faleme river; which at this season is a little discoloured by the rain, but not sensibly swelled. The general course of this river as pointed out by the natives is from the south-east quarter; the distance to its source is six ordinary days travel. The bed of the river here is rocky, except at the crossing place, where it is a mixture of sand and gravel. The river abounds in fish, some of them very large: we saw several plunge and leap that appeared to be so large as to weigh 60 or 70 lb. The velocity of the stream is about four knots per hour.

"In the afternoon got all the bundles carried over, and up the opposite bank, which very much fatigued the soldiers. When every thing was carried over, I found the carpenter still more weakly and apparently dying. I therefore thought it best to leave him at Madina till the morning following. Went to the village, and hired a hut for him for six bars of amber, and gave the Dooty four bars, desiring him to make some of his people assist the soldier (whom I left to take care of the sick person) in burying him, if he

he died during the night. In the evening went to Satadoo, which is only one mile east of the river. As there was great appearance of rain, put all the baggage into one, and slept on the top of the bundles, leaving the other tent for the soldiers. We had a heavy tornado with much thunder and lightning.

"June 9th.—In the morning the soldier, who had been left to take care of the sick man, returned; and informed us that he died at eight o'clock the preceding evening; and that with the assistance of the negroes he had buried him in the place where the people of the village bury their dead. Purchased corn for the asses, and a large bullock for the people; likewise one ass.

"Went into the town in the evening, and presented the Dooty with six bars, requesting a guide to Shrono, which he readily granted. Satadoo is walled round, and contains about three hundred huts: it was formerly much larger. Observed mer. alt. sun $160^{\circ} 6'$; observed mer. alt. Jupiter $116^{\circ} 36'$.

"Five of the soldiers, who did not go into the tent, but staid under the tree during the rain, complained much of head-ach and uneasiness at stomach.

"June 10th.—The soldiers still sickly. Left Satadoo at sun-rise: several of our canteens stolen during the night. This forenoon we travelled for more than two miles over white quartz, large lumps of which were lying all round; no other stone to be seen. Carried forwards a large skinful of water, being uncertain whether we should find any on the road. At eleven o'clock reached the bed of a stream flowing to the left, called Billala, where we found some muddy water.

"Resumed our journey at half past three o'clock, and travelled over a hard rocky soil towards the mountains: many of the asses very much fatigued. The front of the coffle reached Shrono at sunset; but being in the rear I had to mount one of the sick men on my horse, and assist in driving the fatigued asses: so that I did not reach the halting place till eight o'clock, and was forced to leave four asses in the woods. Shrono is but a small town. We halted as usual under a tree at a little distance; and before we could pitch one of the tents, we were overtaken by a very heavy tornado, which wet us all completely. In attempting to fasten up one of the tents to a branch of the tree, had my hat blown away, and lost. The ground all round was covered with water about three inches deep. We had another tornado about two o'clock in the morning.

"The tornado which took place on our arrival, had an instant effect on the health of the soldiers, and proved to us to be the beginning of sorrow. I had proudly flattered myself that we should reach the Niger with a very moderate loss; we had had two men sick of the dysentery; one of them recovered completely on the march, and the other would doubtless have recovered, had he not been wet by the rain at Banis-rile. But now the rain had set in, and I trembled to think that we were only half way through our journey. The rain had not commenced three minutes before many of the soldiers were affected with vomiting; others fell asleep, and seemed as if half intoxicated. I felt a strong inclination to sleep during the storm; and as soon as it was over I fell asleep on the wet ground, although I used every exertion

ation to keep myself awake. The soldiers likewise fell asleep on the wet bundles.

"June 11th.—Twelve of the soldiers sick. Went and waited on the Dooty, and presented him with five bars of amber, and two of beads, requesting his permission to go and look at the gold mines, which I understood were in the vicinity. Having obtained his permission, I hired a woman to go with me, and agreed to pay her a bar of amber if she would shew me a grain of gold. We travelled about half a mile west of the town, when we came to a small meadow spot of about four or five acres extent, in which were several holes dug resembling wells. They were in general about ten or twelve feet deep; towards the middle of the meadow spot the holes were deepest, and shallower towards the sides. Their number was about thirty, besides many old ones which had sunk down. Near the mouths of these pits were several other shallow pits, lined with clay, and full of rain water: between the mine pits and these wash pits laid several heaps of sandy gravel. On the top of each was a stone; some of the stones white, others red, others black, &c. These serve to distinguish each person's property. I could see nothing peculiar in this gravel; some silicious pebbles as large as a pigeon's egg, pieces of white and reddish quartz, iron, stone, and killow, and a soft friable yellow stone, which crumbled to pieces by the fingers, were the chief minerals that I could distinguish. Besides the above there was a great portion of sand, and a yellow earth resembling till.

"The woman took about half a pound of gravel with one hand from

the heap, which I supposed belonged to her; and having put it into a large calabash, threw a little water on it with a small calabash; which two calabashes are all that are necessary for washing gold. The quantity of water was only sufficient to cover the sand about one inch. She then crumbled the sand to pieces, and mixt it with the water; this she did not in a rotatory manner, but by pulling her hands towards herself. She then threw out all the large pebbles, looking on the ground where she threw them, for fear of throwing out a piece of gold. Having done this, she gave the sand and water a rotatory motion, so as to make a part of the sand and water fly over the brim of the calabash. While she did this with her right hand, with her left she threw out of the centre of the vortex a portion of sand and water at every revolution. She then put in a little fresh water, and as the quantity of sand was now much diminished, she held the calabash in an oblique direction, and made the sand move slowly round, while she constantly agitated it with a quick motion. I now observed a quantity of black matter, resembling gunpowder, which she told me was gold rust; and before she had moved the sand one quarter round the calabash, she pointed to a yellow speck, and said, *saneo affilli*, see the gold. On looking attentively I saw a portion of pure gold, and took it out. It would have weighed about one grain. The whole of the washing, from the first putting in of the sand till she shewed me the gold, did not exceed the space of two minutes. I now desired her to take a larger portion. She put in, as nearly as I could guess, about two pounds; and having

ing washed it in the same manner, and nearly in the same time, found no fewer than twenty-three particles; some of them were very small. In both cases I observed that the quantity of sanoc mira, or gold rust, was at least forty times greater than the quantity of gold. She assured me that they sometimes found pieces of gold as large as her fist. I could not ascertain the quantity of gold washed here in one year; but I believe it must be considerable, though they wash only during the beginning and end of the rains. Gold is sold here, and all along our route, by the *minkalli*: six *teelee kissi* (a sort of bean, the fruit of a large tree) make one *minkalli*: the weight of six *teelee kissi* is exactly 3 & 3/4. In Kaarta they use a small bean called *jabee kissi*, twenty-four of which make one *minkalli*; a *jabee kissi* weighs exactly four grains. In Kasso, twelve small tamarind stones make one *minkalli*, which I believe is the heaviest *minkalli* in this part of Africa. If gold is purchased with amber, one bead of No. 4 will, in almost all cases, purchase one *teelee kissi*: but it can be purchased with more advantage with beads of scarlet, and still more so with gunpowder. I did not purchase any; but our guide bought a considerable quantity, and I was present at all his bargain-makings.

"Went in the afternoon to see a brother of Karfa Taura's; he had a very large collection of Arabic books, and I made him quite happy by adding an Arabic Testament to the number.

"June 12th.—Left Shrondo early in the morning; the sick being unable to walk, I gave them all the horses and spare asses. Travelled slowly along the bottom of the

Konkodoo mountains, which are very steep precipices of rock, from eighty to two or three hundred feet high. We reached Dindikoo at noon; at which time it came on a tornado so rapidly, that we were forced to carry our bundles into the huts of the natives; this being the first time the coffin had entered a town since leaving Gambia. As soon as the rain was over, went with Mr. Anderson to see the gold pits which are near this town. The pits are dug exactly in the same manner as at Shrondo.

The notches in the side of the pit serve as a ladder to descend by. The gravel here is very coarse; some round stones larger than a man's head, and a vast number larger than one's fist were lying round the mouths of the pits, which were near twenty in number. Near the pits is a stream of water, and as the banks had been scraped away to wash for gold, I could distinguish a stratum of earth and large stones about ten feet thick, and under this a stratum of two feet of ferruginous pebbles about the size of a pigeon's egg, and a yellow and rusty-coloured sand and earth; under this a stratum of tough white clay. The rusty-coloured sand is that in which the gold is found. Saw plenty of the gold rust.

"When I returned from the gold pits, I went with Mr. Scott to go to the top of the hill, which is close to the town. The hill was very steep and rocky. The rocks (like all the hills in Konkodoo) are a coarse reddish granite, composed of red feldspar, white quartz, and black shorl; but it differs from any granite I have seen, in having round smooth pebbles, many of them as large as a cannon shot. These pebbles, when broken

broken, are granite, but of a paler colour and closer texture. The day was cool; but after fatiguing ourselves and resting six times, we found that we were only about half way to the top. We were surprised to find the hill cultivated to the very summits; and though the people of Dindikoo were but preparing their fields, the corn on the hill was six inches high. The villages on these mountains are romantic beyond any thing I ever saw. They are built in the most delightful glens of the mountains; they have plenty of water and grass at all seasons; they have cattle enough for their own use, and their superfluous grain purchases all their luxuries; and while the thunder rolls in awful grandeur over their heads, they can look from their tremendous precipices over all that wild and woody plain which extends from the Faleme to the Black River. This plain is in extent, from north to south, about forty miles: the range of hills to the south seem to run in the same direction as those of Konkodoo, viz. from east to west. There are no lions on the hills, though they are very numerous in the plain. In the evening Lieutenant Martyn fell sick of the fever.

"June 13th.—Early in the morning departed from Dindikoo. The sick occupied all the horses and spare asses; and as the number of drivers was thus diminished, we had very hard work to get on. Ten of the loaded asses and drivers went a different road. Mr. Anderson and Mr. Scott being with them, fired their muskets as soon as they observed that the guide was leading

them in a road where there were no asses' foot marks. Answered them; and sent the serjeant to their assistance. In half an hour they came up, having gone about three miles too much to the right. Reached a village almost deserted about one o'clock, and found the coffle halted by a stream to the east of it. Very uneasy about our situation: half of the people being either sick of the fever or unable to us great exertion, and fatigued in driving the asses. Found, to my great mortification, that the ass which carried the telescope and several other things, was not come up. Mr. Anderson, the serjeant, and our guide, rode back about five miles in search of it; but returned at half past three o'clock, without being able to find it. Presented the Dooty of the village with five bars of amber; requesting him, if he heard of it, to send it forward, and I would reward him for it. Put on the loads; and part of the coffle had departed, when one of the Dooty's sons came and told us that he had seen the ass, and brought it to the village. Went to the village, and paid the person who found it twenty bars, and the Dooty ten bars. Mounted the load on my horse, and drove it before me. I did not reach the Fankia till seven o'clock; having to walk slow, in order to coax on three sick soldiers who had fallen behind, and were for lying down under every tree they passed. Fankia is a small village, four miles north-west from Binlingalla. Here we departed from my former route, and did not touch on it again till we reached the Niger.

DIFFICULTIES IN JOURNEYING FROM THE GAMBIA TO THE NIGEL

[From the same.]

"AS soon as the men had finished their breakfast we set forwards, and about two miles east came to a narrow and deep creek, in which was a stream of muddy water. Crossed this with so much difficulty, that some were for calling it Vinegar Creek. About four o'clock passed the village of Boon-tonkooan, delightfully situated at the bottom of a steep and rocky hill. Two miles east of this we halted for the night at the village of Dooggi-kotta; where the cultivation is very extensive, and we had much difficulty in keeping our cattle off the corn. A tornado during the night.

"June 22d.—Halted till near ten o'clock, as there was great appearance of rain. William Roberts, one of the carpenters who had been sick since leaving Fajemmia, declared that he was unable to proceed, and signed a note that he was left by his own consent. Passed a small village about four miles to the east, and travelled on the ascent near a river course almost the whole day. We had a fine view of Kullalie, a high detached and square rocky hill, which we had seen ever since we left Fajemmia. This hill is quite inaccessible on all sides, and level and green on the top. The natives affirm that there is a lake of water on its summit, and they frequently go round the bottom of the precipices, during the rainy season, and pick up large turtles, which have tumbled over the precipice and

killed themselves. Saw many very picturesque and rocky hills during the march, and in the evening halted at the village of Faliting, which is situated on the summit of the ascent which separates the Ba lee from the Ba fing. Lost one ass, and 80lbs. of balls on the march.

"June 23d.—Early in the morning resumed our journey; and after travelling two hours on a level plain, bounded with high rocky precipices on our right and left, we descended slowly towards the east, and shortly came to the village of Gimbia, or Kimbia. I chanced to be in the rear, bringing on some asses which had thrown their loads; and when I came up I found all about the village wearing a hostile appearance, the men running from the corn grounds and putting on their quivers, &c. The cause of this tumult was, as usual, the love of money. The villagers had heard that the white men were to pass; that they were very sickly, and unable to make any resistance, or to defend the immense wealth in their possession. Accordingly when part of the coffle had passed the village, the people sallied out; and, under pretence that the coffle should not pass till the Dooty pleased, insisted on turning back the asses. One of them seized the serjeant's horse by the bridle to lead it into the village; but when the serjeant cocked his pistol and presented it, he dropped the bridle; others drove away the

asses with their loads, and every thing seemed going into confusion. The soldiers with great coolness loaded their pieces with ball, and fixed their bayonets: on seeing this the villagers hesitated, and the soldiers drove the asses across the bed of a torrent; and then returned, leaving a sufficient number to guard the asses.

"The natives collected themselves under a tree by the gate of the village, where I found the Dooty and Isaaco at very high words. On enquiring the cause of the tumult, Isaaco informed me that the villagers had attempted to take the loads from the asses. I turned to the Dooty, and asked him who were the persons that had dared to make such an attempt. He pointed to about thirty people armed with bows; on which I fell a laughing, and asked him if he really thought that such people could fight; adding, if he had a mind to make the experiment, they need only go up and attempt to take off one of the loads. They seemed by this time to be fully satisfied that they had made a vain attempt; and the Dooty desired me to tell the men to go forward with the asses. As I did not know but perhaps some of the sick might be under the necessity of returning this way, I thought it advisable to part on friendly terms; and therefore gave the Dooty four bars of amber, and told him that we did not come to make war; but if any person made war on us, we would defend ourselves to the last.

"Set forwards, and half a mile to the east descended into a rocky valley: many of the asses fell in going down the steep. About noon reached Sullo, an unwall'd village at the bottom of a rocky hill. Shortly after we halted Lieutenant

Martyn's horse died. This was a God send to the people of Sullo, who cut him up as if he had been a bullock, and had almost come to blows about the division of him; so much is horse-flesh esteemed in this place. Numbers of large monies on the rocks over the town.

"June 24th.—Left Sullo, and travelled through a country beautiful beyond imagination, with all the possible diversities of rock, sometimes towering up like ruined castles, spires, pyramids, &c. We passed one place so like a ruined Gothic abbey, that we halted a little, before we could satisfy ourselves that the niches, windows, ruined staircase, &c. were all natural rock. A faithful description of this place would certainly be deemed a fiction.

"Passed a hill composed of one homogeneous mass of solid rock (red granite) without a detached stone or blade of grass; never saw such a hill in my life. In the course of the march saw several villages romantically situated in the crescents formed by the rocky precipices; the medium height of these precipices is from one hundred to five or six hundred feet perpendicular. The whole country between the Ba fing and Ba lee is rugged and grand beyond any thing I have seen.

"We reached Secoba at noon. The Dooty of this town is Fajemia's younger brother. Presented him with goods to the amount of 50 bars; he was so much pleased that he said he would go with us till we had crossed the Ba fing, and see that the canoe people did not impose on us.

"June 25th.—Halted at Secoba, in order to refresh the sick; bought plenty of fowls and milk for them.
June

" June 26th.—Departed from Secoba, accompanied by the Dooty and several people. Hired three of the Dooty's friends, as guides to Kandy, in that district of Fooladoo called Gangaran. About seven miles east of Secoba came to the village of Konkromo, where we pitched our tents by the river side. The day was too far spent before we had agreed with the canoe people, and, as we could not possibly carry all the loads over, thought it best to wait till next morning.

" June 27th.—Early in the morning paid the canoe people 50 bars to carry over all our baggage and cattle, and likewise presented the Dooty of Secoba with some beads. Four canoes sufficient to carry only an ~~ass~~ load and an half at a time, were provided for this purpose. Sent over Mr. Anderson and six men with their arms to receive the loads from the canoes and carry them into the tents. The asses were made to swim over, one on each side of the canoe, two boys sitting in the canoe and holding them by the ears.

" At this place I had an opportunity of seeing their mode of smelting gold. Isaaco had purchased some gold in coming through Konkodoo, and here he had it made into a large ring. The smith made a crucible of common red clay and dried it in the sun: into this he put the gold, without any flux or mixture whatever; he then put charcoal under and over it, and blowing the fire with the common double bellows of the country, soon produced such a heat as to bring the gold into a state of fusion. He then made a small furrow in the ground, into which he poured the melted gold; when it was cold he took it up, and heating it again, soon hammered it into a square bar. Then

heating it again, he twisted it by means of two pairs of pincers into a sort of screw; and lengthening out the ends, turned them up so as to form a massy and precious ring.

" When the baggage and cattle were all transported over, I sent over the men, and embarked myself in the last canoe; but as one of the soldiers in the other canoe had gone out to purchase something, I made the canoe in which I was shove off, telling the men to come off the moment the man returned. I found it difficult to sit in the canoe so as to balance it, though it contained only three people besides the rower. We had just landed on the east bank when we observed the canoe, in which were the three soldiers, pushing off from the opposite bank. It shortly after overset, and though the natives from the shore swam in to their assistance, yet J. Cartwright was unfortunately drowned. The natives dived and recovered two of the muskets, and Cartwright's body; they put the body in the canoe and brought it over. I used the means recommended by the Humane Society, but in vain. We buried him in the evening on the bank of the river.

" The Ba fing is here a large river quite navigable; it is swelled at this time about two feet, and flows at the rate of three nots per hour. The people here are all thieves: they attempted to steal several of our loads, and we detected one carrying away the bundle in which was all our medicines. We could not sleep with the noise of the hippopotami, which came close to the bank and kept snorting and blowing all night. The night being clear, observed the emersion of Jupiter's second satellite; it emerged.

" June 28th.—Purchased an ~~ass~~ for

for four minkallis of gold, and a horse for forty-five bars. Set forwards about seven o'clock. After travelling four miles, the ass I had purchased lay down, and I found it impossible to raise him. Took off the load and left him. At ten o'clock came close to the bottom of a high rocky hill, which rises like an immense castle from the level plain: it is called Sankaree; and on enquiring about a large heap of stones near the foot of the precipice, I was told that the town of Madina, which was in the vicinity, was some years ago stormed by the Kaartans, and that the greater part of the inhabitants fled towards this hill. Some, however, were killed on the road, and these stones were collected over the grave of one of them. He said there were five more such near the hill, and that every person in passing, if he belongs to the same family or contong, thinks himself bound to throw a stone on the heap to perpetuate the memory of their friend. These heaps are precisely what in Scotland are called cairns. This hill is accessible only by one very narrow and difficult path. They assured me that there was abundance of water on the summit at all seasons, and that the huts built by the Madina people were still standing on the summit, though out of repair.

"At eleven o'clock crossed a stream, like a mill stream, running north. We halted on the east side of it: found that one of the asses with a load of beads had not come up. The soldier who drove it (Bloore), without acquainting any person, returned to look for it. Shortly after the ass and load were found in the woods. Sent the serjeant after Bloore on one of the horses; he rode back as far as San-

karee without seeing him, and concluded he had lost the path. He found one of the sick (Walter) who had wandered from the track (for there was no road); and had laid himself down among the bushes till some of the natives discovered him. Paid the natives ten bars of amber, and desired them to look for Bloore.

"In the afternoon collected the asses for marching. Had great difficulty in finding the horses, one of which, (the serjeant's), after all our search, could not be found. As it was in vain to wait for Bloore, put on the loads and departed. It is to be observed that there is no path-way in these woods, and we found much difficulty in keeping together: fired muskets frequently to give intimation of our line of march. After travelling about four miles, Shaddy Walter, the sick man before mentioned, became so exhausted that he could not sit on the ass. He was fastened on it, and held upright; he became more and more faint, and shortly after died. He was brought forwards to a place where the front of the coffin had halted, to allow the rear to come up. Here, when the coffin had set forwards, two of the soldiers with their bayonets, and myself with my sword, dug his grave in the wild desert; and a few branches were the only laurels which covered the tomb of the brave.

"We did not come up to the coffin till they had halted for the night near a pool of water shaded with ground palm-trees. Here I was informed that two of the soldiers were not come up; one (Baron) was seen about a mile from the halting-place; the other (Hill) was supposed to be three or four miles behind. Fired two muskets every quarter of an hour; one to call

call their attention, and the other about half a minute after to give the direction. At half past seven Hill came up, being directed entirely by the sound of the muskets. At eleven o'clock saw some lights in the woods, and heard people holla: in a little time five people came, bringing with them Bloore, the man who had gone in quest of the ass. He had gone back as far as the Black river, crossed it, and made signs to the people about the ass and the load. As they did not rightly understand him, they thought that some party had fallen on the coffle, and that this soldier had run away. They therefore came with him to see if they could come in for their share, or at least receive some reward for coming along with the man. Paid them ten bars of amber, and desired them to look for Baron, and I would give them ten bars more if they found him.

"June 29th.—At day-break fired muskets for Baron; and as it was evident he must have wandered from the track made by the asses, and it was in vain to look for him in so extensive a wilderness, at half past six o'clock loaded the asses and set out. Two more of the soldiers affected with the fever. Route in the morning rocky. Travelled twelve miles without halting, in order to reach a watering place. About two miles before we came to the watering place, Bloore, the soldier who had come up during the night, sat down under the shade of a tree; and when I desired him to proceed, he said he was rather fatigued, and when he had cooled himself, he would follow. I assured him that the halting place was only a very little way off, and advised him by all means not to fall asleep. We halted on an elevated table land: the wa-

ter was only rain collected in the hollow places of the rock. At half past four o'clock, as Bloore had not come up, I sent the serjeant on one of the horses to bring him forward; he returned at sun-set, having seen nothing of him, and having rode several miles past the place. I suspected that the serjeant might have rode past him asleep under the tree; I therefore got three volunteers to go with me, and look for him. It was now quite dark. We collected a large bundle of dry grass, and taking out a handful at a time, kept up a constant light, in order to frighten the lions, which are very numerous in these woods. When we reached the tree under which he lay down, we made a fire. Saw the place where he had pressed down the grass, and the marks of his feet: went to the west along the pathway, and examined for the marks of his feet, thinking he might possibly have mistaken the direction. Found none: fired several muskets. Hollowed, and set fire to the grass. Returned to the tree and examined all round; saw no blood, nor the foot marks of any wild beasts. Fired six muskets more. As any further search was likely to be fruitless, (for we did not dare to walk far from the track for fear of losing ourselves), we returned to the tents. One of Isasco's people shot an antelope in the evening, which more than supplied us all with meat. Much troubled in the night with wolves.

"June 30th.—Early in the morning set forwards, and descended from the table land into a more fertile plain. Vast numbers of monkeys on the rocks. Reached Kandy after a march of ten miles, all very much fatigued. This is but a small town; the large town having been taken

taken and burnt by Daisy's son about two years ago, and all the people carried away. Mr. Anderson and Mr. Scott sick of the fever.

" July 1st.—Covered a load of beads with the skin of the antelope. One of the bundles, containing all our small seed beads, stolen during the night; made all the search I could, but in vain: I could not recover it. As we were short of rice, and none could be purchased here, determined to push on as quick as possible; but the men were so very sickly, that I judged it imprudent to trust the baggage and asses without proper drivers. Employed in dividing the asses amongst the healthy men.

" July 2d.—Set forwards. Two more of the soldiers sick of the fever. When we had travelled about three miles, one of the soldiers (Roger M'Millan) became so delirious, that it was found impossible to carry him forwards. Left him at a village called Sanjeekotta. I regretted much being under the necessity of leaving him in the hour of sickness and distress, a man who had grown old in the service of his country. He had been thirty-one years a soldier, twelve times a corporal, nine times a serjeant; but an unfortunate attachment to the bottle always returned him into the ranks.

" We reached Koeena about three o'clock, all very much fatigued. I felt myself very sickly, having lifted up and reloaded a great many asses on the road. The village of Koeena is walled round, and is surrounded on three sides with rocky precipices. Had a severe tornado at seven o'clock, which put out the watch-fire, and made us all crowd into the tents. When

the violence of the squall was over, we heard a particular sort of roaring or growling, not unlike the noise of a wild boar; there seemed to be more than one of them, and they went all round our cattle. Fired two muskets to make them keep at a distance; but as they still kept prowling round us, we collected a bunch of withered grass, and went with Lieutenant Martyn in search of the animals, suspecting them to be wild boars. We got near one of them, and fired several shots into the bush, and one at him as he went off among the long grass. When we returned to the tents, I learned by enquiring of the natives that the animals we had been in search of were not boars, but young lions; and they assured me, that unless we kept a very good look out they would probably kill some of our cattle during the night. About midnight these young lions attempted to seize one of the asses, which so much alarmed the rest, that they broke their ropes, and came at full gallop in amongst the tent ropes. Two of the lions followed them, and came so close to us that the sentry cut at one of them with his sword, but did not dare to fire for fear of killing the asses. Neglected to wind up the watch.

" July 3d.—Departed from Koeena, and halted during the heat of the day at Koombandi, distant six miles. Here the guides that I had hired from Kanda, were to return; and I had agreed with them to carry back M'Millan's knapsack, and some amber and beads to purchase provisions for him; but three people came up to us with two asses for sale, and they informed me that they left Sanjeekotta early in the morning; that the soldier who was left there had died during the night,
and

and the natives had buried him in a corn field near the town. Purchased the asses in order to carry forwards the sick.

"About three o'clock left Koombandi. Mr. Anderson and Mr. Scott were so sick, that they wished to remain here for the night: with much entreating, persuaded them to mount their horses and go on. Three miles east of the village, William Alston, one of the seamen whom I received from his majesty's ship Squirrel, became so faint that he fell from his ass, and allowed the ass to run away. Set him on my horse, but found he could not sit without holding him. Replaced him on the ass, but he still tumbled off: put him again on the horse, and made one man keep him upright, while I led the horse. But as he made no exertion to keep himself erect, it was impossible to hold him on the horse, and after repeated tumbles he begged to be left in the woods till morning. I left a loaded pistol with him, and put some cartridges into the crown of his hat. At sun-set reached Fonilla, a small walled village on the banks of the Wonda, which is here called Ba Woolima (Red river), and towards its source it has the name of Ba qui (White river), the middle part of its course being called Wonda. It had swelled two feet perpendicular by the rains which had fallen to the southward, and was very muddy; but cannot even in its present state be reckoned a large river.

"July 4th.—Agreed with the canoe people to carry over our baggage and cattle for sixty bars. There being but one canoe, it was near noon before all the bundles were carried over. The transporting of the asses was very difficult. The

river being shallow and rocky, whenever their feet touched the bottom they generally stood still. Our guide, Isaaco, was very active in pushing the asses into the water, and shoving along the canoe; but as he was afraid that we could not have them all carried over in the course of the day, he attempted to drive six of the asses across the river farther down where the water was shallower. When he had reached the middle of the river, a crocodile rose close to him, and instantly seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under water. With wonderful presence of mind he felt the head of the animal, and thrust his finger into its eye; on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco attempted to reach the further shore, calling out for a knife. But the crocodile returned and seized him by the other thigh, and again pulled him under water; he had recourse to the same expedient, and thrust his fingers into its eyes with such violence that it again quitted him; and when it rose flounced about on the surface of the water as if stupid, and then swam down the middle of the river. Isaaco proceeded to the other side, bleeding very much. As soon as the canoe returned I went over, and found him very much lacerated. The wound on the left thigh was four inches in length: that on the right not quite so large, but very deep, besides several single teeth wounds on his back. Drew the lips of the wounds to, ether with slips of adhesive plaister secured with a roller; and as we were not far from a village, he thought it best for him to go forwards before his wounds had become very painful. He accordingly rode forwards to the village of Boolinkoomboo on one of our

our horses. Found myself very sick, and unable to stand erect without feeling a tendency to faint; the people so sickly, that it was with some difficulty we got the loads put into the tents, though it threatened rain. To my great astonishment, Ashton, the sailor whom I had left in the woods the evening before, came up quite naked, having been stripped of his clothes by three of the natives during the night. Found his fever much abated.

"July 5th.—With great difficulty got the asses loaded, but had not a sufficient number of spare asses for the sick. Set one of them on my horse, and walked, feeling a remission of the fever, though still very giddy and unwell. We soon reached Boolinkoomboo, it being only two miles from the landing place. This village is sometimes called Moiaharra: it does not contain above one hundred people. On collecting the asses, found that three

were missing, besides a sickly one, which was too weak to cross the river, and was eaten by the people of Fonilla. All this diminished our means of carrying forward the sick.

"I now found my situation very perplexing. To go forward without Isaaco to Kerninoom I knew would involve us in difficulties, as Kerninoom's sons are reckoned the greatest thieves and blackguards on the whole route. To stop till Isaaco recovered (an event which seemed very doubtful), would throw us into the violence of the rains. There was no other person that I could trust; and, what was worst of all, we had only two days rice, and a great scarcity prevailed in the country. I determined to wait three days, to see how Isaaco's wounds looked, and in the mean time sent two of his people away to Serracorra with an ass and three strings of No. 5. amber to purchase rice."

[ARRIVAL ON THE BANKS OF THE NIGER.]

[From the Same.]

"AUGUST 6th.—Having hired two more ass drivers at one bar and their victuals per day, we left Koolihora early in the morning, and travelled with considerable dispatch till three o'clock; at which time we reached Ganitarra, a small beggarly village. In the course of this march, L. Cahill and J. Bird, two of the soldiers, and William Cox, one of the seamen, fell behind, and laid down. As soon as the front of the coffin had reached Ganifarra, it came on a very heavy

rain. Being in the rear, I was completely drenched; and two of the asses carrying four trunks, in which were the gun-stocks, pistols, looking-glasses, &c. fell down in a stream of water near the town, and all the contents were completely wet. I could purchase nothing here, not so much as a fowl. Served out a short allowance of rice, being very short of that article.

"August 7th.—During the night some person had stolen one of our best asses; and as the load must

H

be

be left if we could not recover it, Isaaco's people having traced the foot marks to a considerable distance, agreed to go in search of it. Isaaco gave them the strictest orders, if they came up to the thief in the woods, to shoot him; and if not, to follow him to a town and demand the ass from the Dooty; if he refused to give it up, to return as soon as possible.

"Spent the day in drying such things as were wet; cleaned and greased with Shea butter all the ornamented pistols, ten pair. Dried the looking-glasses, which were quite spoiled. In the afternoon sent two of the natives away with goods to a neighbouring town to purchase rice and corn. At sun-set Bird came up, but had seen nothing of Cox nor Cahill.

"August 8th.—People not yet returned. Opened the trunk which contained the double barrelled gunstocks; cleaned and greased them. About noon people returned with the rice and corn, but not quite sufficient for one day. Nearly at the same time Isaaco's people came up with the ass; they had traced his foot marks past Koolihori, and found him at Balandoo. Did not see the thief, but learned his name; which Isaaco promised to write to his friend at Bangassi, to inform Serinummo of him. In the afternoon agreed with the Dooty for thirty-five bars to carry every thing over. Rained heavily all the evening.

"August 9th.—Michael May, a soldier, having died during the night, buried him at day-break. Had all the loads taken to the crossing-place by eight o'clock. The Ba Woolli is nearly of the same size as the one we formerly crossed of that name; it appeared to be exceeding-

ly deep, and flowed at the rate of four or five miles per hour. There is a very good canoe here, which can carry over four ass loads at once. As it threatened rain, sent over three men with one of the tents, and pitched it on the east side about half a mile from the river, the ground near the bank being marshy. Hired people to carry down the bundles, and put them into the canoe; and others to receive them on the other side, and carry them up the bank; so that the soldiers had nothing to move, being all weak and sickly.

"By one o'clock all the baggage was over, but we found some difficulty in transporting the asses; the rapidity of the stream swept the canoe and the first six past the landing-place; and they went so far down the river, that I really thought the asses must have been drowned, which would have been an irreparable loss in our situation. However, by the exertions of the Negroes, who swam in with ropes to the canoe, the asses were landed on the other side, where they stood by the water's edge until the Negroes with their corn hoes made a path for them up the steep bank. To prevent such an accident, we took the ropes from several of our loads, and fastened them together; so as to reach across the river: with this we hauled over the loaded canoe, and the Negroes paddled it back when empty. In this manner all the asses and horses were swum over without any loss.

"When the bundles were all carried up to the tent, we found that we had not more rice than was barely sufficient for the present day; and as no more could be purchased, we had no alternative but to march early in the morning for Bambara; the

the distance by all accounts would not exceed fourteen or fifteen miles.

" August 10th.—William Ashton declared that he was unable to travel; but as there was no place to leave him at, I advised him to make an exertion and come on, though slowly, till he should reach a place where he could have food. At eight o'clock set forwards, and travelled very expeditiously without halting till four in the afternoon, at which time the front of the coflee reached Dababoo, a village of Bambarra. Being in the rear, I found many of the men very much fatigued with the length of the journey and the heat of the day. At half past four I arrived with the ass I drove at a stream flowing to the westwards.

" Here I found many of the soldiers sitting, and Mr. Anderson lying under a bush, apparently dying. Took him on my back, and carried him across the stream, which came up to my middle. Carried over the load of the ass which I drove, got over the ass, Mr. Anderson's horse, &c. Found myself much fatigued, having crossed the stream sixteen times. Left here four soldiers with their asses, being unable to carry over their loads. Having loaded my ass, and put Mr. Anderson on his horse, we went on to the village; but was sorry to find that no rice could be had, and I was only able to buy one solitary fowl.

" August 11th.—Bought a small bullock of the Moorish breed for one barraloolo, and having purchased some corn, had it cleaned and dressed for the people instead of rice. This morning hired Isaaco's people to go back, and bring up the loads of the soldiers who had halted by the side of the stream. In the

course of the day all the loads arrived; but was sorry to find that in the course of the last two marches we had lost four men, viz. Cox, Cahil, Bird, and Ashton. Mr. Anderson still in a very dangerous way, being unable to walk or sit upright. Mr. Scott much recovered. I found that I must here leave one load, one of the horses being quite finished. Left the seine nets in charge of the Dooty, till I should send for them.

" August 12th.—Rained all the morning. About eleven o'clock, the sky being clear, loaded the asses. None of the Europeans being able to lift a load, Isaaco made the Negroes load the whole. Saddled Mr. Anderson's horse, and having put a sick soldier on mine, took Mr. Anderson's horse by the bridle, that he might have no trouble but sitting upright on the saddle. We had not gone far before I found one of the asses with a load of gunpowder, the driver (Dickinson) being unable to proceed (I never heard of him afterwards); and shortly after the sick man dismounted from my horse, and laid down by a small pool of water, refusing to rise. Drove the ass and horse on before me. Passed a number of sick. At half past twelve o'clock Mr. Anderson declared he could ride no farther. Took him down, and laid him in the shade of a bush, and sat down beside him. At past two o'clock he made another attempt to proceed; but had not rode above an hundred yards before I had to take him down from the saddle, and lay him again in the shade. I now gave up all thoughts of being able to carry him forwards till the cool of the evening; and having turned the horses and ass to feed, I sat down to watch the pulsations of my dying friend.

friend. At four o'clock four of the sick came up; three of them agreed to take charge of the ass with the gunpowder; and I put a fourth, who had a sore leg, on my horse, telling him if he saw Mr. Scott on the road to give him the horse.

"At half past five o'clock, there being a fine breeze from the southwest, Mr. Anderson agreed to make another attempt; and having again placed him on the saddle, I led the horse on pretty smartly in hopes of reaching Koomikoomi before dark. We had not proceeded above a mile, before we heard on our left a noise very much like the barking of a large mastiff, but ending in a hiss like the fuf of a cat. I thought it must be some large monkey; and was observing to Mr. Anderson "what a bouncing fellow that must be," when we heard another bark nearer to us, and presently a third still nearer, accompanied with a growl. I now suspected that some wild animal meant to attack us, but could not conjecture of what species it was likely to be. We had not proceeded a hundred yards farther, when coming to an opening in the bushes, I was not a little surprised to see three lions coming towards us. They were not so red as the lion I formerly saw in Bambarra, but of a dusky colour, like the colour of an ass. They were very large, and came bounding over the long grass, not one after another, but all abreast of each other. I was afraid, if I allowed them to come too near us, and my piece should miss fire, that we should be all devoured by them. I therefore let go the bridle, and walked forwards to meet them. As soon as they were within a long shot of me, I fired at the centre

one. I do not think I hit him; but they all stopt, looked at each other, and then bounded away a few paces, when one of them stopt, and looked back at me. I was too busy in loading my piece to observe their motions as they went away, and was very happy to see the last of them march slowly off amongst the bushes. We had not proceeded above half a mile farther, when we heard another bark and growl close to us amongst the bushes. This was doubtless one of the lions before seen, and I was afraid they would follow us till dark, when they would have too many opportunities of springing on us unawares. I therefore got Mr. Anderson's call, and made as loud a whistling and noise as possible. We heard no more of them.

"Just at dark we descended into a valley where was a small stream of water; but the ascent on the opposite side was through a species of broken ground, which I have never seen any where but in Africa. It is of the following nature. A stratum of stiff yellow clay fourteen or twenty feet thick, (which, unless when it rains, is as hard as rock) is washed by the annual rains into fissures of a depth equal to the thickness of the stratum. There is no vegetation on these places, except on the summit or original level. Amongst these horrid gullies I unfortunately lost sight of the footmarks of the asses which had gone before; and finding no way to get out, led the horse up a very steep place in order to gain the original level, hoping there to find the foot-path. But unluckily the ground was all broken as far as I could see; and after travelling some little way, we came to a gully which we could not cross; and finding

finding no possibility of moving without the danger of being killed by falling into some of these ravines, or over some precipice, I thought it advisable to halt till the morning. On this rugged summit we fell in with Jonas Watkins, one of the sick, and with his assistance I lighted a fire. Wrapped Mr. Anderson in his cloak, and laid him down beside it. Watched all night to keep the fire burning, and prevent our being surprized by the lions, which we knew were at no great distance. About two o'clock in the morning two more of the sick joined us. Mr. Anderson slept well during the night, and as soon as day dawned,

"August 13th.—having found the footmarks of the asses, and having with difficulty even in daylight traced our way through this labyrinth, we found Mr. Scott and three more of the sick. They too had lost their way, and had slept about half a mile to the east of us. We reached Koomikoomi at ten o'clock. This is an unwall'd village, but surrounded with extensive corn fields.

"August 13th.—Halted; rested at Koomikoomi.

"August 14th.—Jonas Watkins died this morning; buried him. Halted here to-day to see which way Mr. Anderson's fever was likely to terminate; and in the mean time sent two loaded asses forward to Doombila, the asses to return in the evening, and carry loads to-morrow morning.

"It is a common observation of the Negroes, that when the Indian corn is in blossom, the rain stops for eleven days. The stopping of the rain evidently depends on the sun approaching the zenith of the place; the sun by this day's observation being only seventy-one

miles north of us; and it is a wonderful institution of Providence, that at this time the maize here is all in full blossom; and on passing through the fields, one is like to be blinded with the pollen of the male flowers.

"August 15th.—Having slung a cloak like a hammock under a straight stick, had Mr. Anderson put into it, and carried on two men's heads; two more following to relieve them. Mr. Scott complained this morning of sickness and head-ach. Made one of the soldiers saddle Mr. Anderson's horse for him; and having seen him mount, and given him his canteen with water, I rode forwards to look after four Negroes whom I had hired to carry loads on their heads; but being strangers, I was apprehensive they might run away with them. Found every thing going on well; and we travelled with such expedition, that we reached Doombila in four hours and a half, though the distance cannot be less than sixteen or eighteen miles, nearly south. It rained hard all the afternoon, and it was not till dark that all the sick soldiers came up. Only three of the soldiers were able to drive their asses to day.

"When I entered the town, I was happy to meet Karfa Taura, the worthy Negro mentioned in my former travels; he heard a report at Boori (where he now resides) that a coffle of white people were passing through Fooladoo for Bambarra, and that they were conducted by a person of the name of Park, who spoke Mandingo. He heard this report in the evening; and in the morning he left his house, determined, if possible, to meet me at Bambakoo, a distance of six days travel. He came to Bambakoo

koo with three of his slaves to assist me in going forward to Sego, but when he found I had not come up, he came forwards to meet me. He instantly recognized me, and you may judge of the pleasure I felt on seeing my old benefactor.

"At four o'clock, as Mr. Scott had not come up, and the people in the rear had not seen him lately, I sent one of Isaac's people back on my horse as far as the next village, suspecting that he might have halted there when the rain came on. The man returned after dark, having been nearly at Koomikoomi without seeing or hearing any thing of Mr. Scott. We all concluded that he had returned to Koomikoomi.

"August 17th.—Halted at Doombila in order to dry the baggage, and in hopes of Mr. Scott coming up. Told the four Negroes, who carried Mr. Anderson, and who returned to Koomikoomi this morning, to make every possible enquiry concerning Mr. Scott, and if he was able to ride, I would pay them handsomely for coming with him. If he had returned to Koomikoomi, I desired them to assure the Dooty that I would pay for every expence he might incur, and pay for a guide to conduct him to Marraboo. Received from the Dooty of Doombila a small bullock and a sheep. Paid him a baraloolo, five bars of amber, and fifty gun flints.

"August 18th.—Hearing no account of Mr. Scott, concluded he was still at Koomikoomi, but unable to travel. At seven o'clock left Doombila, and as the asses were now very weak, it was not long before I had to dismount and put a load on my horse. Only one of the soldiers able to drive an ass.

Road very bad; did not reach Toniba till sun-set, being a distance of eighteen or twenty miles S. E. by S. Mr. Anderson's bearers halted with him at a village on the road, where there was some good beer. As soon as we had pitched the tent, it began to rain, and rained all night; the soldiers ran all into the village. I passed a very disagreeable night, having to keep our asses from eating the people's corn, which caused me to keep walking about almost the whole night.

"In case it should escape my memory, I take this opportunity of observing, that the standard law of Africa runs thus: If an ass should break a single stem of corn, the proprietor of the corn has right to seize the ass; and if the owner of the ass will not satisfy him for the damage he thinks he has sustained, he can retain the ass. He can not sell or work him, but he can kill him; and as the Bambaras esteem ass-flesh as a great luxury, this part of the law is often put in force.

"August 19th.—Mr. Anderson's bearers having brought him forward early in the morning, we immediately loaded the asses, and departed from Toniba (Serjeant M'Keal appears to be slightly delirious). We kept ascending the mountains to the south of Toniba till three o'clock, at which time having gained the summit of the ridge which separates the Niger from the remote branches of the Senegal, I went on a little before; and coming to the brow of the hill, I once more saw the Niger rolling its immense stream along the plain!

"After the fatiguing march which we had experienced, the sight of this river was no doubt pleasant, as it promised an end to,

or to be at least an alleviation of our toils. But when I reflected that three-fourths of the soldiers had died on their march, and that in addition to our weakly state we had no carpenters to build the boats, in which we proposed to prosecute our discoveries, the prospect appeared somewhat gloomy. It however afforded me peculiar pleasure, when I reflected that in conducting a party of Europeans, with immense baggage, through an extent of more than five hundred miles, I had always been able to preserve the most friendly terms with the natives. In fact, this journey plainly demonstrates, first, that with common prudence, any quantity of merchandize may be transported from the Gambia to the Niger, without danger of being robbed by the natives; secondly, that if this journey be performed in the dry season, one may calculate on losing not more than three, or at most four men out of fifty.

"But to return to the Niger. The river was much swelled by the rains, but did not appear to overflow its banks. It certainly is larger even here than either the Senegal or the Gambia. We descended with difficulty down the steep side of the hill towards Bambakoo, which place we reached at half past six o'clock, and pitched our tents under a tree near the town. Of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters who left the Gambia, only six soldiers and one carpenter reached the Niger.

"During the night the wolves carried away two large cloth bundles from the tent door to a considerable distance, where they eat off the skins with which they were covered, and left them.

"August 20th.—Received a bul-

lock from the Dooty as a present. It was in the afternoon, and we fastened it to the tree close the tent, where all the asses were tied. As soon as it was dark the wolves tore its bowels out, though within ten yards of the tent door where we were all sitting. The wolves here are the largest and most ferocious we have yet seen.

"Aug. 21st.—Dried a bundle of beads, the strings of which were all rotten with the rain. Opened a leather bag which contained about thirty pounds of gunpowder for present use. Found it all wet and damaged. Spread it out in the sun, resolved to make something of it. Spoke for a canoe to carry down the baggage to Marraboo, the river being navigable over the rapids at this season. In the course of our march from Toniba to Bambakoo, we lost Sergeant M'Keil, Purvey, and Samuel Hill.

"August 22d.—Early in the morning had all the bundles put on the asses, and carried to the place of embarkation, which is a village called Bossradoo, about a mile and a half east of Bambakoo. It rained hard all the forenoon. The canoes could not carry any of the soldiers, or any person except two to look after the goods. I resolved to go down with Mr. Anderson, leaving Mr. Martyn to come down with the men by land. They rode on the asses.

"We embarked at ten minutes past three o'clock. The current, which is nearly five knots per hour, set us along without the trouble of rowing any more than was necessary to keep the canoe in the proper course. The river is full an English mile over, and at the rapids it is spread out to nearly twice that breadth. The rapids seem to

be

be formed by the river passing through a ridge of hills in a southeasterly direction: they are very numerous, and correspond with the jetting angles of the hills. There are three principal ones, where the water breaks with considerable noise in the middle of the river; but the canoe men easily avoided them by paddling down one of the branches near the shore. Even in this manner the velocity was such as to make me sigh.

"We passed two of the principal rapids, and three smaller ones, in the course of the afternoon. We saw on one of the islands, in the middle of the river, a large elephant: it was of a red clay colour, with black legs. I was very unwell of the dysentery, otherwise I would

have had a shot at him, for he was quite near us. We saw three hippopotami close to another of these islands. The canoe men were afraid they might follow us and upset the canoes. The report of a musket will in all cases frighten them away. They blow up the water exactly like a whale. As we were gliding along shore, one of the canoe men speared a fine turtle, of the same species as the one I formerly saw, and made a drawing of in *Gambia*. At sun-set we rowed to the shore, landed on some flat rocks, and set about cooking the turtle and rice for our supper; but before this aldermanic repast was half dressed, the rain came on us, and continued with great violence all night."

[ISAACO'S ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MR. PARK.]

[From the Same.]

"DEPARTED early, passed Segobougou, Segocoura, and Douabougou, and arrived about eight A. M. at Sego-chicorro, the residence of Dacha King of the Bamarras, on Monday 11th of the moon. This town was built by Dacha's grandfather, who rebelled against the lawful king; being chosen leader at the head of his party, drove the king from his dominions, who retired to the west, and was proclaimed king himself. Being a great warrior, he maintained himself on the usurped throne, and left it to his posterity, who enjoy it peaceably now.

"I lodged with Guiawe, a man

attached to the king. Next morning the king hearing of my arrival, sent to tell me he was going to Douabougou, and wished I would go and see him there. He had got on his horse and was proceeding, when a heavy shower of rain came on; he dismounted, and went back to his house. After the rain, he ordered me to come to him, and bring him the hogs in the manner I had tied them for travelling. On my entrance in the first yard I found a guard of forty men, young, strong, and without beards. On entering another yard I met another guard, well armed and very numerous, lying in the shade. A little farther

farther on I found the king sitting; there were four broad swords stuck in the ground, on each side and behind him, which had been given to him by Mr. Park. He had on his military coat, which he is obliged to wear when he sends out an army, and cannot leave off until the army returns. He commonly wears dresses of white or blue color, or silk, with a great many gris-gris, covered with plates of gold or silver, sewed about his dresses. I sat down on one side of him, and my landlord on the other side. After the usual salutations, I laid before him the drum, the two blunderbusses, the bed, the two hogs, the scarlet cloth, &c. and one dog. I said to him, "Maxwell, governor of Senegal, salutes you, and sends his compliments to you; here is the present which Manchong (or Mansong) your father asked of Mr. Park, and which he promised to send him." He said, "Is the governor well?" I said, "Yes, he is well, and desired me to beg your assistance in his endeavours to discover what is become of Mr. Park, and ascertain whether he is dead or alive; and that you would give me a vessel to facilitate my voyage, and the governor will reward you for so doing." He replied, "What does the governor mean to give me?" I said, "If you render me all the assistance in your power, the governor will give you two hundred bars." He asked me, how the governor could give him that sum, being so far from him? I told him, the governor, it was true, was far from him; but that I was there to represent and answer for him. He then accepted my offer, and promised me his assistance. The king ordered a bullock to be

killed for me. I staid to the end of that moon.

"The first of the following moon, being the day I intended to depart, a prince of Tombuotoo came to Sego, to demand a wife who had been promised him. The king went out to meet him with a guard of six hundred men, almost naked and well armed. The prince said, that being a friend of his father (Manchong), he thought it his duty to come and let him know of his coming to take the wife promised him; the king replied, "Why have you permitted the people of your country to plunder one of my caravans, and why did you not prevent it, and why did you yourself plunder another, belonging also to me?" The king left the prince out, and returned to his house with the guards, after unloading their muskets. The prince went to his lodging. He reflected how critically he was situated, and that by his bad behaviour, the wife which he had once been promised had been given to another; and that the people of the caravan he had plundered had been before the king, and there had denounced him; and that his life was at stake. He immediately sent three horses to the king, and half a piece of cotton to all the chiefs present.

"Next day the ambassadors of Giocha came together with the ambassadors of Tiguing-coro. The day after the king went to Impebara. I next day went to meet him there. After staying there nine days, and hearing nothing, I was much displeased; some one went to the king, and told him that I was angry, and was about to depart. He sent to tell me he was going to Banangcoro, and that I should

go with him; he did depart from Banangcoro, but I staid; he sent me a courier to order me near him. I went to Banangcoro, and lodged with Inche, the king's slave and confident. The motive of the king's journey was to see one of his children. He has six now living: and three he had destroyed. The custom is when a male child of the king's wives is born on a Friday, that the throat should be cut; which is done immediately. The king sent for me. I went to him at ten A. M.; he ordered part of the presents to be brought before him; which was done, and among which were the hogs. They were left loose before him and pleased him much.

"On the next day (Friday) he gave me a canoe with three hands (fishermen), and I departed on my voyage after Mr. Park the following tide; we passed ten villages, and arrived at supper time at Sansanding, where we slept; departed by land at three P. M. and arrived at sunset at Madina, and lodged with Alihou. I found there Amadi fatouma, the very guide I had recommended to Mr. Park, and who went with him on his voyage from Sansanding. I sent for him; he came immediately. I demanded of him a faithful account of what had happened to Mr. Park. On seeing me, and hearing me mention Mr. Park, he began to weep; and his first words were, "They are all dead." I said, "I am come to see after you, and intended to look every way for you, to know the truth from your own mouth, how they died." He said that they were lost for ever, and it was useless to make any further enquiry after them; for to look after what was irrecoverably lost, was losing time

to no purpose. I told him I was going back to Sansanding, and requested he would come the next day there to meet me, to which he agreed. I went to Sansanding and slept there; next day I sent back the canoe to Impebara. Amadi fatouma came at the appointed time to meet me, being the 21st day of the moon. I desired he would let me know what passed to his knowledge concerning Mr. Park.

AMADI FATOUMA'S JOURNAL.

"We departed from Sansanding in a canoe the 27th day of the moon, and went in two days to Sellee, where Mr. Park ended his first voyage. Mr. Park bought a slave to help him in the navigation of the canoe. There was Mr. Park, Martyn, three other white men, three slaves and myself as guide and interpreter; nine in number, to navigate the canoe: without landing we bought the slave. We went in two days to Ginne. We gave the chief one piece of baft and went on. In passing Sibby, three canoes came after us, armed with pikes, lances, bows and arrows, &c. but no fire-arms. Being sure of their hostile intentions, we ordered them to go back; but to no effect; and were obliged to repulse them by force. Passed on; we passed Rakbara; three came up to stop our passage, which we repelled by force. On passing Tombuctoo we were again attacked by three canoes; which we beat off, always killing many of the natives. On passing Gouroumo seven canoes came after us; which we likewise beat off. We lost one white man by sickness; we were reduced to eight

eight hands; having each of us fifteen muskets, always in order and ready for action. Passed by a village (of which I have forgotten the name), the residence of king Gotoijege; after passing which we counted sixty canoes coming after us, which we repulsed, and killed a great number of men. Seeing so many men killed, and our superiority over them, I took hold of Martyn's hand, saying, "Martyn, let us cease firing; for we have killed too many already;" on which Martyn wanted to kill me, had not Mr. Park interfered. After passing Gotoijege a long way, we met a very strong army on one side of the river; composed of the Poul nation; they had no beasts of any kind. We passed on the other side and went on without hostilities.

"On going along we struck on the rocks. An hippopotamus rose near us, and had nearly overset the canoe; we fired on the animal and drove it away. After a great deal of trouble we got off the canoe without any material danger. We came to an anchor before Kaffo, and passed the day there. We had in the canoe before we departed from Sansanding, a very large stock of provisions, salted and fresh of all kinds; which enabled us to go along without stopping at any place, for fear of accident. The canoe was large enough to contain with ease one hundred and twenty people. In the evening we started and came to before an island; we saw on shore a great quantity of hippopotami; on our approach they went into the water in such confusion, that they almost upset our canoe. We passed the island and sailed. In the morning three canoes from Kaffo came after us,

which we beat off. We came to near a small island, and saw some of the natives; I was sent on shore to buy some milk. When I got among them I saw two canoes go on board to sell fresh provisions, such as fowls, rice, &c. One of the natives wanted to kill me; at last he took hold of me, and said I was his prisoner. Mr. Park seeing what was passing on shore, suspected the truth. He stopped the two canoes and people, telling the people belonging to them, that if they should kill me, or keep me prisoner on shore, he would kill them all and carry their canoes away with him. Those on shore suspecting Mr. Park's intentions, sent me off in another canoe on board; they were then released. After which we bought some provisions from them, and made them some presents.

"A short time after our departure, twenty canoes came after us from the same place; on coming near, they hailed and said, "Amadi fatouma, how can you pass through our country without giving us any thing?" I mentioned what they had said to Mr. Park; and he gave them a few grains of amber and some trinkets, and they went back peaceably. On coming to a shallow part of the river, we saw on the shore a great many men sitting down; coming nearer to them they stood up; we presented our muskets to them, which made them run off to the interior. A little farther on we came to a very difficult passage. The rocks had barred the river; but three passages were still open between them. On coming near one of them, we discovered the same people again, standing on the top of a large rock; which caused great uneasiness to us, especially to me,

me, and I seriously promised never to pass there again without making considerable charitable donations to the poor. We returned and went to a pass of less danger, where we passed unmolested.

"We came to before Carmasse, and gave the chief one piece of baft. We went on and anchored before Gourmon. Mr. Park sent me on shore with forty thousand cowries to buy provisions. I went and bought rice, onions, fowls, milk, &c. and departed late in the evening. The chief of the village sent a canoe after us, to let us know of a large army encamped on the top of a very high mountain, waiting for us; and that we had better return, or be on our guard. We immediately came to an anchor, and spent there the rest of the day, and all the night. We started in the morning; on passing the above-mentioned mountain, we saw the army, composed of Moors, with horses and camels; but without any fire-arms. As they said nothing to us, we passed on quietly, and entered the country of Haoussa, and came to an anchor. Mr. Park said to me, "Now, Amadi, you are at the end of your journey; I engaged you to conduct me here; you are going to leave me, but before you go, you must give me the names of the necessaries of life, &c. in the language of the countries through which I am going to pass;" to which I agreed, and we spent two days together about it, without landing. During our voyage I was the only one who had landed. We departed and arrived at Yaour.

"I was sent on shore the next morning with a musket and a sabre, to carry the chief of the village, also with three pieces of white baft

for distribution. I went and gave the chief his present: I also gave one piece to Alhagi, one to Alhagibiron, and the other to a person whose name I forget; all Marabous. The chief gave us a bullock, a sheep, three jars of honey, and four men's loads of rice. Mr. Park gave me seven thousand cowries, and ordered me to buy provisions, which I did; he told me to go to the chief and give him five silver rings, some powder and flints, and tell him that these presents were given to the king by the white men, who were taking leave of him before they went away. After the chief had received these things, he enquired if the white men intended to come back. Mr. Park being informed of this enquiry, replied that he could not return any more. Mr. Park had paid me for my voyage before we left Sansanding: I said to him, "I agreed to carry you into the kingdom of Haoussa; we are now in Haoussa. I have fulfilled my engagements with you; I am therefore going to leave you here and return."

"Next day (Saturday) Mr. Park departed, and I slept in the village (Yaour). Next morning, I went to the king to pay my respects to him; on entering the house I found two men who came on horseback; they were sent by the chief of Yaour. They said to the king, "we are sent by the chief of Yaour to let you know that the white men went away, without giving you or him (the chief) any thing; they have a great many things with them, and we have received nothing from them; and this Amadou fatouma now before you is a bad man, and has likewise made a fool of you both." The king immediately ordered me to be put in irons, which

which was accordingly done, and every thing I had taken from me; some were for killing me, and some for preserving my life. The next morning early the king sent an army to a village called Boussa near the river side. There is before this village a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rocks is very high; there is a large opening in that rock in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through; the tide current is here very strong. This army went and took possession of the top of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself; he nevertheless attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows and stones. Mr. Park defended himself for a long time; two of his slaves at the stern of the canoe were killed; they threw every thing they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing; but being overpowered by numbers and fatigue, and unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the water; Martyn did the same, and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons at the canoe without ceasing, stood up and said to them, "Stop throwing now, you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself, therefore cease. Take me and the canoe, but don't kill me." They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king.

"I was kept in irons three months; the king released me and gave me a slave (woman). I im-

mediately went to the slave taken in the canoe, who told me in what manner Mr. Park and all of them had died, and what I have related above. I asked him if he was sure nothing had been found in the canoe after its capture; he said that nothing remained in the canoe but himself and a sword-belt. I asked him where the sword-belt was; he said the king took it, and had made a girth for his horse with it."

ISAAO'S JOURNAL IN CONTINUATION.

"I immediately sent a Poule to Yaour to get me the belt by any means and at any price, and any thing else he could discover belonging to Mr. Park. I left Madina and went to Sansanding, and from thence to Sego. On my arrival I went to Dacha, the king, and related to him the above facts. He said he would have gone himself to destroy that country, if it had not been so far. He gathered an army and went with it to Banangcoro. I followed him there. He ordered the army to go and destroy the kingdom of Haoussa. The army went away, passed Tombuctoo a long way, and made a halt at Sacha; and dispatched a courier back to the king, to let him know where they were, and that Haoussa was at too great a distance for an army to go, without running many dangers of all kinds. The king ordered them to go to Massina, a small country belonging to the Poule nation, to take away all the Poules' cattle, and return. They did so, and brought with them a great many cattle. The vanguard
came

came with the cattle after a voyage of three months; and the army came one month after, which made four months they had been out. The king was much displeased with the chiefs' conduct, and wanted to punish them for not going where he sent them; but they observed that they went as far as they possibly could; that the distance was too great and would have destroyed an army; and that prudence and the hardships they had already sustained, had dictated the necessity of returning, though very contrary to their inclinations. We all returned to Sego.

"I went back to Sansanding and staid there, waiting for the arrival of the Poule I had sent to Yaour. Four months after he came back, having been eight months on his voyage, and having suffered greatly. He brought me the belt; and said that he had bribed a young slave girl belonging to the king, who had stolen it from him; and that he could not get any thing more, as nothing else was to be found which had belonged to Mr. Park or his companions.

"I went to Sego and informed the king of what I had got belonging to Mr. Park, and that I was going to Senegal immediately. The king was desirous that I should spend the rainy season with him. I said I could not stay; as the object of my mission was attained, I wished to go as soon as possible. Amadi fatouma being a good, honest, and upright man, I had placed him with Mr. Park; what he re-

lated to me being on his oath, having no interest, nor any hopes of reward whatever: nothing remaining of Mr. Park or his effects; the relations of several travellers who had passed the same country, agreeing with Amadou's Journal; being certain of the truth of what he had said, and of the dangers I should have run to no purpose in such a distant part; all these reasons induced me to proceed no farther. After obtaining the belt, I thought it best to return to Senegal.

Further Intelligence from Isaaco.

"Isaaco says that Mr. Park gave him his papers to carry to Gambia to Robert Ainsley, with an order on Robert Ainsley for ten bars. That Mr. Park went away from Sansanding with Amadi fatouma, in his presence; that he cannot tell precisely the date, but that Mr. Park died four months after his departure from Sansanding, which date may be nearly taken from the date of Mr. Park's papers brought by him (Isaaco) to Robert Ainsley. That Mr. Park had lost all his companions but four men. He arrived at Foulah Dougou with thirty-three white men, and from Foulah Dougou to Sego (which was eight days march, but which is generally performed in three days by a negro) they lost twenty-six men by rains, the damps, &c. Mr. Park went away from Sansanding, with four men, and he himself making five."

DESCRIPTION OF IOANNINA.

[From Dr. HOLLAND'S Travels in the Ionian Islands.]

IOANNINA though an inland city, and surrounded by mountains, has long had much commercial importance; and the traveller will be surprized to find here, merchants who have large connections, not only with the different parts of Turkey, but also with Germany, Italy, and Russia. The direct traffic, indeed, through Ioannina is small, compared with that in which the Greeks of the place are engaged, through their connections in foreign countries. The general origin and nature of these connections may be explained in a few words. The active spirit of the Greeks, deprived in great measure of political or national objects, has taken a general direction towards commerce. But, fettered in this respect also, by their condition on the continent of Greece, they emigrate in considerable numbers to the adjacent countries, where their activity can have more scope in the nature of the government. Some branches of the migrating families, however, are always left in Turkey, either from necessity, from the possession of property in the country; or from the convenience to both parties in a commercial point of view. Thus by far the greater part of the exterior trade of Turkey, in the exchange of commodities, is carried on by Greek houses, which have residents at home, and branches in various cities of Europe, mutually aiding each other; and by means of

the latter, extending their concerns much more variously than could be done in Turkey alone.

"This description is entirely applicable to the commerce of Ioannina. Many of the merchants here have extensive continental connections, which are often family ones likewise. An instance at this time occurs to me of a Greek family, with which I was intimate, where, of four brothers, one was settled at Ioannina, another at Moscow, a third at Constantinople, and the fourth in some part of Germany; all connected together in their concerns. Many other examples of the same kind incidentally came to my knowledge. A circumstance tending to maintain this foreign relation, besides the interests which are often answered by it, is the system of Ali Pasha, never to allow a family to quit his territory, unless leaving behind some principal members of it, and their property also, to be responsible for their final return. This method of preventing emigration has the effect of retaining in Ioannina branches of all the ancient families of the place, and thereby of keeping up commercial connections, which otherwise might be transferred elsewhere.

"Most of the merchants here are men who have travelled much in Europe, are well instructed in European habits, and speak several of the continental languages. Their principal connections are with Ger-
many

many and Russia, an intercourse which has been maintained for a long period. The port of Trieste has generally been a great channel of Greek trade; and many Greek houses are established there, with relation to other houses in Vienna, Leipsic, and various places in the interior of Germany. The connection with Russia depends partly upon the relative situation of Greece; in some degree perhaps on the similarity of religion, and the political relation which Russia has had at times with this people. The principal branches of several Ioannina houses resided at Moscow previously to the destruction of that capital, and probably have since resumed their situation. A large amount of Greek property was lodged in the bank there, including the funds of several public institutions, schools, &c. We were in Ioannina at the time the news of the burning of Moscow arrived; and living chiefly among merchants, could judge of the great sensation this event excited among them. The losses sustained by some individuals in the destruction of their magazines were very great; and Ioannes Mela, the young Greek already mentioned, estimated his at some thousand pounds. I had the satisfaction of afterwards learning that it was less than he at first supposed.

"A considerable part of the cottons and cotton yarns of Thessaly, as well as the coarse woollen manufactures of the country, have generally been transmitted through Ioannina for exportation to Italy and Germany. Of late years, owing to the impediments to trade on this side, a large proportion of these cottons has been forwarded by overland carriage, from Salonica and other places.

"Albani, and the neighbouring districts, are in great measure supplied with articles of commercial demand through the merchants of Ioannina; this city therefore forming a depôt of much importance in the country. The commerce, adapted to the wants of the population, is of course of a very miscellaneous kind. Each merchant pursues his trade in a variety of articles, which he obtains through his connections in Germany and Italy; or latterly, to a greater extent perhaps from the island of Malta. The nature of these imports I have detailed in speaking of the commerce of the gulph of Arta, which is in fact intermediate to that of Ioannina. There is a sort of fair held in the neighbourhood of the city every autumn, which collects many people from the different districts of the country; and here the various imported goods, which pass through the merchants of Ioannina, are disposed of in retail to a large amount.

The general export trade of Albania, consisting of grain, timber, tobacco, wool, oil, &c. is conducted in part by the Ioannina merchants, in connection with their import trade. Of grain the vizier himself is the greatest monopolist for exportation. The plains, adjoining the city, are rich in their produce of wheat and maize, which are sent down to be shipped at Salaora. The tobacco grown in this and other districts further to the north, is chiefly collected at Ioannina for export, and both in quantity and quality forms a commercial article of some value.

"The Greeks of Ioannina are celebrated among their countrymen for their literary habits, and unquestionably merit the repute they have obtained from this source. The literature

terature of the place is intimately connected with, and depending upon its commercial character. The wealth acquired by many of the inhabitants gives them the means of adopting such pursuits themselves, or encouraging them in others. Their connections in Germany and Italy, and frequent residence in these countries, tend further to create habits of this kind, and at the same time furnish those materials for literary progress, which would be wanting in their own country. At the present time, nearly two-thirds of the modern Greek publications are translations of European works; and whatever may be said of the powers of this kind of genius, it is certainly better that for some time it should continue to be so. Such translations are often both suggested and executed abroad, and the presses at Venice, Vienna, Leipsic, Moscow, and Paris, are all made subservient to the active industry of these people in forwarding the literature of their country. The extensive traffic of the Greeks of Ioannina is further a means of rendering this city a sort of mart for books, which are brought hither from the continent when printed; and from this point diffused over other parts of Greece. At the dogana of Arta, I have seen numerous packages of books on their way to Ioannina, and in the city itself there are several shops, which have long been known for their extensive dealings in this branch of business.

"There are two academies in the city; at which, in sequel to each other, the greater part of the young Greeks at Ioannina are instructed. The Gymnasium, if such it may be called, of Athanasius Psalida, ranks as the first of these; and has acquired some reputation from the

character of the master himself, who is considered as one of the chiefs of the literature of modern Greece. It is true that there are others who have written more; but Psalida has travelled much, is master of many languages, a good classical scholar, a sharp sighted critic, a poet, and versed besides in various parts of the literature and science of European nations. His only avowed work, as far as I know, is one intitled, "True Happiness, or the Basis of all Religious Worship," in which a general tone of sceptical opinion is the predominant feature. He is the author also, but anonymously, of a singular compound of prose and poetry, called *Ἐρωτος Αποτελεσματα*, printed at Vienna in 1792; and probably may have partaken in other works with which I am unacquainted. The funds of the academy which Psalida superintends, are lodged in the bank of Moscow. He has a great number of public pupils, whom he instructs not only in the languages, but also in history, geography, and various branches of general philosophy. He has one or two assistants in his labours; but it is the reputation of his own name which maintains the character of the school.

"The other academy of Ioannina is one of lower stamp, and devoted to a younger class of scholars. It is conducted at present by an elderly Greek, of the name of Valano, very respectable and industrious, but with less learning than Psalida. The father of Valano, who preceded him in this office, is the author of one or two mathematical works of some eminence in the country. The school is supported in great part by the noble benefactions of the Zosi-mades, one of the greatest and most wealthy of the modern Greek families.

lies. Two of the brothers of Zosima are resident in Italy, a third in Russia. I have learnt that the sums they annually transmit to Ioannina, in the form of books, or funds for the school, and of other literary benefactions, do not fall short of 20,000 piastres. This is a splendid instance of genuine and well-directed patriotism:

"Among the principal Greek families of Ioannina, there are some which have no immediate connection with trade, but live upon the property they inherit from their ancestors, or what has been more recently derived from commerce. This was the case with our host Metzou, who has an independent property, chiefly in land, amounting in English money to about 1,000*l.* a-year. Even without the exterior of an aristocracy, family antiquity and connections have a good deal of weight here, and procure respect independently of mere wealth.

"The manner of living among the Greeks of Ioannina is on the whole very uniform, and rendered more so than it might otherwise be, by the political pressure under which they all bend. Though the same circumstance has its effect in limiting the extent and enjoyments of society, yet it must be allowed that in this city there is much social intercourse of a pleasant kind, at least equal in its merits to any that I have found in Spain, Portugal, or Sicily; and superior certainly to what will be met with elsewhere in Greece. The vivacity of the Greeks always gives character to their society; and in Ioannina this is aided by the intelligence and acquirements they have derived from European intercourse. There will be found here, however, as in other parts of Greece, a great disparity in this respect be-

tween the sexes, which indeed may be easily explained by the relative circumstances of each. Even in the ancient times of the country, this disparity appears to have existed; and it is not surprising that it should have been maintained or increased by the influence of Turkish usages, operating upon a subjected people. The Grecian females of the higher class can scarcely be said to receive any education, except such as may casually be derived from their domestic associates of the other sex. They have none of the advantages which the men obtain from travel, but are secluded in great measure from admixture with the world, and seldom leave the galleries or apartments of their own houses, but when going to attend the services of the church, or to enjoy the luxury of the warm baths. Custom has gone yet further, in denying to a betrothed couple the privilege of seeing each other till the moment of marriage,—a usage which may be supposed peculiarly injurious to the female party; and which, though often infringed upon, yet, generally speaking, is maintained with strictness by all the orthodox Greek families. I have known an instance where an excellent young man, who had travelled much and gained many accomplishments, was ardently desirous of seeing and instructing himself the young girl to whom he was betrothed from family considerations. The thing, however, was impossible. Her family warmly opposed the desire; and the moment the lover was known to be approaching the house, she was hurried away to an apartment where she might be secluded from his sight. In another instance I was present at a Greek marriage, where the bride and bridegroom had actually

ally never met before. The lady indeed "thought she had seen her husband once in the church, but was not certain if it were really the same person."

"The Greek women are married when very young, a circumstance which further intercepts any thing like education in early life. I have known girls betrothed when not more than ten or eleven; and they are frequently married at the age of thirteen or fourteen. In these countries, as is well known, human life is some steps before-hand in its progress to maturity; is earlier also in the commencement of decay. Little cause have we to envy a climate which shortens the bloom of youth, and the beauty of adult age; takes from the period of mental education, and thereby renders the long latter stage of life more burdensome in itself, and less graceful and dignified in the eyes of others. The dependence and inferiority of women in the east, whatever are its other causes, may certainly be attributed in great part to that different proportion in the stages of life, which makes them for a few years the play-things of man, afterwards the subjects of his contempt and disregard.

"The effect of these circumstances is distinctly marked in the Greek women, notwithstanding a grace, or even refinement of manner, which gives for the time a sanction to the want of other accomplishments. Their conversation, though generally lively, yet is deficient in variety; they read but little, and are affected with many superstitious feelings and practices. There is an air of indolence in the carriage of a Greek lady, which, though alluring perhaps to the stranger from attitude, dress, and a

reference to oriental custom, would soon lose its charm in the fatigue of uniformity. All the movements are slow and languid, and the occupations which occur are performed with a sort of listlessness, that seems ever passing again into a state of inaction. Yet it must be allowed, that there is in these women a feminine softness of manner, which wins admiration; as there is also in their habit and style of dress, something which gains upon the fancy, in its relation to the costume and magnificence of the east. Their address is usually graceful and engaging; and both in the course of medical practice and otherwise, I have met with Greek females of the higher class at Ioannina, whose propriety of demeanour might have fitted them for most European circles.

"Repressed, however, by the customs and necessities already alluded to, they take little more than an inactive or negative part in society. Though not secluded from intercourse with the men who visit their houses, whether Greeks or foreigners, they seldom exchange visits with other families, or partake in any common social amusements. Their female friends they chiefly see when at the baths; and this probably forms an inducement to pass more time there than is desirable for health, or even for personal beauty, which suffers materially in most instances from the general relaxation of habit thus brought on. At home they are occupied in the general direction of their domestic concerns, a task rendered little laborious from the greater simplicity which belongs to the Greek manner of living, as well as from the numerous female domestics attached to a Greek family. In the number of female attendants, and also in the familiarity they main-

tain with their mistresses, may be recognized a feature of the customs of ancient Greece, as we have them from the dramatic and other writers. The nurse, in particular, always forms a principal person in the household; and obtains a veneration from the family, which likewise belonged to the ancient customs of the country. The Greek lady, with some of those servants in her train, may be seen at times walking up and down the shaded galleries of the house; her most frequent occupation that of twisting silk thread; her movement taking an air of indolence from the dragging walk which is rendered necessary by the loose slippers she wears. At other times, her slippers thrown off, she is seen reclining, in the manner of the country, on the couches of an inner apartment; the rich and ample drapery of her dress flowing loosely around; her common employment, if she has any, the working of embroidery, or twisting of silk thread. Here she generally receives any visitors who may arrive, the master of the house at the same time smoking with his friends on the adjoining couches.

"The traveller who merely resides at Athens may object to this picture of the Grecian women, as exhibiting greater social restraint than that to which they are actually exposed. But it must be remarked, that in Athens their situation is somewhat peculiar, owing in part to the predominance of the Greeks over the Turks in this city; still more to the frequent intercourse with European travellers who visit, or are resident in the place. The situation of the Athenian females is one of greater freedom; and they indulge in various forms of amusement, which are almost unknown

in the more rigid society of Ioannina.

"A slight sketch of the manner in which we lived, during our residence in the latter place, may afford the reader a better idea of the domestic and social usages of the modern Greeks, than could be given by any general remarks on this subject. Our host has already been mentioned as a man of independent property, and ancient family. Though seemingly fortunate, however, in external condition, a cast of melancholy had been given to a mind naturally gentle and timid, by various occurrences of life. His father had been killed by the hands of a Turk; he himself at one time had felt his life in danger, and there was obviously a sense of constant apprehension hanging upon his spirits, less perhaps for his own, than for the safety of his family. I speak it from the experience of much intercourse with him, when I say that I have seldom known so generous and affectionate a temper, or one that bore with such meekness the burden that weighed upon his mind. His wife, with more vivacity and much beauty, had the same excellent qualities of heart, and their domestic relations were evidently of the most exemplary kind. Their family consisted of two sons, two daughters, and an elderly lady nearly related to our host. The eldest daughter, at this time eleven years old, was a pretty and engaging girl; the boys, Alexius and Stephanos, still younger, and the most perfect models of juvenile beauty I ever recollect to have seen; the Grecian style of countenance already formed in both, and set off by the open forehead, and by the long hair flowing down behind from under the small red cap, which is worn
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on the top of the head. This custom of shaving the hair from the forehead has been noticed as common among all the Albanian soldiers, and it is in fact general with every class throughout this country. It may, I believe, be recognized as the remnant of a usage which was not unknown in the ancient times of Greece.

"The habitation of our host resembled those which are common in the country. Externally to the street, nothing is seen but a high stone wall, with the summit of a small part of the inner building. Large double gates conduct you into an outer area, from which you pass through other gates into an inner square, surrounded on three sides by the buildings of the house. The basement story is constructed of stone, the upper part of the structure almost entirely of wood. A broad gallery passes along two sides of the area, open in front, and shaded over-head by the roof of the building. To this gallery you ascend by a flight of stairs; the doors which conduct to the different living rooms of the house all going from it. In this country it is uncommon, except with the lower classes, to live upon the ground-floor, which is therefore generally occupied as out-buildings; the first floor being that always inhabited by the family. In the house of our host there were four or five which might be called living rooms, furnished with couches, carpets, and looking-glasses, which, with the decorations of the ceiling and walls, may be considered as almost the only appendages to a Grecian apartment. The principal room (or what with us would be the drawing-room) was large, lofty, and deco-

rated with much richness. Its height was sufficient for a double row of windows along three sides of the apartment; all these windows, however, being small; and so situated as merely to admit light, without allowing any external view. The ceiling was profusely ornamented with painting and gilding upon carved wood, the walls divided into pannels, and decorated in the same way with the addition of several pier-glasses. A couch or divan, like those described in the *Seraglio*, passed along three sides of the apartment, and superseded equally the use of chairs and tables, which are but rarely found in a Greek house.

"The dining-room was also large, but furnished with less decoration, and the same with the other living apartments. The kitchen and servants' rooms were connected by a passage with the great gallery; but this gallery itself formed a privileged place to all the members of the family, and it was seldom that some of the domestics might not be seen here partaking in the sports of the children, and using a familiarity with their superiors, which is sufficiently common in the south of Europe, but very unusual in England. Bed-chambers are not to be sought for in Greek or Turkish habitations. The sofas of their living apartments are the place of nightly repose with the higher classes; the floor with those of inferior rank. Upon the sofas are spread their cotton or woollen mattresses, cotton sheets, sometimes with worked muslin trimmings, and ornamented quilts. Neither men nor women take off more than a small part of their dress; and the lower classes seldom make any change whatever before throwing

throwing themselves down among the coarse woollen cloak which form their nightly covering. In this point, the Oriental customs are greatly more simple than those of civilized Europe.

"The separate communication of the rooms with an open gallery renders the Greek houses very cold in winter, of which I had reason to be convinced during both my residences at Ioannino. The higher class of Greeks seldom use any other means of artificial warmth than a brazier of charcoal placed in the middle of the apartment, trusting to their pelisses and thick clothing for the rest. Sometimes the brazier is set under a table, covered with a thick rug cloth, which falls down nearly to the floor. The heat is thus confined, and the feet of those sitting round the table, acquire soon an agreeable warmth, which is diffused to the rest of the body.

"The family of Metzou generally rose before eight o'clock. Their breakfast consisted simply of one or two cups of coffee, served up with a salver of sweet-meats, but without any more substantial food. In consideration to our grosser morning appetites, bread, honey, and rice milk were added to the repast which was set before us. Our host, who was always addressed with the epithet of Affendi by his children and domestics, passed much of the morning in smoking, in walking up and down the gallery, or in talking with his friends who called upon him. Not being engaged in commerce, and influenced perhaps by his natural timidity, he rarely quitted the house; and I do not recollect to have seen him more than five or six times beyond the gates of the area of his dwelling. His

lady meanwhile was engaged either in directing her household affairs, in working embroidery, or in weaving silk thread. The boys were occupied during a part of the morning in learning to read and write the Romaic with a young man who officiated as a pedagogue; the mode of instruction not differing much from that common elsewhere.

"The dinner hour of the family was usually between twelve and one, but from compliance to us, they delayed it till two o'clock. Summoned to the dining-room, a female domestic, in the usage of the east, presented to each person in succession a large bason with soap, and poured tepid water upon the hands from a brazen ewer. This finished, we seated ourselves at the table, which was simply a circular pewter tray, still called Trapeza, placed upon a stool, and without cloth or other appendage. The dinner consisted generally of ten or twelve dishes, presented singly at the table by an Albanian servant, clad in his national costume. The dishes afforded some, though not great variety; and the enumeration of those at one dinner may suffice as a general example of the common style of this repast in a Greek family of the higher class:—First, a dish of boiled rice flavoured with lemon juice; then a plate of mutton boiled to rags; another plate of mutton cooked with spinach or onions, and rich sauces; a Turkish dish composed of force meat with vegetables, made into balls; another Turkish dish, which appears as a large flat cake, the outside of a rich and greasy paste, the inside composed of eggs, vegetables, with a small quantity of meat: following this, a plate of baked mutton, with raisins

oins and almonds, boiled rice with oil, omelet balls, a dish of thin cakes made of flour, eggs, and honey; or sometimes in lieu of these, small cakes made of flour, coffee, and eggs; and the repast finished by a desert of grapes, raisins, and chestnuts. But for the presence of strangers, the family would have eat in common from the dishes successively brought to the table; and even with separate plates before them, this was frequently done. The thin wine of the country was drunk during the repast; but neither in eating or drinking is it common for the Greeks to indulge in excess.

"The dinner tray removed, the basin and ewer were again carried round,—a practice which is seldom omitted even among the inferior classes in this country. After an interval of a few minutes, a glass of liquor and coffee was handed to us, and a Turkish pipe presented to any one who desired it. In summer a short siesta is generally taken at this hour, but now it was not considered necessary. After passing an hour or two on the couches of the apartment, some visitors generally arrived, and the family moved to the larger room before described. These visitors were Greeks of the city, some of them relations, others friends of the family, who did not come on formal invitation, but in an unreserved way, to pass some part of the evening in conversation. This mode of society is common in Ioannina, and, but that the women take little part in it, might be considered extremely pleasant. When a visitor enters the apartment he salutes, and is saluted, by the right hand placed on the heart, a method of address at once simple and dignified. Seated on the couch, sweet-

meats, coffee, and a pipe are presented to him; and these form in fact the only requisitions of the visitors from their hosts. The Greeks are scarcely less fond of smoking than the Turks: the chibouki, or long Turkish pipe, is indispensable as one of their daily luxuries; and almost every individual carries about with him a small bag of tobacco, from which to draw its supplies. It must be noticed that the Turkish tobacco in general, and particularly that of Syria, is much less harsh than the American, probably less narcotic also; and in this, as well as in the greater elegance and comfort of the pipe, there are motives to the usage of smoking which we do not in England, equally possess.

"This evening society at the house of our host was a source both of pleasure and information to us. The lively and social temper of the Greeks, and their eagerness for intercourse with European travellers, brought a great number to see us, and we formed acquaintance here with many of the principal merchants, and most of the literary characters of the city. At the head of the latter class was Athanasius Psalida, the master of the academy of Ioannina. The writings and repute of this Greek have before been mentioned, and he does not allow his talents to be hidden from those around him. In Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, or Russ, he is continually pouring out a flood of conversation on every topic that can come before him, but with an obvious predilection for such topics as have relation to the arts, the literature, and the glory of his own country, which he never fails to identify with the ancient Greece. His bias on this point

point is openly, and at once displayed. Scarcely had I been five minutes with him before he began to complain of the ingratitude of European nations, in not repaying to the Greeks of this day the benefits they had derived from their ancestors. "What should we have been but for the arts, the instruction, the example of the Grecian worthies? The modern descendants of these men had the same capacity for becoming great, and opportunity and some slight aid alone were wanting to enable them to shew their qualities, and to take their place among nations. It might happen (and he spoke this with some sarcastic asperity) that they should one day come to reclaim what had been plundered from them of their ancient treasures." This topic of the ingratitude of civilized Europe towards their country is a favourite one with every Greek, and they dwell upon it even to tediousness with every stranger who will afford his ear to them. Notwithstanding their political degradation, there is a high tone of national vanity among the Greeks: in part that of ancestry, partly derived from a sense of their own active talent and intellectual superiority to the Turks who surround them. In conversation they are inclined to be sententious and argumentative. They have a number of proverbs in their language, many of them pointed and well conceived, and these they are much in the habit of using. The ambition of shewing themselves enlightened and free from prejudice is very common; and to this cause in part, but still more to the superstitious observances with which their national religion abounds, may be attributed the frequent

scepticism that prevails among the literary class of the modern Greeks. Psalida has considerable information in modern science, which he has acquired in Germany and elsewhere; but his mind seems more engaged by those studies which savour a little of the ancient philosophy of the schools. He has a laudable zeal for the progress of modern Greek literature, and much enthusiasm for the poetry of this language. I have heard him recite and expound for an hour together the Lyric verses of Athanasius Christopulo, which, in common with many other Greeks, he considers as the finest of their modern poetry, and little inferior in merit to that of Anacreon himself.

"Another of our visitors at the house of Metzou, was the physician George Sakallarius, one of the medical attendants on the Vizier. This Greek, now about fifty years of age, was educated at the medical school of Vienna, and for a long period has practised his profession at Ioannina. He, as well as Psalida, enjoys considerable reputation among his countrymen, and has deserved it by his zeal for their literature and improvement. He is the author of several works, original as well as translated. His "Greek Archæology" was published at Vienna in 1795, and two years afterwards a translation of the first volume of the *Travels of Anacharsis*, a work he has not yet completed. At the same place he published two Romanic melodramas, entitled, "Orpheus and Eurydice," and "Ulysses and Calypso." He was at this time engaged in translating *Cousin d'Espreux's* history of Greece, a work in sixteen volumes, of which he had already completed ten. Sakallarius

is, I believe, the only one among his countrymen who has interested himself in the collection of Grecian coins; and his own assiduity, aided by the facilities of a residence on the spot, have enabled him to form a cabinet of no mean value. This cabinet I examined, when a second time at Ioannina, and found it particularly rich in the rare coins of Epirus, Acarnania, and the different cities and isles on this coast of Greece. When at Vienna, Sakallarius had studied medicine under Franck; and together with much veneration for his master, I found a strong bias, both in opinion and practice, towards the doctrines of that eminent physician.

"Another medical man, who very often visited us, was Signore Metaxa, a Cephaloniote by birth, who had studied some time at Paris, and a year or two before our arrival at Ioannina, had been appointed one of the physicians of the vizier. His education had given him very different opinions from those of his colleague, but his medical knowledge was extremely accurate, and from his residence in France he had derived much knowledge both of the literature and science of modern Europe.

"The third physician of the vizier was at this time absent, in attendance upon Veli Pasha at Larissa. These three medical attendants have each 6000 piastres, or somewhat more than 300*l.* per annum, with the privilege of practising to any extent in the city, which probably may nearly double their income. Considering the mode of life among the Greeks, these professional gains are sufficient both for respectability and comfort. There are several other medical men in Ioannina, of whom those in most repute

are Kolettis and Chiprassiti, both natives of the country. The former, who is a physician to Mouctar Pasha, I did not see until my second visit to Ioannina. He is the author of a pretty little chemical treatise in the Romaic language, chiefly occupied in an ingenious discussion of the modern doctrines of heat, and has prepared also for publication, translations of Johnson's *Rasselas*, of the *Geometry of Legendre*, and the *Arithmetic of Biot*.

"The medical character is held in much repute throughout Greece; and as the Greek physicians have generally travelled and studied at foreign universities, there is some cause for this comparative reputation. I have generally found them acute and well-informed men; zealous in their profession; and, the department of surgery excepted, probably not inferior to any of their brethren in the south of Europe. Their education in Germany and Italy, particularly in the latter of these countries, has had the effect of infusing into many of them the Brunonian doctrine, in some one or other of its modifications, and there is scarcely a physician in Greece with whom the names of Brown and Darwin are not familiar; or who will not make it an early object of inquiry, what reputation the men and doctrines have acquired in their own country. During my two residences in Albania, I had occasion to attend several patients, both Greeks and Turks, together with the physicians of Ioannina; and I recollect one instance, where I met four of them in consultation upon the case of an interesting young man, named Tassula, a native of one of the Macedonian cantons, and secretary to the vizier. There was always

always a perfect courtesy in these consultations, and a careful consideration of the symptoms, with more tendency however to system and theory than are usual in modern English practice.

“ Even the dejected political state of the Greeks has not precluded the use of certain titles, applied as distinctions to particular classes of society. Those who have the situation of Archons, or other magisterial office, are generally spoken of and addressed with the epithet of *Eugenestatos* or *Entimotatos*; a merchant with that of *Timiotatos*; a physician as *Exochotatos*; and a schoolmaster with the long prefixure of *Sophologistatos*. Even the ordinary singer in the churches has his title of *Musikologistatos*, which is given with all due forms of usage. However the question of such distinctions may stand elsewhere, one is here almost tempted to apply the saying of Longinus; *Τὸ κοινὸν βιω εἶναι ὑπάρχει μέγα ἢ τὸ καταφρονεῖν εἰς μέγα*. In common life, nothing is great which it is great to despise.

“ The evening parties at the house of our host made us acquainted with several of the principal merchants of Ioannina; and the medical practice I had, both now and on my return to the city, greatly extended this intimacy. We found them for the most part well-informed men, shrewd in their remarks, and shewing a degree of civility which could not fail to be gratifying to us.

“ There is something highly satisfactory indeed to national feeling in the reception an Englishman finds, as well here as in other parts of Greece. It is true that the present politics of Ali Pasha have contributed in Albania to this effect; but this influence is only a partial cause; and the more principal reasons are

to be found in the number of English travellers who frequent the country; in the character of their pursuits, and in the enthusiasm they testify for the memorials of ancient Greece, a point that is more or less interesting to the feelings of every modern Greek. Something, too, of this national respect for the English may be attributed to political causes; to the knowledge they all have of the relation of England to the rest of Europe; and especially of our growing influence in the Mediterranean, an influence which one party in Greece hope may some time be directed to their own liberation. Another and more ordinary cause is the disposition of an Englishman to spend or give his money, which of course never fails in procuring advocates or friends. In this country, as well as in Spain and Sicily, I have often been assiduously questioned as to the sources of our wealth, which the enquirers themselves are usually disposed to consider as coming altogether from our Oriental possessions. The Greeks, however, are less liable to this mistake than others; their own merchants, particularly in some of the islands, having well ascertained the influence of an active commerce in promoting wealth. Many also of the Ioannina merchants have acquired a large property; and in their habitations, as well as mode of living, there is a display of this on a very considerable scale. The houses of Stavro, of Demetrius Athanasius, and several others, are of great extent, and furnished in a style of much luxury. It may be remarked, however, in general, that the current expences of a Greek family are not large, and their long and repeated fasts, as well as the comparative simplicity of their diet,

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would reduce these expences below the level common to most nations, even without reference to the ordinary prices of the country. It will be seen, too, that their forms of society are attended with little expediture, and their public amusements rare, and of the most limited kind.

"Among the Greek merchants whom we knew at Ioannina, one of the most agreeable was Ioannes Mela, whose name has been more than once mentioned in the foregoing narrative. We found in this young man great intelligence and propriety of judgment; and more accurate views, I think, regarding the present state and future prospects of Greece, than I met with elsewhere. The education he had received in travelling, he continued to himself by his own exertions at home. Residing in a large family mansion, with an aged mother, he had built in his gardens a small library, neatly furnished, provided with a piano-forte, and a good collection of books, as well Romaic as German and French. Among those of the first class, I observed a modern Green translation of Laplace's *Système du Monde*, a book I do not recollect to have seen in any other place.

"Two or three Greek priests entered occasionally into the society at our host's, but they bore an inferior part in it. This class of men labours under disadvantages throughout every part of Greece, which do not equally belong to medicine nor to trade. The general smallness of their stipends brings most of them from an inferior class of society; their means of education are limited both by habit and necessity; and they but seldom enjoy the opportunities of travelling obtained by

other Greeks. There are many exceptions to the statement, yet it may be said generally that a smaller proportion of the literature of the country has come from the Greek clergy, than from other classes of the community.

"Cards are sometimes introduced into our evening parties, but I do not recollect ever to have seen a chess-board. The national and pleasing dance of the Romaika, appears to be less common in Albania than in the Morea and other parts of Greece; perhaps an effect of the more frequent use of the Albanitiko, or Albanian dance, in this part of the country. There is an extreme difference in the character of the two dances; the latter, wild, uncouth, and abounding in strange gestures; the Romaika, graceful, though sometimes lively, and well fitted to display the beauty of attitude in the human form. Both are supposed to have been derived, with more or less of change, from the ancient times of Greece; and the claim of the Romaika in particular to a classical origin appears to have some reality. Its history has been connected with the dance invented at Delos, when Theseus came hither from Crete, to commemorate the adventure of Ariadne and the Cretan Labyrinth; and the character of its movements has much correspondence with those described by Plutarch, in his life of Theseus. The Ariadne of the dance is selected either in rotation, or from some habitual deference to youth and beauty. She holds in her left hand a white handkerchief, the clue to Theseus, who follows next in the dance; having the other end of the handkerchief in his right hand, and giving his left to a second female.

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The alternation of the sexes, hand in hand, then goes on to any number. The chief action of the dance devolves upon the two leaders, the others merely following their movements, generally in a sort of circular outline, and with a step alternately advancing and receding to the measures of the music. The leading female, with an action of the arms and figure directed by her own choice, conducts her lover, as he may be supposed, in a winding and labyrinthic course, each of them constantly varying their movements, partly in obedience to the music, which is either slow and measured, or more lively and impetuous; partly from the spirit of the moment, and the suggestion of their own taste. This rapid and frequent change of figure, together with the power of giving expression, and creating novelty, renders the *Romaika* a very pleasing dance; and perhaps among the best of those which have become national, since the plan of its movement allows scope both to the learned and unlearned in the art. In a ball-room at Athens, I have seen it performed with great effect. Still more I have enjoyed its exhibition in some Arcadian villages; where in the spring of the year, and when the whole country was glowing with beauty, grobpes of youth of both sexes were assembled amidst their habitations, circling round in the mazes of this dance; with flowing hair, and a dress picturesque enough, even for the outline which fancy frames of Arcadian scenery. It is impossible to look upon the *Romaika* without the suggestion of antiquity; as well in the representation we have upon marbles and vases, as in the description of similar movements by the poets of that age.

“ In exterior habits and dress, the Greeks of higher class at Ioannina, and in the southern part of Albania, exhibit little peculiarity from their countrymen elsewhere. In the case of the men, the head, from which the hair is entirely removed in the front, is covered with the *calpac*; a tall white felt cap, without brim, and sometimes surmounted by a square tablet of cloth stuffed with wool. The rest of the dress resembles a good deal that of the Turks; small yellow leather boots are generally worn, and there is a pretty general license as to the colours of the dress, except in the instance of green, which is presumed to be worn only by the Turkish Emirs, or those who claim a place in the descent from the Prophet.

“ The female dress among the Greeks is characterized by a luxuriance of ornament, which I think I have observed in greater degree at Ioannina than elsewhere. A Greek lady puts nature entirely under the control of art; and though in the hair, the veil, and the zone, there are many resemblances to ancient costume, yet the comparative lightness of the ancient drapery, as we have it in statues, &c. will not be recognized in the more cumbrous and richly decorated robes of the modern females. The cultivation and ornament of the hair is a matter of the first moment; and whatever be thought of the artificial colour they give it, it must be acknowledged that there is frequently much gracefulness in the long twisted ringlets, or loose flowing masses in which it is disposed. This artificial tint is procured by the use of a vegetable powder, brought from Africa, and sold by retail in the shops of the country. The powder, which is of a greyish-green colour, I believe

to be obtained from the *Lawsonia inermis*. The stain it gives to the hair will scarcely admit of the epithet golden, but has a more strict resemblance (however unclassical the comparison may be) to that of mahogany wood; varying in deepness of colour either from the more profuse employment of the powder, or from some difference in the original colouring matter of the hair. The practice of giving this tint is begun at an early age; the youngest daughter of our host, scarcely ten years old, had already long stained ringlets, which hung far down over her neck and shoulders. When married, however, the women dismiss this colour, and take in lieu of it, a deep black, a tint unquestionably more pleasing, though less gaudy. Numerous other ornaments are added to the head dress; pearls, gold-wire, gold and silver coins, &c. The girls even of higher rank frequently wear a small circular piece of red cloth on the crown of the head, to which are attached successive rows of such coins, with pearls and other decorations; and this practice of carrying the current money of the country as an ornament to the person, is still more frequent among the lower classes both of Greek and Albanian females.

“The full dress of a Grecian lady requires yet further violations of nature. As in the ancient times of Greece, they use a variety of paints for their complexions; they colour and thicken their eye-brows, frequently also joining the two together; they blacken the eye-lashes; and give a pink stain to the nails. All these decorations are employed more profusely, and with greater infringement upon good taste, in the instance of the marriage cere-

mony, and other religious festivals. A Greek bride is ornamented with a sort of luxurious artifice, which even fatigues the eye by its complication and incongruity. Her attendants partake in some degree of the same gaudy attire, and I have seen a young girl just come from a bridal feast, with the appendage of a round spot of gold leaf underneath each eye, the cheeks at the same time coloured to excess. It would be tedious, nor should I be able, to enter into all the details of the cosmetic arts, which the Grecian women employ. The other parts of their dress may more easily be described; — an open and flowing gown with full sleeves, frequently made of silk and richly embroidered; an inner vest also richly worked: their muslin drawers covered by the gown; coloured stockings and shoes; in cold weather a satin furred pelisse; a long and rich veil, which is disposed by the Greek women with a singular gracefulness; and the zone, resting upon the hips, with an obliquity corresponding in some degree to the natural form; and held down in front by two massive silver bosses, which connect its two extremities. This zone is distinct from the waist, which is formed by the folds of the dress below the bosom, and might be unpleasant to the eye in giving the effect of a second waist, were not the fancy called in by the image of the ancient Cestus, to which in various respects it has a strong resemblance.

“Comparing the Greeks generally with other people in the south of Europe, they have, I think, a manifest superiority both in countenance and form. Making every allowance for dress, there is a breadth and a manliness of figure, which may.

may be considered, I believe, as national; and an outline of countenance which is equally national, and which strongly brings to mind the models afforded by the sculpture of ancient Greece. The facial angle is larger than in most other communities; the features are usually broad, open, and animated.

The Turkish physiognomy, though itself handsome, is widely different from the Greek; and it is singular to the traveller, to see on one soil an intermixture of two people so striking, and at the same time so distinct in their respective characters, physical and moral.

DESCRIPTION OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

[From the same.]

“THE rapid decay of the eastern empire, and the active policy of the Venetians, during the period of the Crusades, threw the islands, together with various portions of the adjoining continent, into the hands of this enterprising people, during the thirteenth century. Some parts of those acquisitions were afterwards permanently taken, and others occupied for a time by the Turks, when that nation was in the height of conquest and military power; but they did not long retain any of the Ionian Isles; and the dominion of the Venetians continued in this sea, with little interruption, for more than 300 years. In later times, the political situation of the isles has been much more fluctuating. The successes of the French in Italy, in the campaign of 1797, gave them, by the treaty of Campo Formio, this possession, together with others of the Venetian colonies. The various events succeeding in the Mediterranean, rendered the situation of the isles for two or three years very precarious and disturbed; and it was

not till March 1801, that a settled form was given to their government, by a treaty between Russia and the Porte, in which these powers agree to guarantee their existence as a distinct state, paying, however, a certain tribute to the Porte, under the name of “The Republic of the Seven Isles.” The integrity of this Republic, consisting of the Isles of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa-Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, was further made an article between England and France in the treaty of Amiens. The small commonwealth, so constituted, had a population of about 200,000 souls; allied, indeed, by origin, language, and habits, but so divided from their insular situation, that they could have no political efficiency, even under circumstances more favourable than the present condition of European politics and warfare. At the head of the republic, the government of which was fixed at Corfu, was placed the prince Comneno, a Zantiote nobleman, whose rank and integrity recommended him to a situation, which he filled with

with honour and propriety. The prince, now advanced in years, resides at present in Zante, where his estates are situated, and maintains in private life the respect which formerly was given to his public situation.

"The renewal of the war did not directly affect the Ionian Isles, but they could not long escape, in a contest which successively involved every part of Europe. The naval forces of Russia, with a few land troops, afforded them protection during the war, which terminated in the treaty of Tilsit; but by the terms of this treaty they were consigned over to the French empire, and immediately garrisoned by French troops. The government established in Corfu affected to give a certain degree of legislative freedom to the people, and to restore various usages of the ancient Greeks. The reckoning by Olympiads was to be renewed; Olympic games were to be celebrated at each period of four years; and iron medals to be distributed as prizes. These projects had a mighty aspect in the columns of the *Moniteur*, but this was all; and if they were designed to influence the minds of the continental Greeks, their effect was speedily lost in the train of succeeding events.

"Early in 1810, a small English expedition left Sicily, under the command of General Oswald, destined to act against the Ionian Isles. Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cefrigo were taken almost without opposition. In Santa-Maura, the French garrison made a longer resistance, but was finally compelled to surrender. Corfu, and the small adjoining Isle of Paxo, alone remained in the French power; the garrison of the former being much

stronger than the whole disposable force in the captured isles, and our only offensive means therefore being a maritime blockade. In this state the affairs of the Ionian Isles continued from 1810 to the late peace; two islands being subject to the French, under the immediate command of General Denzelot; the remaining five, which contain a population of nearly 140,000 souls, being under the protection of the English, with the title of "The Liberated Ionian Isles." At the time I am now writing, it is still uncertain how this little community will be disposed of, under the internal arrangements of the great powers of Europe. An independence, under the common guarantee of England, Russia, France, and Austria, would probably, on the whole, be the condition most favourable to the interests of the people.

"While the islands continued under British government, considerable, perhaps too great, deference was paid to their ancient institutions. The Venetian laws were maintained, and their execution committed in each isle to four of the principal inhabitants, with a president, or *Capo del governo*, which office was always filled by the chief English military officer in the island. Corfu being possessed by the French, the seat of the general government, civil and military, was established at Zante; and hither were brought all appeals from the other isles, with a further reference to our authorities in Sicily, to which the command was still subordinate. At the time I was in the Ionian isles, Major-general Airey held this command, and so fulfilled its duties as to merit and obtain the attachment of the population committed

mitted to his charge: he was succeeded in the spring of 1813 by General Campbell, who has remained in the islands since this period.

"The English government, short as was its duration, has certainly been beneficial to the welfare of the isles: their commerce has experienced some increase; and the revenues, which were formerly abused to party purposes, have, during this time, been devoted to the internal improvement of the country, the repair of the fortifications, and the construction or improvement of roads. The police of the towns, in the different isles, has also been attended: assassinations, as I have before mentioned, rendered very uncommon; and the influence of factious parties much repressed. These evils may possibly again occur; but it is something to have shewn the possibility and advantage of their removal. It might perhaps have been well, while retaining authority in the isles, had we done more, in establishing a college here, for the general education both of the insular and continental Greeks. Such an institution, the larger the scale of which the better, would have been honourable to ourselves, eminently useful to the Greeks, and of very beneficial influence to all our future relations with this people. The idea, however, has not been wholly neglected; a young Greek, who resided some years in London, and was well known under the name of Plato, having been sent out by government some time since, for the purpose of establishing a school in Zante. It may be apprehended, however, that the scale of their design is too small to answer all the purposes that might be effected in this valuable object.

"An Italian newspaper formerly existed in Zante. While maintaining this, another was set on foot about two years ago, in the Romaic language, under the title of *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Ἰωνικῶν Ελευθερωμένων Νήτων*, protected by the English, and under the immediate direction of an intelligent young man, of the name of Zervò, a native of Corfu: this paper is printed once or twice a-week, according to the supply of intelligence. The types, which were procured from Venice, are sufficiently good; and the general appearance of the paper neater and more correct than the Corfiotte Gazette; under the French influence, to which it was opposed. The style of the leading article, to employ an English phrase, is usually very good, and less corrupted by foreign idioms than is common in the application of the Romaic to modern European topics. By the suggestion of Sir W. Gell, the scheme of the paper has been extended to the report of intelligence from continental Greece; and a direct correspondence established with Athens, to supply information as to the pursuits of travellers and progress of discovery; thus giving the publication some value beyond that of a mere journal of passing events.

"One of the principal Zantiotes of later times, is George Ventoti, who has given his countrymen, and the Greeks at large, a very valuable work, in his *Λεξικὸν Τριγλωσσὸν*; a dictionary of the Romaic, Italian, and French languages, in three volumes 4to., published at Vienna in 1790. He has also published a Romaic and French Grammar, and a History of America in four volumes. Ventoti, I believe, now resides in some situation at Vienna. Demetrius Gutzeli, another Zantiote, translated

translated the *Jerusalem Delivered*, which translation was published at Vienna in 1807.

"The British garrison at Zante, when I was there, consisted of a few companies of the 35th regiment, companies of the Corsican rangers, and Calabrese corps, and the Greek light infantry. The 35th had remained in the islands since they were taken from the French; a fine regiment, and one that, from its long continuance in the Mediterranean, had acquired much adaptation to the manners of the south of Europe. Most of the children of the soldiers spoke Italian fluently; and many of the younger ones, the Greek dialect of the Zantiotes. The situation of this regiment in Zante was easy, and even luxurious; the climate fine; provisions, wine, fruit, &c. extremely cheap; and much good will existing between the soldiers and the natives. Their only extra service was the easy one of bearing a part in the religious processions of the Greek church. Besides the band of the regiment, two files of English soldiers might generally be seen with these processions; each man carrying in his hand a lighted taper, and fulfilling their parts with propriety and decency of manner. The contrast was striking in such cases between the open and full countenance of the Englishmen, and the more contracted, darker, and broader visages of the Greek religious functionaries. The officers of the regiment partook in the same comforts as the men, complaining chiefly of the want of promotion, which was a consequence of their easy and unvarying life. They had not, however, much intimate society with the native families of Zante; the difference of

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manners precluding in a great degree any other intercourse than that of general civility.

"The Greek regiment afforded a singular spectacle at the time I first visited Zante. Nearly a thousand men, drawn chiefly from the Morea and Albania, many of them from the district of the ancient Lacedæmon, were assembled together in their native dresses, somewhat such as I shall hereafter describe, in speaking of the Albanian soldiers. They were marshalled and disciplined according to our tactics; and, though not speaking a word of English, received the word of command in this unknown language. Their officers, three-fourths of which were Albanians or Moriotas, the remainder English, were already habited in a superb dress, copied in various parts from ancient costume. The men did not receive their uniform till some time afterwards, nor did their appearance gain much by the intermixture it afforded between the English and their own national dress. It is true indeed, that red was the military garb of the Spartans in old times, but the resemblance went little farther, than to the colour of the ill-made jackets, which came out from England for this modern Greek regiment. The discipline of the men, when I saw them, was little advanced, and there seemed a singular inaptitude to acquire it; their appearance and movements were in all respects curiously rude and uncouth. The band had made greater advances than their countrymen in the ranks, and already performed our English airs with some degree of skill. The progress of the regiment was certainly much retarded by its vicinity to the Morea; which easily enabled those to desert who became weary

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of the service, and of a more correct discipline than was accordant with their former habits. Such desertions frequently occurred, and though the ranks were much replenished from the same source, yet the effect was obviously adverse to the welfare of the regiment. Soon after this time, Achmet Pasha, successor to Veli Pasha in the Morea, did something, though from other motives, to check this evil, by executing eleven men who had deserted from Zante, and been taken by his soldiers in the Morea. Still it was thought desirable on various accounts to transfer the Greek regiment to Sicily; and they sailed from the isles with that destination in February 1813. It was supposed that there might be much reluctance to this measure; but the men were embarked without difficulty, and even testified some enthusiasm on the occasion.

"It has since been attempted to raise another Greek regiment on the same footing; and had the war continued, this would have been effected. There was certainly some national policy in the measure, as connecting us more intimately with a people and country, which of late have again been brought within the compass of European politics; and to which future events may give much greater importance in the balance of European power.

"From Zante I made a short excursion to the neighbouring isle of Cephalonia, the largest of those in the Ionian sea. From the bay of Zante to the harbour of Argostoli, the capital of Cephalonia, is a distance of 30 miles. This port branches deeply into the island; and Argostoli, from its situation, is entirely shut out from the sea, forming a secure harbour, but diffi-

cult of egress when the wind is from any west or south quarter. On the same arm of the sea, but on the opposite side, and nearer to its mouth than Argostoli, stands the town of Lexouri, containing about 5,000 people. Argostoli itself is somewhat less populous, but is better built, and has been the seat of the insular government. The town stretches about a mile along the shore, a low ridge of hills rising behind, which intervene behind this branch of the gulph and the southern coast of the island; and derive a luxuriant aspect from the villages, olive-groves, and vineyards covering their declivity. The shore of the gulph opposite the town affords a different character; the ground ascending rapidly, or in some places even precipitously, towards the lofty chain of hills in the centre of the isle. The acclivity of these hills is scantily covered with soil, except in the hollows, or on the ledges they form in their ascent, where a village may here and there be seen in very singular situations; surrounded generally by vineyards and olive-trees. The remainder of the mountain surface is much exposed, and presents a peculiar aspect from the whiteness of the limestone of which it is composed. On the whole, the scenery about the gulph of Argostoli is of a very pleasing and remarkable kind.

"Letters with which I had been favoured by general Airey and Mr. Foresti, procured me a very polite reception from major du Bosset, who then resided at Argostoli, as governor of the island. This gentleman is a native of Switzerland, but has been long attached to the British service in different situations, and is now major in the regiment of de Rolle. At this time
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he had filled the office of commandant in Cephalonia for about two years, and had shewn remarkable activity in forwarding various schemes of internal improvement; some of which I shall speedily notice. By his assistance, I procured an excellent lodging in the family of Signore Metaxà, an avocato or lawyer by profession; who gave up to my use two large rooms, furnished in the Venetian style, and treated me with that profuse civility of manner, that exuberance of courteous phraseology, which can only be well apprehended by those who have travelled in Italy, or the Italian appendages in the south of Europe.

“Cephalonia is about a hundred miles in circumference. The most striking feature in the general aspect of the island, is the great ridge called the Black Mountain; the height of which I should judge, from the distance at which it is seen, to be little less than 4,000 feet. It is the mount *Ætnos* of antiquity, mentioned by Strabo, as the loftiest point in the isle; and on its summit once stood an altar, dedicated to Jupiter *Ænesius*. I was assured in Cephalonia that some of the stones of this altar are yet to be found there; and, together with them, the bones of animals, which are supposed to have been the victims sacrificed on the spot. The name of the Black Mountain was obtained from the large pine forests which once covered its acclivities; but during the disturbed state of the islands fifteen years ago, these forests, as it is said, were wantonly set on fire, and in great part destroyed; so that, now the appearance of the mountain entirely contradicts its name. This is especially the case

on its southern side; where the precipitous point, which rises by a single majestic elevation from the base to the summit, is broken by numerous deep gullies, displaying the white limestone rock of which the mountain is composed. The other hills, which stretch across the centre of the isle and occupy the greater part of its extent, are all connected in the same groupe with the Black Mountain. On a conical insulated hill to the south of this mountain, and five miles from Argostoli, stands the castle of St. George, of Venetian origin, and the strongest fortified point in the island: it was at this time garrisoned by three hundred Greek troops in our pay, forming the body called the Ionian Greek infantry. The town of St. George is situated on the declivity of the hill, below the castle.

“The island, in its present state, contains from 55,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. The most populous portion of it is that surrounding the gulph of Argostoli, and forming the boundary of the southern coast, underneath the Black Mountain: there is also a considerable population on the north-east coast, opposed to Ithaca; the district in which stood the ancient city of Samos. Though the extent of the island greatly exceeds that of Zante, its general fertility is much less, the soil being for the most part scantily spread over the limestone rock of which the country consists. The property in land, too, is more divided than in the latter isle; the largest proprietor in Cephalonia not having a revenue of more than 800*l.* or 900*l.* per annum; while in Zante there are estates, which are said to be of more than double this value. The tenure of the land

is for the most part annual; the tenant, by his agreement, paying to the landlord one half of the produce. The commerce of the island is considerable, though much less in proportion than that of Zante. The principal articles of export are currants, wine, and oil; the annual produce of currants being estimated at from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000lbs.; that of oil at a larger proportional amount. A considerable number of sheep and goats feed upon the high grounds of the island; but I heard nothing to corroborate the strange story of Ælian, that in Cephalonia the goats do not drink during six months of the year.

“Argostoli has already been noticed as the seat of government; but as its population does not exceed 4,000, the town possesses no peculiar importance in the isle. Its appearance has been improved, since the occupation of Cephalonia by the English; and the police greatly amended, so that the assassinations, which were before very frequent here, now scarcely ever occur. The peninsular site of Argostoli, between the gulph and the sea, was until lately a source of much inconvenience; the people coming to the town from other parts of the isle being obliged either to cross the gulph by an ill-regulated ferry, or to make a circuit round the shallow lagoons which form its upper extremity. Under the direction of Major Du Bosset, a causeway has been thrown across this arm of the sea, just above the town, of sufficient breadth to admit a carriage to pass; and firmly constructed of blocks of solid stone, without cement. This was a great undertaking; the length of the causeway exceeding 700 yards; and the water in many parts of the channel being

six feet in depth. By a certain party in the island, the work has been regarded as one of doubtful utility; it being alleged that the upper end of the gulph will now become a stagnant pool, detrimental to the health of the people of Argostoli. Intermittent and remittent autumnal fevers were previously frequent in the place, depending, it is probable, upon the vicinity of these lagoons; but as there are many arches in the new causeway, for the passage of the waters, it does not seem that there is much ground for this additional alarm.

“The roads in Cephalonia were formerly very bad: most of them little better than rugged mountain paths. The same active spirit in Major Du Bosset has led him to employ a certain part of the labour and revenue of the island in the construction of new roads; and this measure has been carried into effect with singular promptitude and success. The rocky nature of the surface has given facility to the work, by providing a firm substratum and an excellent material. The peninsulas by degrees became sensible to the advantage of these improvements; and in several instances came forward to volunteer their labours, and to solicit an extension of the roads to other districts of country. These works therefore have drawn less upon the revenue of the island than might be expected from their scale and completeness. The road beginning from the new causeway at Argostoli, and traversing the mountains in the centre of the isle, to the opposite coast near Samos, is the greatest undertaking of the kind. It had been executed, when I was in Cephalonia, so far as to be everywhere perfectly passable for a carriage; and the journey from Argostoli

Argostoli to this coast, which formerly required eight or ten hours, might now be performed in little more than half the time. The road carried along the populous district of the southern coast might almost be compared with those of England, and is greatly superior to any I have seen in Portugal or Sicily.

“ It has been doubted, or rather indeed asserted, that these schemes of improvement in Cephalonia were too hasty in their origin; and on a scale disproportionate to the small revenues of the country. Such objections, however, are common in all similar cases; and I have little hesitation in expressing my own belief, that the general effect of the plans, so actively carried forward here, will be greatly and permanently beneficial to the welfare of the island.

“ Major Du Bosset has farther been industrious in exploring the antiquities of Cephalonia, and has succeeded in bringing to light many curious facts on this subject. In ancient times the island contained four principal cities, Samos, Pali (which the last Philip of Macedon unsuccessfully besieged), Krani, and Pronos. The site of Samos, a place often mentioned by Homer, and pertaining to the kingdom of Ulysses, exhibits still very extensive walls; and excavations among its ruins have afforded various specimens of ancient ornaments, medals, vases, and fragments of statues. The city of Krani stood on an eminence at the upper end of the gulph of Argostoli; and its walls may yet be traced nearly in their whole circumference, which, from the observations I made, I conceive to be almost two miles. On the north-east side, where they follow the

summit of a steep ascent, they are built with the greatest regularity, and shew the remains of a gateway, and several towers. The structure is that usually called Cyclopian, and which was employed in the earliest times of Greece; vast oblong blocks of stone set upon each other, and nicely fitted together without cement. In a road which leads from the eminences of Krani to the plain, at the head of the gulph, I observed the deep traces of wheel-carriages worn in the rock, like those near to the Latomies at Syracuse. In a cliff, which bounds the same road, is an excavation, probably intended as a sepulchre, and surmounted by a Greek inscription on the rock, now legible only in a few of its letters: other vestiges of the ancient population occur in this vicinity. Between the castle of St. George and the village of Metaxata, five miles from Argostoli, there are large catacombs, nine or ten of which have lately been opened, so as to display the curious excavation of tombs in the loose calcareous rock which occurs at this place. Some of the caverns are distinct, other connected together. There is likewise much variety in the number and arrangement of the tombs on each; some containing only six, others as many as sixteen, regularly disposed. Major Du Bosset has a considerable collection of sepulchral urns, &c. found as well in these catacombs as in other parts of Cephalonia. This gentleman has also explored the remains of Pronos, and ascertained various facts regarding an ancient temple which stood on the eastern coast of the island, near to the sea, and which until this time had never been examined. An account of this observation was published

in the Zante Ephemeris, an extract of which I have given in the Appendix. The coins of all the four cities of Cephalaria are well known, and may be found in various cabinets of medals.

"The more modern history of Cephalaria nearly corresponds with that of Zante; and its population, as might be expected, presents most of the same general features. In some points, however, there are shades of difference. The Cephalonians being less wealthy, are more enterprising than the natives of Zante; and by their quickness and activity have long obtained distinction among the other people of the Levant. The young men of the island, wherever means can be afforded, are sent to Italy, generally with a view of studying law or physic, the professions to which they principally attach themselves. Only a certain number return to settle in Cephalaria; the remainder either procuring situations in Italy, or migrating to various parts of the Levant for the purpose of seeking employment. Medicine is on the whole the favourite object of pursuit; and it is probable that from no equal amount of population in the world, are so many physicians produced as from that upon the small isle of Cephalaria. There is scarcely a large town in European Turkey, where one or more Cephalonians may not be found engaged in medical practice, and pursuing their fortunes with an assiduity, which is generally successful in as far as circumstances render it possible; it is said to be a common prayer of the sages femmes of the island, when a female child is born, "that she may be happy and have a physician for her husband." There is

a similarity among all these islanders, in whatsoever situation they are found, which cannot fail to strike the attention of the traveller. They are generally quick and ingenious in their conceptions; adroit, as well as active, in their affairs; in their manner, bustling, loquacious, and verbose; and with a temper disposed to litigation and intrigue. When you talk to a Cephalonian, you find him argumentative, yet insinuating, dealing much in moral truisms; which, though given with form and gravity, obviously mean very little from the mind. As a natural effect of their character, petty feuds are very common in the island; and an ample provision is made at home for most of the young lawyers who come from the Italian schools. In Cephalaria, as in Zante, the corrupt feebleness of the Venetian government allowed the formation of parties, which usually had their origin in personal broils, and were prosecuted with extreme asperity, and with manifest ill effect on the condition of the people. The petty aristocracy of Cephalonian Counts, who are the chief proprietors in the island, were also the principal agents in these feuds. Most of these men have been educated in Italy; but coming home without profession or employment, their trifling rank becomes hurtful to their future character, and they waste in the form of intrigue that active talent which is habitual to the natives of the island. This party spirit in the higher classes, and the evils it entailed upon their dependents, have been checked by the English government in Cephalaria; but it may be feared that the influence will be one of short duration only.

"The society at Argosoli, independently

pendently of these feuds, is not without its merits; comprizing many persons who are agreeable, both from their manners and acquisitions. I was introduced by Major Du Bosset to the two principal physicians of the place, whom I found intelligent men, both of them educated in Italy, and well-informed in their profession. At the house of my host Metaxà, I saw some specimens of the Cephaloniotè lawyers, which did not equally interest me in their favour. The priests in the island, though very numerous, are inferior in respectability to both the former classes. They are generally taken from a lower rank in society, and their education is of a very limited kind; a circumstance not peculiar to this island, but common to the other isles, and to the continent of Greece. In Cephalonia, two papas or priests were for some time very active in opposing the schemes of improvement which have lately been carried on there. It is a curious instance of their tendency to resist innovation, that when Major Du Bosset wished to introduce the culture of the potatoe, many of these men laboured to convince the peasants, that this was the very apple with which the serpent seduced Adam and Eve in Paradise. Unfortunately the potatoe experienced a more serious obstacle in two successive bad seasons, and in the necessity which was found for renewing the sets from England at the expiration of this period.

"The only Cephaloniotè priest with whom I had much intercourse, was a deacon of the island, a respectable man, and a great proficient in music. He is very solicitous to be an agent in reforming the music of the modern Greeks, and gave me some compositions of his own,

chiefly sacred; in which, though retaining the notation of his country, he asserted that he had made considerable improvement in the style.

"Cephalonia has produced several authors in the Romaic language. The *Πετρα Σκανδαλε*, a curious treatise on the schism of the eastern and western churches, was written by the Bishop Maniati of this island. Among the modern Greek writers, may be mentioned Spiridion Asana of Cephalonia; whose principal work is a translation of Father Grandi's Synopsis of Conic Sections, published at Vienna in 1802.

"The government in Cephalonia, during our possession of it, was constituted as in Zante, by a council of five persons, of which the British commandant was the president; and by an administrative body, consisting here of sixty persons. All appeals from the insular authorities were transferred to the general government at Zante.

"The hills about the gulph of Argostoli, and probably the mountains in general of Cephalonia, are composed of a calcareous rock; which in some places has the appearance of primitive limestone, but which I take rather to be one of those varieties of coralline limestone, that often present a semi-crystalline aspect. I did not observe, however, any distinct vestiges of organic remains, except in some strata, forming a part of the ridge to the south of Argostoli, on which stands the picturesque village of Lachitra. This limestone, which contains a considerable abundance of shells, appears to lie upon the rock before-mentioned. I learn that it is found also in other parts of the island. Major Du Bosset spoke to me of a sandstone occurring to the south of Argostoli; which I did not see, but conjecture

conjecture to be the same as that found to the north of the city of Zante.

"Cephalonia affords considerable materials for the botanist, and in the Appendix will be found a catalogue of most of the officinal plants which are met with in the island. That species of oak (the *quercus ægilops*) which produces the Valani, or Valenja, grows to some extent here, as well as in other parts of Greece, and the isles. The use of this acorn in dying is known, as well in the east as in our own country.

"While in Zante, after my return from Greece, I was on the point of visiting Cerigo, the most northerly of the Ionian Isles, and separated from the rest by the intervention of the Morea; but was prevented by the long continuance of south-east winds, which make it difficult or impossible to get round Cape Matapan. A few statistical facts, however, which I obtained respecting this isle, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"The circumference of Cerigo is between 50 and 60 miles. Though celebrated as the ancient Cythera, and the birth-place of Helen, its present aspect is rocky and sterile; and the number of inhabitants does not exceed nine thousand. Of this number, 165 are priests, and there are said to be not fewer than 260 churches or chapels of different descriptions in the island. The state of education among the natives is on a very low footing: there is indeed one school, supported by public funds, and others of private establishment, but they are ill conducted; and, as a proof of this, it is said, that the inspector of the public school can neither read nor

write. The chief products of Cerigo are corn, oil, wine, raisins, honey, and wax; some cotton and flax are also grown upon the island; and there is a considerable produce of cheese from the milk of the goats, which feed over its rocky surface. It is estimated that, in the year 1811, there were 16,000 sheep and goats in the island, about 1,300 horses, and 2,500 oxen. The number of beehives the same year was reckoned at 1,280, producing a honey of very good quality.

"The only modern literary character from Cerigo, of whom I have heard, is Spiridion Vandie, the author of a translation of Cornelius Nepos into the Romaic; of a prose translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; of an Italian and Romaic Lexicon, published in 4to. at Venice in 1806; and of a translation of the *Magazin de Enfans*, which has already gone through some editions. I have already spoken of two or three authors, natives of Zante or Cephalonia; and may mention as another eminent literary Greek of the Ionian Isles, the archbishop Nicephorus Theotoki, who was born in Corfu, and died 14 years ago. His principal work was the *Στοιχεία Μαθηματικῆς*; the materials collected from ancient and modern authors, and published at Moscow in 1799, under the patronage and at the expence of the Greek family of the Zosimades. He wrote also a work on Natural Philosophy, published at Leipsic in 1766; a book of geography for schools; an answer to Voltaire, in defence of revealed religion; with several other publications of smaller importance. A valuable little work was printed at Corfu four years ago, containing a general scheme of instruction for the youth of Greece, with

with references to many of the more valuable works in the modern Greek language.

"Some writers have described Cerigo as a volcanic country, with many extinct craters. I should venture to doubt the accuracy of this; as all the other accounts I have received, concur in speaking of the limestone rock of the island; which is stated to be worn into large caves, and to exhibit very beautiful stalactitic appearances. If it should be the case that any part of Cerigo is volcanic, its productions would probably have some analogy to those of the volcanic isle of Santorin, from which it is not far distant. I never heard of any obsidian being found

here; a substance which is likely to attract attention by its aspect.

"Cerigo, while in our possession, was garrisoned by a company of the 35th regiment. It was a solitary station, and perhaps the individuals of this little band might think it a poor recompense, that they had on one side of them the mountains of Lacedemon; on the other, though at a greater distance, the shores of the ancient Crete. Unfortunately, the piratical character of the Mainotes, who inhabit the opposite coast of the Morea, prevented any free communication with the continent; and the garrison of Cerigo saw but as an object of landscape, that ground which lay before them, so venerable from the history of former ages.

SERAGLIO OF ALI PASHA.

[From the Same.]

"**A**T one of my interviews with Ali Pasha, two of his grandsons were present for a short time; the eldest son of Mouctar Pasha, a youth of fifteen or sixteen; and the second son of Veli, apparently ten years of age. The vizier caressed and spoke to them with much kindness as they stood before him. They were both richly dressed in the Albanian costume; and the son of Veli in particular shewed a fine and spirited countenance. I saw this boy approaching the Seraglio on horseback, his horse surrounded by Albanian soldiers on foot. He was lifted off by one of them; and made his way through the crowd of rugged soldiers with an air of loftiness on his little features, which shewed that, young as he was, he had not

unavailingly studied in the school of despotic power. Unhappily for Turkey, this is the only school in which her rulers are instructed.

"The most frequent topics introduced by the vizier in conversation, were those relating to general politics; and in these it was evident that he was more interested than in any other. The conversation was usually carried on by question and reply; and his inquiries, though often shewing the characteristic ignorance of the Turks in matters of common knowledge, yet often also were pertinent and well conceived, and made up by acuteness what they wanted of instruction. Some of these questions, which I noted down, may serve as specimens of their usual style. We were talking about England.

England. He inquired the population of the country ; and whether I thought it as populous as those parts of Albania I had seen. The answer to this question led him to describe briefly the northern parts of Albania, as being much better inhabited than those to the south of Ioannina. He then pursued the former subject ; asked what was the size and population of London ; and expressed surprise when informed of its magnitude. He inquired the number of our ships of war ; the comparison of their size with the frigates he had seen on his coast ; and where they were all employed. The latter question led me to mention the American war ; and I stated to him the singular fact that a people in America, speaking the French language, were fighting for England, against another people descended from the English, and speaking our own language. It was unfortunate that I put the matter in this paradoxical light : for as was natural, I had much difficulty in making him comprehend the matter.

“ The conversation, however, proceeded upon America : a subject on which he had before spoken to me, and seemed much interested. He now, as on several other occasions, expressed his regret that he had never had the opportunity of travelling ; and his intention that this benefit, which had been wanting to him, should be given to Sali Bey, his youngest son. He inquired the distance of America from England and France ; its extent ; and to whom it belonged. He asked respecting its population and the longevity of its inhabitants, and dwelt especially on the latter point, to which I observed him always to attach a peculiar interest. He remarked that he had heard that the

Indians and Chinese live to a great age, and asked whether I knew this to be the case, or was acquainted with any particular means they used for the purpose. Seeing him inclined to follow this topic, I stated the remarkable instances of longevity in our own countrymen, Parr and Jenkins ; at which he expressed surprise, and much desire to know if there were any means in nature by which this end might be obtained. It was evident that in this question he had reference to himself ; and I took the opportunity of enforcing upon him some of the medical advice I had before given. He gave assent to what I said ; but at the same time pursued the question, whether there were not some more direct means of procuring long life. I mentioned to him generally the attempts that had been made some centuries ago, to discover the Elixir Vitæ : and stated that this was a project which had now been abandoned by all men of reflection. Alluding accidentally, at the same time, to the search after the philosopher's stone, he eagerly followed this subject, and wished to know whether there were not some secret methods of discovering gold, which gave their possessor the power of procuring any amount of this metal. There was a strong and significant interest in his manner of asking this question, which greatly struck me ; and it was accompanied by a look toward myself, seeming to search into the truth of my reply. I answered, of course, that there were no means of making gold and silver ; that these metals were obtained only from the earth ; and that the advantage of philosophy was in being able to employ the best means of raising them from mines, and purifying them for use. I doubt whether

ther he was satisfied with this reply, or did not still believe in further mysteries of the alchemic art. The desire of gold and longevity are natural to a despot; and especially to one who, like Ali Pasha, has been ever pursuing a scheme of ambitious progress.

"This was the usual style of conversation with the Vizier, and the common character of the questions he proposed. At an interview succeeding to that, of which I have given a sketch, he shewed me several mineral specimens, with a view to inquire what metals they contained. Some of these were merely iron-stones; one or two, which had the appearance of being from veins, contained crystals of copper pyrites; another those of galena. He seemed disappointed at being told that none of those were the ores of the precious metals; yet would not, or could not, give me the names of the places whence they came.

"He possesses a small number of philosophical instruments, obtained from different parts of Europe; and shews an interest in their construction and uses. Some of the telescopes he has received from England are very good; and he has one of Dolland's microscopes, which however he had hitherto been unable to arrange for observation. This I did for him one morning when at the Seraglio, and shewed him its application in different instances. At another time he produced for my examination two air-guns of English manufacture; one of which had been rendered useless, as I found, by the valve being out of order. After I had charged the air-condenser of the other, he took it from my hand, loaded it with bullets, and dis-

charged it upwards, without any regard to the splendid decorations of the ceiling. As there were many persons present, I confess I thought it well that no other direction had been given. His fondness for arms of every kind, and especially if they be of curious structure, is very remarkable. Fusils, pistols, and sabres of singular and beautiful workmanship, are to be found in every part of the Seraglio; and frequently when sitting with him, I have seen large collections of such arms brought for his inspection. A story has been told me of his sometimes trying a sabre by taking off himself the head of a person whom he had condemned to die; but I have no assurance that this statement is true. I described to him the new patent gun, which receives at once its priming for twenty or thirty discharges. He expressed much desire to obtain it, and his wish was gratified a few months afterwards by receiving one from General Airey, when that officer visited Ioannina. I found on inquiry, that he had seen some electrical experiments; Psalida having an electrical machine, which served for this exhibition. His interest in such subjects is of course of a transient nature, and obviously depending in part on the supposed connection they may have with the means of forwarding his power.

"It has been said that Ali Pasha is unable either to read or write. I can testify from my own observation that he can read; and I believe both in the Romaic and Turkish languages. Though I do not recollect to have seen him write, yet I cannot doubt his ability in this also, from the information I have received.

A comparative freedom from
Turkish

Turkish prejudices was one of the most obvious and striking circumstances in the conversation of this man; an exemption doubtless owing to his birth and the circumstances of his early life, as well as to his sound understanding and judgment. I have seldom known a Turk allow superiority to Europeans, even in points where the national deficiency on his own side was most notorious. This temper I never observed in Ali Pasha; but, on the other hand, a sense and concession of inferiority, with a constant seeking after information, which might enable him to remedy the deficiencies under which he laboured. It must be owned that his inquiries had little reference to the principles of government, education, or other moral institutions; and were often directed to the mere outline of national power, or to the art and inventions of war. But there were many questions also which had relation to the internal improvement of his territory: to the construction of roads and bridges; the discovery of mines; the improvement of agriculture; and other points which, in a country like Albania, are of no mean importance to the future interests of the people.

"Our conversation had often a reference to the politics of the day, on which I found him well and accurately informed. It was at this time that Bonaparte was pursuing his memorable campaign in Russia; in all the events of which Ali Pasha felt a lively interest, naturally arising out of his relation to the two great powers concerned. It was obviously for his advantage, that they should mutually wear out their strength, without either of them obtaining the preponderance. While at peace, they checked each other as to Tur-

key; when at war, if either were eminently successful, there was eventual danger to him. The vicinity of the French in the Illyrian provinces would speedily give effect to any desigas they might adopt in that quarter, either from views of general ambition, or from motives of personal hostility to himself, which he might be well aware that he had created by his conduct at Prevesa, his recent connection with the English, and by other circumstances of less notoriety. Of the power of Russia, and the ultimate danger to the Turkish empire from this source, he was well informed; and he, as well as his sons, had felt and known the weight of the Russian armies pressing upon the Danube. He understood, too, that all foreign attempts at the restoration of Greece, whether with selfish or honourable motives, must of necessity imply a previous attack upon his power; and I believe he was fully sensible of his incapacity of resisting permanently the efforts of a regular European army. At various times I have heard him converse, more or less directly, on these topics; and in general there was an air of sound judgment in his remarks, which implied as well sagacity, as freedom from the prejudices of his nation.

"I happened to be with him at the Seraglio on the evening of the day when he received information of the French having entered Moscow. He was evidently in low spirits, and discomposed by the intelligence. I spoke to him of the perseverance and resources of Russia, and of the evils that might arise to the French army from the burning of Moscow and the approach of winter. He was not satisfied by these arguments, but alluded in reply

ply to the pacific temper of Alexander, to the mistakes which had been committed in the last Polish campaign, to the treaty of Tilsit, and above all to the character of Bonaparte, which he justly characterised as "one that the world had never before seen." He spoke also of the errors the governments of Europe had committed in not uniting their strength, instead of coming singly to the contest; and in reference to this, told the story of the father who, on his death-bed, counselled his sons to union, by shewing them that their united strength could break a staff, which withstood the single strength of each. He was animated and impressive on this subject; and spoke with little disguise of the probable designs of Napoleon, alluding to Turkey as one of the first objects of his future career. A story has been told of Bonaparte having offered to make Ali Pasha king of Greece, if he would engage to second the designs of France in this quarter. I cannot say what truth there may be in this, but for various reasons I think it not impossible that some such offer may have been made. Considering the changes in the state of Europe, it is useless now to speculate upon the causes which led him to slight the French overtures, and to maintain his connection with England during the critical period of the last few years. The most obvious reasons were, his knowledge that we did not act upon a principle of conquest; the security of his trade; and perhaps the eventual security of his person and treasures, should there be any successful invasion of the country. More than once he has asked me what would be his reception in England, if circumstances ever led

him thither: and though this was said with a jocose air, yet it might have reference to the possible contingency of his being obliged to quit Albania. This passed, however, in a moment of some alarm: and the progress of events soon after turned the tide into a new channel.

"Once or twice I happened to be present when Ali Pasha was listening to different petitioners, who successively came before him. This was an interesting spectacle; each petitioner, as he approached, knelt, kissed his garment, and then proffered the matter of his request or complaint. The manner of Ali Pasha on these occasions was rapid and decisive. It was evident that he speedily formed a judgment, and was not easily turned aside from it. He spoke frequently and rapidly himself, but obviously with a close attention to the subject, and a desire of obtaining truth. This promptitude is absolutely necessary, considering the multitude of affairs that come before him. He may be considered almost as the sole judge of his dominions; and though the absence of written law and precedent reduces all cases to the simple consideration of equity, yet it cannot be wondered that business should be retarded by its being committed so entirely to the labour and judgment of one man. It frequently happens that petitioners are detained several weeks in Ioannina, without being able to procure an audience, each day presenting themselves in the outer apartments of the Seraglio, and each day compelled to retire unsatisfied. I have several times been applied to, especially during my last residence at Ioannina, to interest the vizier on behalf of different individuals; but my unwillingness to appear taking any part in such affairs, and the certainty

tainty that if I assisted one, it must be at the expence of another, obliged me to decline any interference in these cases.

" This disposition to manage personally all his affairs, is a striking feature in the character of Ali Pasha, and influences all the concerns of his government. From it is derived that unity of system which extends through his dominions; which renders him individually an object of almost mysterious dread to his subjects, and makes his power formidable to his neighbours, and to the integrity of the Turkish empire. His ministers are such in the humblest sense of the word. In his relation with the great powers of Europe, it does not appear that he depends on any counsel but his own; and in the internal concerns of the country, it seems as if there were no will, impulse, or action, but from him. The physician Metaxa well illustrated this by saying that there was a cord tied round every individual in his dominions, longer or shorter, more or less fine; but every one of which cords went to him, and were held in his hand. He added, what I knew from my own observation to be true, that the rudest peasant of Albania, or the meanest page in his Seraglio, would better obtain either favours or justice, by coming directly to Ali Pasha himself, than through any circuitous channel of ministers or favourites.

" It may be further noticed, that not an individual about him knows equally well as Ali, all the localities of his dominions, the habits, or even persons of his subjects, and the other circumstances which are important to the execution of justice. Born in Albania, and having scarcely quitted this country, in which never

vertheless he has been exercised by a thousand various fortunes, his knowledge of these subjects is minutely accurate. Almost every Albanian has been in his presence, either as a soldier, or in some other capacity; and there are few of mature age whose names or persons do not come within his recollection. I have had various opportunities of remarking this fact. One day I was present when he was giving a sort of open audience to all classes of petitioners. I noticed several cases in which his local knowledge evidently directed the decision, and probably was the means of arriving at the truth. Where his own interests or passions were unconcerned, it is probable that the judgments of Ali Pasha were generally impartial, and for the most part correct. It is doubtless an evil, that by undertaking every thing himself many things are neglected or delayed; but it is likewise a good that he should thus extend his personal authority, since the subordinate ministers of a despotic system are generally tyrannical or corrupt.

" The assiduity with which he applies himself to all this business is very great. He rises commonly before six, and his officers and secretaries are expected to be with him at this hour. There are no pauses in business during the day, except at 12 o'clock, when he takes his dinner, sleeping afterwards for an hour; and again at eight in the evening, which is his hour of supper. I have found him as late as nine o'clock, with three secretaries on the ground before him, listening to the most minute details of that branch of expenditure which relates to the post-houses; each article of which accounts he separately approved. His hours of
pleasure

pleasure are also in part subservient to the furtherance of business. I have seen him in the gardens of his pavillion surrounded by petitioners, and giving judgment on cases that were brought before him. Even when retiring to the Haram, he still preserves his public capacity ; and in the petty discords of 300 women secluded from the world, it is not wonderful that his occupation and authority as a judge should still be required.

" In his habits at table Ali Pasha is temperate, though by no means so strict a Mussulman as to refuse himself wine. He almost always eats alone, according to the custom of Turks of high rank, and at the hours already mentioned. His dinner usually consists of twelve or sixteen covers, which are separately placed on a tray before him. The dishes are chiefly those of Turkish cookery ; in addition to which a whole lamb, provided by his shepherds, is served up at his table every day in the year. His appetite is not at all fastidious, and I have been told that his cooks, in providing for him, take liberties which, under a luxurious despot, would infallibly cost them their heads.

" It is a singular circumstance in the habits of the man, that while exercising the most despotic tyranny, and exciting dread in all who surround him, he frequently descends to a sort of convivial intercourse with the Greeks as well as Turks of his capital, and accepts of invitations to dinner, or evening entertainments, when these are proffered to him. Two or three such instances occurred during my latter stay at Ioannina, one of them at a Greek house, where I had the means of witnessing a part of the scene. It was an evening enter-

tainment, at which seventy or eighty people were assembled ; the vizier bringing those of his ministers and attendants, whom he desired to be with him ; and the master of the house inviting many of his own friends. The dinner or supper on these occasions is set out in the manner of the country ; its merit being estimated in part by the number of dishes presented. The vizier eats and sits alone, the rest of the company standing at a distance ; but the master and the mistress of the house are generally invited to take seats near him. Music and dancing are in most cases provided for his entertainment. The music is Turkish or Albanese, performed with tabors, guitars, and the tambourine, and often accompanied by the wild songs of the country : the dances also in general Albanese ; and performed by youth of both sexes, dressed with all the richness that belongs to the national costume. When I last quitted Ioannina, my friend Mela was preparing to give such an entertainment to the vizier, and had erected a new apartment in his gardens for this purpose.

The haram of Ali Pasha forms a distinct and very extensive part of his Seraglio, closed in exteriorly by lofty stone-walls, so as to give the appearance of a fortress ; but within, having terraces and other open places for the convenience of its numerous inhabitants. Though my medical situation with the vizier, especially during my last residence at Ioannina, instructed me in many singular facts regarding the interior of the Haram, and though I had two female patients from within its walls, yet the rigid usage of Turkey prevented me from ever entering these penetralia domus, and

I can

I can speak of their appearance but from report. The apartments are said to be furnished in a style of gorgeous luxury; and having afterwards seen a vacant building with a similar destination, in the new Seraglio at Argyro Kastro, I can readily believe this statement. The number of females in the Haram is reported to exceed three hundred, but among these are included the various attendants, dancing girls, &c. who minister to the luxuries of the place. They are of various nations, Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Circassians, &c. and for the most part have been purchased according to the custom of the east. The occupations of a Turkish Haram have often been described, and need little repetition. The bath, music, dancing, tales, embroidery, and dress, give the chief employment to time: the exhibition of idiocy, or of the frantic acts of women drugged with opium or wine, and the talk of others who come to the Haram with philtres, charms, and the various arts addressed to credulity; these are among the occasional amusements of the place. When the Vizier moves his residence for a time, the females taken with him are conveyed in close carriages, so as to continue their confinement even during this interval. Habit and the want of education may somewhat alleviate this physical and moral captivity, but to vindicate it to general reason is impossible, though it has been attempted.

"The first wife of Ali Pasha, the daughter of Coul Pasha, and mother of Mouctar and Veli, has long been dead. His only wife at present is the mother of Sali Bey, his third and youngest son, born after an interval of more than twenty years without children. This lady,

who is said to have been originally a slave, resides at present with much state in the Seraglio at Tepelini. Her son, Sali Bey, now about twelve years old, is separated from his mother, and has nominally the government of the large city of Argyro Kastro. The favourite of Ali Pasha at this time was an Albanian girl, young, and of great beauty. Her pre-eminence in the Haram was marked by a more sumptuous dress, but did not entitle her to refuse a profound obeisance to the wives of Mouctar or Veli Pasha, whenever these ladies visited the Haram of their father-in-law. Such visits appear to have been frequently made, and, as might be expected from the Turkish usage, without any sense of indecorum. It is a common thing for the Vizier to make a present to any favourite officer of a wife from his Haram, and it seems that in such cases the gift must of necessity be accepted. A friend of mine, the Divan Effendi or Turkish secretary of the Vizier, received in this way a Circassian female while I was in Ioannina. I have heard him express himself in rapturous terms about his wife; but I have known one or two other instances of Albanians, who have hastened to betroth themselves elsewhere, lest such a gift should be forced upon their acceptance.

"The adherence of Ali Pasha to the tenets of the Mahomedan religion is by no means rigid, and probably depending more on a sense of interest, than upon any zeal or affection for these tenets. He has few of the prejudices of a Mussulman: and in regarding those around him, his consideration obviously is, not the religion of the man, but whether he can be of service to any of his views. I have seen a Christian,

a Turkish,

a Turkish, and a Jewish secretary, sitting on the ground before him at the same moment,—an instance of the principle which is carried throughout every branch of his government. In Albania especially, the Christian and Mussulman population are virtually on the same footing as to political liberty; all indeed slaves, but the former not oppressed, as elsewhere in Turkey, by those subordinate agencies of tyranny, which render more grating the chain that binds them. It may fairly be said that under this government all religions find an ample toleration. I have even known instances where Ali Pasha has directed Greek churches to be built for the use of the peasants, as is the case in one or two of the villages on the plain of Arta.

“ Though without religious bigotry, however, (or perhaps religious feeling,) Ali Pasha exhibits certain superstitions, which possibly may have been engrafted on his early youth. He has his lucky and unlucky days, and is said to have shewn belief at times in the magic arts of charm and conjuration. Mixed with the good sense of his conversation, I have now and then noticed a tone of credulity, which perhaps, however, could not be construed into more than a belief, that human art went further into the mysteries of nature than it really does,—a natural mistake in a man of talent, partially instructed. I have once or twice seen a Derveish with him, one of those strange appendages of eastern state which combine the repate of sanctity with buffoonery, or even idiocy of manner. It did not appear, however, that he paid any attention to the gesticulations of this man, or thought

of him otherwise than merely as an adjunct to this court.

“ I have hitherto spoken chiefly of the better parts of Ali Pasha's character. Truth compels the addition of other features of a less pleasing kind; and to the general picture of eastern despotism must be annexed some traits peculiar to the man. The most striking of these are, a habit of perpetual artifice, shewn in every circumstance of his life; and a degree of vindictive feeling, producing acts of the most unqualified ferocity. The most legitimate form his cunning assumes, is in political matters, where, according to frequent usage, it might perhaps have the name of sagacity and adroitness. He is eminently skilled in all the arts of intrigue, and his agents or spies are to be found everywhere in the Turkish empire, doing the work of their master with a degree of zeal which testifies at once his own talent in their selection, and the commanding influence of his powers over the minds of all that surround him. His political information, derived from these sources, and from the ample use of bribery, is of the best kind; and it may, I believe, be affirmed as a fact, that not a single event of importance can occur at Constantinople, even in the most secret recess of the Divan, which is not known within eight days at the Seraglio of Ioannina.

“ The personal artifice of Ali's character, however, is the trait which most impresses those around him with alarm. Whatever be the external testimony of the moment, no man feels secure beneath his power; or even it may be said, (what I know from my own observation,) that an unusual fairness of aspect is

L often

often the source of the greatest terror to those concerned. To cozen with a form of fair words seems at once the habit and delight of the man. It is said to be a principle with him never to allow any one to go discontented from his presence, and I have heard in illustration of this, that it is not uncommon for him to adopt a peculiar kindness of manner to those whom he has determined to sacrifice; the unhappy victim quits him, satisfied and secure, and a few minutes after his head is severed from his body. With the same temper of mind, and with the same artifice of manner, he is enabled often to allure into his power, those of his enemies,

who for the moment, have escaped his vengeance. In such cases, no pledge arrests his hand, or can save the offender from destruction. I have known many striking instances of the effect of this character, especially among the Greek families of Ioannina; a sort of undefined terror ever hanging over them; a perpetual sense of insecurity, and a fearfulness of committing even to the walls the sound of the voice, on any subject connected with their despotic master. To one who has lived but under the shield of a free government, the picture of the moral influence of tyranny cannot fail to be impressive, and ought to be instructive also."

[TEMPLE AND RELIGION OF THE MONGOLS.]

[From M. SHOBERL's Translation of Klaproth's Travels in the Caucasus.]

"ACCORDING to a Mongol original work entitled Spring of the Heart, the earliest traces of the Lama religion among the Mongols are met with at the time of Dshingischan. After this conqueror had laid a solid foundation for his new monarchy, he penetrated in the year 1209 into the north of China, which was then subject to the Tungusian nation of the Niudschu, and in 1215 made himself master of their capital Yan-ginn, the modern Pe-king. Before his armies entered Tibet, he sent an embassy to Bogdo sott-nam Dsimmo, a Lama high-priest, with a letter to this effect: "I have chosen thee as high-priest for my-

self and my empire; repair then to me, and promote the present and future happiness of men. I will be the supporter and protector; let us establish a system of religion, and unite it with the monarchy," &c. The high-priest accepted the invitation, and the Mongol history literally terms this step, the period of the first respect for religion, because the monarch, by his public profession, made it the religion of the state.

"The propagation of this new religion therefore occasioned the erection of numerous temples and other religious places in Mongolia. The history of that country relates that the first temples in the empire were

were built on the river, and in the province of Scharraï-Gol, that is to say, without and to the north of the Chinese wall, and in the like direction from Liao-dunn, and that convents and schools were founded at the same time.

"They call their temples Daz-zang, Kiet, and Sümme. They are built of stone and wood. Among the roving tribes they are ordinary felt-huts, but of superior dimensions, and more solid and handsome than those which are used for habitations. It is in very few places in Mongolia that you meet with temples of stone, and that only in such settlements as have a large population and considerable markets. Numberless small temples are to be found in the great and small hordes; for every tribe and district has for each of its divisions a particular temple, to which and to no other it belongs, according to the regulations established among them.

"The internal arrangement of all the temples is essentially alike. At Gendun Dardshaling, described above, the inner walls and ceiling are completely covered with paper made by the Lamas themselves. The ground was orange, and upon it appeared many great Lu or dragons impressed with Chinese paint and stamps, which also they had themselves very ingeniously cut out.

"Immediately on entering the door you perceive opposite to you, at the north wall, a lofty throne with nine stages of very curious carved work. Before it stands a small high table; and on the east side are steps by which the chief priest ascends to perform public worship. On the table are laid books, a bell and other instruments. Above the throne is a splendid silk

canopy adorned with beautiful fringe and tassels. Behind are very neat cushions. No person is allowed to mount this throne but the superior Lama, who falls upon his knees, and in this attitude performs divine worship. On the right hand is another still larger and higher throne of a similar construction, but supported at the base by lions and other carved and painted figures, and decorated with much greater magnificence: this is never ascended by any one, nor even touched with the hands; because it is considered as the symbolical throne of the invisible presence of God. His worshippers merely touch it with the forehead to receive the benediction, which the Lama imparts to the people by imposition of hands. Still further to the right of these two thrones is an altar for sacrifice, provided with all the requisite utensils; and on the wall behind it are suspended magnificent allegorical pictures of the saints. On the eastern or left side of this altar and the two thrones are some elevated seats for the principal Lamas who assist their superior in his functions. The whole north wall in general is full of pictures of the most distinguished saints, and all the other sides are hung with neat allegorical paintings. By the twenty-four pillars of this temple, on each side of the middle avenue, are long ranges of benches provided with cushions; and small low tables placed before them for the inferior clergy, who are so numerous that when seated in rows they occupy the whole area of the temple excepting a few narrow passages. All the rest of the congregation are obliged to be content to sit or stand in the gallery and halls with doors and windows open; and when the benediction is

given, they have scarcely room to enter by all the three doors, and go away again through the narrow vacancies between the priests. In the chief and centre temple there are likewise, just on the right and left of the entrance, two raised seats for the Gebgü or temple-wardens, who, during divine service, mostly stand at their posts or walk up and down, as well among the inferior priests as among the people, to enforce the strictest order. Between the pillars of the avenue in the middle are suspended rows of prodigious drums, which are beaten by the sitting priests to certain psalms and prayers of thanksgiving accompanied with other music, and also brass trumpets a fathom in length.

"The interior arrangements of the smaller temples are only more simple, but in other respects the same, and consist of a high-altar, double rows of cushions, symbolical decorations, and musical instruments; but as the chief Lama seldom performs divine service in these small chapels, there is no particular throne erected for him. They are merely designed to afford the people the convenience of attending the prayers addressed to different saints and the solemnities on the prayer-days, in several places at the same time, without being disturbed by the difference of these devotions.

"To the most sacred objects of the temples belong likewise the numerous symbolical figures of the gods and spirits, and other things relative to religion, as also the altars. They are of different dimensions, but always curiously wrought. The altars Tapzang or Schiräh of the small temples are composed of a kind of table with three stages,

which is two or three ells in length, the same in height, and one ell in breadth. Each stage of the altar is raised two or three wenschok above the other, according to the nature of its construction. On the uppermost stage always stands a long narrow and rather high box of neat workmanship, which is exactly of the same dimensions as the highest stage, and in which are deposited all the books, images of gods, and other sacred things; these are taken out on solemn occasions alone, at which times this highest step of the altar serves to hold the books, which are most superbly bound. The middle stage of the altar is for the images of the gods and other painted figures, and utensils for sacrifice, consisting of small metal bowls: these, filled with vegetables, are set out in rows. The lowest stage is for the seven small bowls called Zögözü, all containing pure water, and between which is placed an eighth, somewhat in the form of a lamp. Pastils also are set out in particular, small vessels. In the private temples of people of rank and fortune a large case with glass doors, or a splendid canopy with curtains, is provided for such an altar, to protect these sacred articles from dust and smoke. All the wood-work of the altars and their different stages is moreover decorated with peculiar carving and painting of good design. The ground is always cinabar red; the edges are either painted yellow or gilt, and the whole is covered with the durable Chinese lacker. The fore-part of the altar and its stages is painted with flowers only, and supported by lions; all this is not arbitrary, but a regular allegory. In front of the altar there is always a smaller and lower table of equal length.

length with it, and likewise painted and varnished. On this table is placed a vessel, in which lighted pastils are daily set up, and a brass ewer, which is every morning replenished with fresh water, for the purpose of filling up the above-mentioned Zögöü, and sprinkling the altar and the offerings. On this table also is commonly kept a small censer, &c. Before the altars are various costly curtains adorned with jewels.

“ Though the decoration of the altars is governed by one general principle, yet in this particular there is a great difference, because very different prayers and equipage for the altar are prescribed for the service of the various saints: this, however, has no relation to any difference in the object of the doctrine, but rather to the fundamental principles of faith.

“ To the sacred furniture of the altars belong several other articles. A round, highly polished metal mirror (Tolli) of various dimensions, provided behind with a small handle, to which is tied a white silk ribband (Chaddak), and a high metal jug with a neck of regular workmanship (Bumba), always form part of a complete equipage for the altar. In this vessel, in which is kept the consecrated water, is put a stalk of Indian reed-grass tied up together with two of the most beautiful peacock's feathers. These feathers are daily dipped in the consecrated water, and the altar and other things belonging to the offering are sprinkled with them. This bumba also is covered on the outside with a white silk ribband. To this vessel belongs likewise the mandal, a curiously wrought basin for the most sacred beverage (Thümpel), which is poured

upon the holy image, and when it runs down is caught in this vessel to be distributed among the people. Close to the principal altars, and on the right side of them, stand as many as three smaller ones, on which the numerous sacred articles, consisting of different musical instruments, are placed between the other utensils belonging to the altar: for on certain occasions the bowls, to the number at least of five very large and seven smaller ones, are ranged in from seven to nine different ways in rows. To the requisites for the altar belong also the Schalsa or Dorma, the meat-offerings to the gods. They are made of dough, of a pyramidal form, great and small according to different ordinances, very curiously decorated with flowers of snow-white fat, likewise well painted, and placed in rows of seven each, and sometimes in double lines. These meat-offerings serve only for a certain time, after which they are commonly thrown away for the beasts in some clean unfrequented part of the steppe, and fresh ones are provided.

“ Paintings of the gods, of every size, are met with on all kinds of silks and other stuffs. Their execution is various, and the rarest on account of their excellence are of the highest value. You likewise find some of curious needle-work; one of these which I saw, and which was very large, cost the Mongols, who made it themselves, upwards of a thousand rubles. They worship also figures that are either printed black upon paper, or merely in outline; but these as well as all others must be consecrated.

“ Their religious works belong also to the most sacred articles of their

their temples. They are either written or printed. Now that the Tibetan Lama religion has been for some centuries propagated in Mongolia, and high schools are founded, all the works of India and Tibet are not only translated into the Mongol language, but likewise cut in the neatest manner in wood and printed; so that these nations; after the example of several Chinese Mongolian provinces, perform the whole of their religious worship in their mother tongue. Their characters are always long and narrow, sometimes small, and at others of prodigious size. The large hand is always very neatly written, with flourished capitals, and read, like the European, from the left to the right and from the top to the bottom of the page. Every leaf is detached, and as the volumes are never stitched it is numbered on one side. The contents of the chapters are always placed in the margin, either on the right or left. Each work has a particular title, and at the end there is generally an index according to the Tibetan alphabet. The body of the work is divided into sections, and the latter into chapters. No preface or introduction is ever to be found; but at the conclusion there is commonly a postscript by the translator, printer or publisher, which terminates with good wishes for the utility of the work. Not only the Mongol books, but likewise those of Tibet and India, are of the form described above. Each volume has a thin board on either side. When you read, you place these leaves if they are of large size on small tables before you, and by means of the boards you may very conveniently grasp the book, which is cut according to their length. The edges of the leaves are coloured

red or yellow, as are also the boards, which are moreover varnished with the strongest lacker. With strings of immoderate length, either made of silk or neatly wrought with other materials, the books are tied as tightly as possible between their boards. They are besides wrapped in a particular manner, according to the importance of their contents, in a very large silken or cotton cover, sometimes doubled. These various envelopes are often more expensive than the book itself. Over this covering a very long, broad, wrought ribband is carried several times round, and in this state the sacred books are exposed to view on the uppermost stage of the altar. The rich have particular pieces, such as masses for souls, penitential psalms and litanies, written with the finest gold powder on dark blue paper. All sacred printed works have on the right and left side of the title-pages neatly engraved representations of the saints of whom they treat. Every section, sometimes even every chapter, and the concluding page, are thus decorated. The books and manuscripts of a religious nature are revered as divine. A book or print must never be rudely handled, or laid in a mean or dirty place; it must not be stained in the least; it must not be touched with the skirt of the coat, the edge of the shoe, or any impure vessel; neither must it be covered with any thing of little value.

"Among the genuine Mongols of Russia a general prayer-day is held once a month. The clergy, who, with the exception of the superior Lamas, live scattered in the country, assemble regularly at noon on the 13th day to prepare for the prayer-day, which then commences, and lasts the whole of the

the following day till towards evening, when they again disperse. Besides this monthly meeting, the white month (Zagan Saaran) is celebrated with religious ceremonies, which last three successive weeks, beginning with New Year's day. Their Christmas, or Sulla, falls in November.

"In the temples where all the ecclesiastics, and all their men of rank and elders in general, meet monthly for the purpose of divine worship, public concerns and national affairs, whether of a religious or political nature, are discussed by the whole assembly; as on such days the people from all the country round repair by hundreds, nay by thousands, to these solemnities. Nothing remarkable occurs of which they do not inform each other at these meetings, and on the subject of which they do not hold political conferences with their Lamas. The clergy and laity are on the most familiar footing. All of them are acute politicians, who view their constitution in its true light, and are actuated by the purest patriotism. The clergy govern all minds, and whether in unity or discord they invariably guide the helm. In all joint undertakings they are very resolute, but at the same time circumspect. They are fond of peace, and place their whole happiness in it, as is proved by their way of thinking and their declarations. Their system of religion is founded on purity of mind, rigid morality, and the welfare of the state and of mankind in general. No solemn prayer-day, no private devotions conclude without the most impressive and pathetic litanies and petitions for all ranks and classes of men. Of its religious system its votaries are extremely vain, and

their law forbids them to compare it with any other. By religion they understand a distinct, independent, sacred moral code, which has but one origin, one source, and one object. This notion they universally propagate, and even believe that the brutes and all created beings have a religion adapted to their sphere of action. The different forms of the various religions they ascribe to the difference of individuals, nations, and legislators. Never do you hear of their inveighing against any creed, even against the obviously absurd Schaman paganism, Chamanism, or Samanism, as it is more usually written. The term is found in Porphyry, and in the sacred language of Siam signifies *solitude, abstraction*. The system is said to have originated in the upper regions of India—and has given birth to the religious notions that govern in eastern Siberia, and other high northern latitudes, or of their persecuting others on that account. They themselves, on the other hand, endure every hardship and even persecutions with perfect resignation, and indulgently excuse the follies of others, nay, consider them as a motive for increased ardour in prayer. Out of respect for other religions they even venerate the images of the Greek saints, burn lights before them or sacrifice to them unobserved when they are travelling among the Russians. As to the miracles of foreign saints, they believe and declare that these are an universal work of God arising from the same source whence their own religion is derived. From motives of genuine religion they love all men, and do all the good that lies in their power; they exhort the other to acts of benevolence, from a conviction that it behoves

behoves us to perform them not so much on account of others as for our own sakes. This notion they strive to propagate, because it is praiseworthy and becoming; as every fellow-creature in distress has an equal right to succour. When they see untoward accidents befall any of their own number, or hear of their happening to strangers, they are always touched with pity; clergy and laity, old and young, small and great, side in preference with the oppressed, and particularly with the fair sex and children. With this zeal for active beneficence, they are seldom better pleased than with opportunities of exercising it. This universal religious charity is not rare among the Asiatic nations. I have had occasion to remark it not only among the Mongols and Calmucks, but likewise in my intercourse with various Tartar hordes, and even among the Indians, Chinese, Tibetians, Bucharians, and Tunguses. This innate benevolence I found not only among the nomadic tribes that have embraced the Lama religion, but it is universal among even the pagan nations which adhere to the rites of the Schaman sorcery. However numerous the ceremonies of the Lama religion may be, its votaries display unwearied zeal in the observance of them, and neglect none of its injunctions. At the erection of their sacred edifices and the institution of their divine worship, they enter into a written engagement with the Lamas to keep up the service of their temples, to maintain their religious ordinances, and jointly to contribute whatever is necessary for those purposes.

"As the public has very inaccurate notions respecting the subject

of their prayers, I shall subjoin a few short pieces of that kind, beginning with their creed called *Ittegel*, which is their high mass. The prayers used in the temples are in general composed by the most eminent Lamas and Tibetan patriarchs, and grounded on the fundamental doctrines of Schigimuh. Some of these pieces are of such length as to be adapted not only to the prayer-days but to other religious meetings of longer duration.

The Creed Ittegel.

"To him who appeared in the ten regions of the universe, and in all the three ages, as the first cause of all things; to him who overcame the 84,000 obstacles to holiness by a like number of celestial precepts; to this greatest of high-priests and source of all the saints that ever appeared, be all honour of faith!

"To Burchan (God) be all honour of faith! To the Nomn (heavenly doctrines) be all honour of faith! To the Bursang-Chubragoot (propagators of the doctrines) be all honour of faith!"

"To the whole host of immaculate saints be all honour of faith! To the most glorious and sublime protection of religion be all honour of faith!"

These strophes are thrice repeated.

"To the most righteous founder of all religion, his precepts and his instruments, be given by me, till I shall once attain my holy consummation, all honour of faith! May my imitation of all works pleasing to God tend to his due glorification in the sight of all creatures!"

This paragraph is also thrice repeated.

"To

"To this threefold holy system be given by me all honour of faith! For wicked actions I confess myself to be full of constant penitence. Ah! may my sole delight consist in zealous endeavours to do good, as my duty commands, to all creatures! May thy divine-human example be the guide of my heart! Not only for the honour of thy threefold meritfulness, but likewise for the performance of my duty, I wish to possess this degree of perfection. By the fulfilment of this duty may I become an example for the imitation of all creatures! May the object and way of all holy and meritorious examples be acknowledged with the most upright mind, and in the most cheerful manner! For the welfare of all creatures we will glorify this in thee."

This part is likewise thrice repeated.

"O that all creatures might be grounded in prosperity and happiness! O that all may be constantly kept at a distance from all tribulation and distress! May they be always undivided from felicity, and unassailed by affliction! O that all creatures might remain severed from the two most dangerous of evils, lust and revenge!"

This is also thrice repeated. Whoever follows these examples is out of all danger from sensuality.

"To all true expositions, to all and each propagator of salvation, and instrument of the most holy, be honour and adoration!—He, the most perfect of beings himself, taught this, and thus prayed to his elementary principle. Therefore to this primary system (which he himself adored) be at all times honour and adoration! To him, who by his glorious, resplendent beams dis-

sipates all doubt-creating darkness, to the profound and immeasurable Sammandabadrih, be all honour and adoration! Thou who art become the faith of the whole world; thou who alone conqueredst all the inextinguishable assailing hosts, perfectly glorified holiness! be pleased to descend into this place. In the same manner as at thy birth the principalities of heaven performed thy first consecration and baptismal mass with the purest celestial water, so I venture to renew the sacred rite by this representation. With a look of pure faith at thy former existence, I perform this act in the gentlest manner. O that in this representation I may find and contemplate thee, once glorified, as thou really art! O that all creatures in the universe, pursuing the flowery road which leads to thy kingdom, where incense fills all the atmosphere, and the firmament is bedecked with sun, moon, and planets, may arrive in the pure regions of thy righteousness!"

"This principal portion of their confession of faith is repeated by the people on all religious occasions at the commencement of their devotions. Not only the priests but also the laity recite such-like prayers every day, morning and evening; at the same time placing themselves in preference upon very clean carpets, cross-legged and bare-headed. Even small children of both sexes repeat them like the priests both in the Tibetan and Mongol language, with the greatest fluency and devotion; squatting down in silence and previously putting incense upon burning coals in a vessel kept for the purpose, which they set before them. This is probably designed to intimate their hope that their prayers may, like this agreeable

able odour, ascend through the heavens to the Almighty. Whilst at prayer their devotion is so fervent, that no other matter can divert their attention. Their sacred books, enveloped in all kinds of silk and cotton stuffs, are laid upon their laps, and for their more convenient use a small table stands before them. When they take up a book to pray, they first bless themselves by laying it upon their heads, and every individual present receives the same benediction. Should any one chance to be present during prayer, he makes an obeisance to the person who is holding the book, were it even a layman, and begs the blessing. On pronouncing the name of a saint they extend the hand which is at liberty, and raise it a little. Excepting the prayers used at high mass and those containing vows, the laity may also, in the absence of ecclesiastics, perform all religious exercises among the people in the Tibetan and Mongol language; even the consecration of the second hallowed water *Arshahn*, with which they baptize their children a few days after their birth, bathe the sick, or, from devotion seek to preserve themselves and their families from contamination, is not forbidden to the laity. This act is never omitted on prayer-days. A capacious vessel, filled with clear water a little coloured with milk, is carried round by one of the servants of the temple at a certain time, and held before each of the priests, who repeat certain adjurations, and, while pronouncing Indian proverbs, blow several times on the water. When duly consecrated in this manner, it is ready to be used, under the observance of particular rules, for purification, and distributed.

“As a specimen of the sacred hymns which they address to holy persons, I shall give an extract from that to the universal godhead’s-mother-hood, or *Darrah Ekke*. This godhead’s-motherhood is ascribed to the deceased saints of the female sex, and especially to the wives of their great, deified, new-born *Chomschin-Boddissaddo*; and each of these hymns is addressed to the persons who are allegorically portrayed in their temples. One of these deified females is represented white, and another sea-green. The former was an Indian, the latter a Chinese princess. The first hymn of praise is dedicated to the white deified *Darrah-Ekke*, as she is called, of whose immaculate purity and exalted merits whole volumes have been written: and it is to the following effect:

“To the holy *Darrah-Ekke* be honour and adoration! Saviour of the world, *Darrah-Ekke*, Saviour from the eight evils of the world, deliverer from all tribulation and all diseases! To thee, holy mother and redeemer, be adoration and praise! Art thou not seated on thy lotus-throne, thou institutrix of this holy sceptre-like mode of sitting?—To thee, the giver of all happiness, be all adoration! To thee like the full-orbed moon in the serenest autumnal season, reclining on thy lunar throne, arrayed in thy sumptuous attire, with blossomed branches in thy hands; to thee be honour and praise! Thou who full of brightness and charms resemblest a beauteous form of sixteen years, thou art the source of all past and future holinesses. To thee, who accomplishest all wishes, to thee, holy mother most replete with happiness, most holy redeemer, be all honour and adoration!—

Motherhood

Motherhood in white radiance, with the white Kûrdâ-wheel, on whose eight spokes the inscriptions of eight emblems are continually revolving, arch-motherhood, to thee be herewith all honour and thanksgiving!—To thee, in thy paradisiacal kingdom, in thy harvest of souls yonder, in the lovely, the enchanting region of spirits, ah! most motherly parent of all the saints of the three ages of the world, motherly redeemer, be thanks and praises! Holy mother! salvation-giving mother! mother, who prolongest the years of our lives in prosperity! ah, most exalted of spiritual powers, on thee I call with deep devotion. To thee I pray to divert from me and to protect me from all the dangers that may threaten me throughout my whole life. Thou wilt redeem and deliver us; thou wilt infallibly have mercy upon us, and arm us with supernatural energies against whatever may befall us.—Redeeming mother! defend, while I live, me thy child, who am constantly imploring thy succour. In my devotions to thee, keep me firmly attached to thee by the hook of thy attraction.—Sublime spirit, in thy majestic, moon-like splendour, ah! mild and serene countenance; ah! decorated with jewels and rich treasures, arrayed in thy most pleasing attire—sublime spirit, behold how, while I live, I lie in the dust before thee, and render to thee with all my powers praise and thanksgiving!"

"These six great litanies of the Lama religion are, as I have already stated, sung every month in the most solemn manner in their temples, and were written down from the lips of Schigimuni by one of his first disciples, named Ananda, and translated from the Indian into

the Tibetan language, and from the latter into the Mongol. That which follows is addressed to the Burchan Mansuschiri. It breathes the Indian spirit, and that love of all living things which so strongly characterizes the professors of that religion.

"O that all created beings, imitating my zeal in good works, may be found perfect in fulfilling their sacred duties!

"May the hosts of all living creatures released in body and mind from all afflictions and infirmities, pursuing my steps, find the ocean of happiness!

"May the whole world never want unalterable felicity; so that all created beings may enjoy unmolested the wished-for repose!

"May all creatures not only in the world, but also in the abysses, finally participate the sweets of rest!

"May all that are oppressed by the pain of cold be comforted by warmth!

"May all creatures that are languishing with heat receive refreshment from the cool currents of the sacred cloud!

"May all the birds of the waters fill the atmosphere with the sweetness of their melodies, and from the seas, so full of the fragrant lotus, may the most grateful perfume be diffused through the abysses of the globe!

"May every fire become a sanctuary, and every place laid waste by the flames a bright jewel of the earth!

"May every hill that deforms the fertile plains become an altar and a residence of the hosts of all the saints that have ever existed!

"May hail-storms and all stones that wound the feet of the traveller

veller be henceforth changed into flowers and showers of flowers!

"O that all who carry on war with their destructive weapons, were transformed into merrymakers, sportively throwing flowers at one another!

"May all who are plunged into the depths of the abyss, become, by the performance of good works, spirits of heaven, and flee with swift foot from hell!

"May all who are covered with darkness be illumined with joy and cheerful light, and thus excited to raise their eyes to heaven, to the resplendent Darrah-Ekke, adorned with the sceptre, on her divine seat; and, released from all pain by their joy at this appearance, to continue assembled for a long time to come!

"May showers of flowers with perfumed rain pour upon all the unhappy wretches languishing in the heat of hell, that they may be reanimated and refreshed, to view the holy redeeming-one crowned with the leaves of the lotus!

"Ye who are exposed to such torment, come without delay into my kingdom; remember that from my power deliverance from tribulation and a happy redemption may be confidently expected. The most merciful of the incarnate gods is filled with affectionate sorrow; resplendent in his glory, he obviates all danger, and before the lotus of his throne the crowns of the most exalted spirits are deposited as offerings.

"Thou whose mercy beams from the tearful eye, on whose head descend copious streams of grace;

"Seated on the two-staged throne, before whom thousand-fold hymns of praise of the sublimest spirits most sweetly resound:—him bear ye in mind!

"May this consideration of Man-suschiri miraculously decrease the number of the inhabitants of hell!

"In like manner may all the unhappy, through uprightness and good works, discover these incomparably refreshing enjoyments and wide-spread streams of perfumes, and thereby obtain obvious relief!

"Bless henceforth all the blind that they may see, and all the deaf that they may hear the voice!

"Bless all the pregnant women, that, like the holy Machāma, they may be happily delivered!

"Bless all the naked that they may be clothed, and the hungry that they may be satisfied!

"May all who suffer thirst enjoy the refreshment of cooling beverage!

"Bless the necessitous, and let their wants be relieved!

"Bless the mourners, and cheer them with fulness of joy!

"May all the afflicted receive comfort of everlasting duration!

"However great be your number, ye sick, may ye speedily recover!

"May all that lives remain for ever free from the pains of disease!

"Ye who are oppressed with terror, be of good cheer!

"May all prisoners be set at liberty!

"May all the infirm be supported with strength, and all uneasiness of mind be removed!

"Ye wanderers, enjoy permanent prosperity!

"May all who are striving after any thing obtain the accomplishment of their aim; and may those who traverse the seas happily reach the object of their wishes, the safe harbour, to the new joy of their friends!

"May all who have lost themselves in dangerous by-ways meet with

with persons to protect them from robbers and other perils, and to accompany them to the place of their destination !

" When in desert places unavoidable dangers befall young children or aged persons, and they are reduced to the last extremity, may exalted spirits interpose their protection !

" Avoid wasting valuable time, that piety, wisdom, and mercy may be continually encouraged, and in the exercise of mild virtues bear your fellow-creatures constantly in mind.

" May all be blessed by means of celestial treasures with infinite blessings !

" Enjoy happiness without interruption, and may all your wishes be gratified !

" Let small and great be honoured without distinction.

" May all who have been disfigured through indigence and misery be restored to personal beauty !

" May all the women in the world participate in the purpose of their existence ! All ye desolators, attain complete greatness, to suppress pride.

" By the performance of meritorious works may all created beings be entirely weaned from bad actions, and as long as they live spend their time in the exercise of beneficence !

" Far removed from criminal thoughts, grounded in holiness and walking in the path of virtue, be ye conquerors of guilty actions !

" May all that breathe enjoy length of life !

" May every one spend his days in happiness, and the voice of death be no more heard !

" May the tree Gabarakscha perpetually blossom like a field

enamelled with flowers ; and you, ye worshippers, calling upon the saints, be full of flourishing doctrine which shall fill all the regions of the world !

" May the whole earth become a perfectly pure jewel, like a plain formed by the hand of omnipotence, for him who walketh upon it !

" Ye spirits of heaven, dispense the blessing of rain in due season, that all fruits may prosper !

" Ye kings, govern mildly like beneficent gods !

" May all medicines operate with full efficacy, and accomplish the hope in which they are taken !

" May all created beings without exception be relieved from distress ; and not one soul be annoyed by danger, oppression, and injustice !

" May the priesthood always be productive of blessing, and the aim and conduct of its members be the happiness of all !

" Ye who perform the functions of the priesthood, live continually in holy retirement !

" Walk always so as to give a good example ; be of active minds and pious demeanour !

" Ye nuns, fulfil your destination, and avoid discord and enmity !

" By the strength of perfection may the priesthood be supported !

" Priests who live unrighteously, may your minds be disturbed to repentance, that your sins may be blotted out !

" May happy beings every where unite and uphold the state and justice !

" May all the wise be esteemed according to their merit, and gratuitously supported ; may the precepts of virtue be obeyed, and tend to everlasting glory !"

[COUNTRY OF THE DON COSSACKS.]

[From the same.]

"**T**SCHERKASSK, the capital of the Don Cossacks, is seated on the right shore of the Don, upon an island formed by the Akssai branch. We arrived at this place towards evening of the 1st of November, and took up our quarters in a roomy wooden house, the owner of which behaved with great civility. Since our departure from St. Petersburg we had travelled 1947 wersts or 297 German miles. Tscherkassk differs from all other towns in the mode of building; for, on account of the annual inundations, which commonly last from April to June, most of the houses of the town are erected upon high poles, so that when the inundation is over there is a space under each where cattle are frequently kept. In most of the streets are lofty wooden bridges which run along the middle of them, and to which a smaller bridge leads from the door of each house. Where this is not the case the inhabitants are obliged, during the time of the inundation, to step immediately out of their houses into a boat, when going about their ordinary business. Hence it is evident that this town is by no means adapted to riding either in a carriage or on horseback.

"On the Don itself, where the ground is rather higher and where nothing is to be feared from the water, are situated the Gymnasium, some other buildings belonging to

the government, and the principal church. The shops are very spacious and well arranged, and furnished with all sorts of domestic commodities, as also with most of the foreign productions that are subservient to the convenience of life. In consequence of the proximity of Taganrog and the Krym the place is in particular abundantly supplied with articles of Greek and Turkish merchandize, which are sold at very moderate prices. I remarked many shops with iron and brass wares, woollen cloth of home and foreign manufacture, tea, sugar, coffee, wines and other strong liquors.

"To a stranger visiting Tscherkassk for the first time, it is a striking spectacle to find a city peopled by Cossacks alone; and where all the male inhabitants wear the same costume, which consists of a blue Cossack coat turned up with red. Even great part of the foreigners resident here adopt this dress, which looks very neat. Besides the Cossacks properly so called, the Tartars, who are upon the same footing as the Cossacks, occupy a whole suburb, and have likewise a well-fitted-up wooden messdabet.

"The inundations, which leave behind in the streets a great quantity of mud, and in many places large standing pools, whence issue pernicious exhalations, render the situation of the town extremely unhealthy; for which reason New Tscherkassk

Tscherkassk has been begun on a branch of the Don, a German mile from the present town, and is said to be at this time ready for the reception of inhabitants. Those of the old town, who will be in some measure indemnified for the expense thus occasioned, are all to remove to New Tscherkassk; so that in half a century, perhaps, no vestiges of the present place will remain.

"Tscherkassk was founded in 1570 by the Cossacks, the year after the Turks had undertaken their fruitless expedition from Asow against Astrachan, and the former town had been almost entirely destroyed by the explosion of a powder-magazine set on fire by lightning. The origin of the Cossacks themselves is an historical problem which has hitherto been by no means satisfactorily solved. This name first occurs in Constantine Porphyrogenneta (about A.D. 948), who places the province of Kasachia among the countries lying beyond the Kuban, as appears from the following passage:—"On the eastern side of the Palus Mæotis several rivers empty themselves into it, as the Tanais, which comes from Sarkel; the Chorakul, in which the Oxian fishes (το Βερζυρινον) are taken; likewise some other rivers, as the Bal Burlik, Chadir, and many more. But the mouth of the Palus Mæotis is also called Burlik and goes into the Pontus. Here is the Bosphorus, on which stands the town named Tamatarcha. The above-mentioned mouth is eighteen miles broad. In the middle of these eighteen miles lies a large flat island called Atech. The river Ukruch, which separates Sichia (Σιχία) from Tamatarcha, is eighteen or twenty miles from the latter. Sichia ex-

tends about 300 miles from the Ukruch to the river Nikopsis, on which also is situated a town of the same name. Beyond Sichia lies the country of Papagia beyond Papagia, Kasachia, beyond Kasachia Mount Caucasus, and beyond the Caucasus the country of the Alans."—The inhabitants of Kasachia were consequently neighbours of the Sicks or Eastern Tscherkessians, and themselves Tscherkessians; for this nation is still called by its neighbours, the Ossetes, Kasach or Kessek. Ibn el Vardi, an Arabian geographer, who lived and wrote about 1230, mentions a people called Keshek in the Caucasus, and cannot sufficiently extol the beauty of their women, on which subject he breaks forth into the warmest praises of the Almighty. This exactly applies to the Tscherkessian women, who are still accounted the most beautiful in all Asia. Massudi, another Arabian, who wrote near two centuries earlier, about A.D. 947, says that many Mohammedan merchants came every year to Trebisonde, on the sea of Constantinople, from Rum (Anatolia), Armenia, and the land of Kaschel; but it is a question whether the Tscherkessians are here meant, as he has not more precisely described the situation of their country. It might be that at this early period they carried their slaves thither to market, as they lately did to Anapa, Dzugodshuk-Ckala, and other ports of the Black Sea. Be this as it may, so much at least is certain, that the Tscherkessians first bore the name of Kasach, and it is very probable that from them it may have been transferred to other neighbouring nations who led the same kind of life as they. Some writers indeed have asserted that

Ckasack

Ckasack in the Turco-Tartar dialect signifies a robber, but this is erroneous; a sledge indeed is called Ckasack, but it will scarcely be contended that the name can be thence derived. It is likewise remarkable that in later times the Russian Cossacks were termed Tscherkessians, and that both appellations were indiscriminately employed.

"Of all the different Cossacks those of little Russia are the most ancient; for their origin dates from 1340, after the Poles had reduced Red Russia under their dominion. It is probable that, on this event, many Russians emigrated from that country in order to seek an asylum lower down the Dnjeper, where they intermingled with the Tartars and Tscherkessians; for in general the Cossacks are of a much more slender make than the other Russians, and their features upon the whole more handsome and expressive. The invasions of Russia by the Tartars, and in particular the destruction of Kiew in 1415, increased the number of these refugees, who now extended to the Bug and the Dniester. Those who resided beyond the cataracts of the Dnjeper now received the name of Saporogians, and these were the most powerful tribe. Thus, though the Little Russian Cossacks had long existed, it was not till late that they were distinguished by this appellation. During the reign of the grand-prince Iwan Wassiljewitsch I. the Tartar Cossacks first made their appearance: they were afterwards divided into those of Ordinsk and Asow. There were likewise Cossacks who were in the immediate service of certain Tartar princes; and it is possible enough that they may have been originally

body-guards of Tscherkessians. Thus Wassili Iwanowitsch, son of the prince just mentioned, had in his service Cossacks, whom he often employed in missions to the Krym. The Ordinsk Cossacks had their name from being dependent on the Great Orda, the chief settlement of the Tartars on the Wolga, as were the Asow Cossacks on Asow, consequently on the Turks, who in 1471 made themselves masters of that town.

"In 1500 Agnias Tscherkass and Karabai were the chiefs of the Asow Cossacks, who inhabited the country between Asow and the Russian frontiers; and these seem to have intermingled most with their neighbours the Tscherkessians; for from that time the terms Tscherkessian and Cossack became synonymous. It is not surprising that they should retain their language and religion, for the Russians seem still to constitute the greater part of the nation. In later times we have a striking instance of a similar intermixture; for about sixty years ago the Grebensk Cossacks on the Terak had so blended themselves with the Tschetschenzes and other mountaineers as scarcely to be distinguished from them; but they still retained the Russian language, although they had taken foreign wives.

"The origin of the state of the Don Cossacks dates not much earlier than 1570, for many refugees had some time before settled on the Don and its branches; but it was not till after the building of Tscherkassk that their political constitution was settled. The Zar Iwan Wassiljewitsch, on occasion of the expedition of the Turks against Astrachan in 1569, is said to have ordered out against them 5000 Saporogians from among the

the Tscherkessians (Cossacks) residing on the Dnjeper, under the conduct of Prince Michael Wyschnewetzskii, who, in conjunction with those established on the Don, gained a complete victory over the Turks. It is related that the greater part of these 5000 men remained near the Don, and in concert with the Cossacks there founded the city of Tscherkassk; where, after the manner of the Saporogians, they lived a long time without wives. Their losses were supplied by stragglers and unmarried men from the first colonies of the Don Cossacks. The troubles which soon afterwards broke out in Russia contributed to augment their numbers; they extended their possessions to the Denez, the Medwediza, the Choper and the Busuluk, and made the town of Tscherkassk their capital.

"These Cossacks soon became dangerous to their neighbours, so that it was found necessary to flatter them and to gain them by presents, to prevent them from committing depredations and driving away the flocks in time of peace, and in war to secure the aid of such brave and serviceable troops. At present all the Cossacks pay implicit obedience to the crown, and are as faithful subjects as any in the empire. Content with little, they patiently endure every kind of hardship; but they are the first in war wherever there is an opportunity for plunder. Their country is not, strictly speaking, a Russian province, but has its peculiar government and constitution, and is under an Ataman or commander in chief, who on all occasions that arise communicates directly with St. Petersburg. This has inspired them with a manly love of freedom which unfortunately is not to be found in the

other Russians; but nevertheless perfect submission to the orders of their superiors prevails among them.

"The fertility of the country, and their whole establishment, render them but little disposed to pursue agriculture with assiduity, and they grow only just so much corn as they require for their own consumption. On the other hand, the vine is largely cultivated along the whole of the Don, and they make several truly excellent sorts of wine, which when not adulterated are equal to the light French wines. Here is likewise produced a kind of champagne, which, under the name of Symlianskii, is sent all over Russia; but it is commonly debased with potash, and produces head-ache and disorders of the stomach. I here drank a light sort of red wine, which nearly resembles the Petit Bourgogne, and was of excellent flavour. Of this I took with me at my departure a half-anker; but it froze at a temperature of no lower than five degrees, so that I could use it no other way than mulled.

"The women of Tscherkassk may upon the whole be pronounced handsome, and appear very showy, especially on holidays, with their half-oriental costume. The use of paint is common at this place, as it is all over Russia; but here I think I observed this disguise on the faces of middle-aged females only. The young women and girls have a fresh complexion, and seem to employ few artificial means of improving their natural beauty.

"The principal church is one of the most remarkable objects in the town, not only on account of its architecture, but for the prodigious quantity of gold, silver, and jewels, especially pearls, which it contains.

All these treasures formed part of the booty which the Cossacks have made in different wars, and particularly in Poland. Besides a multitude of images of saints wrought in gold, or overlaid with that metal, which are adorned with the largest and most costly stones, you here see an altar-piece of considerable height and breadth, studded all over with pearls, many of which are of the largest size and finest quality. There is likewise more gold and silver coin among the Cossacks than any where else in Russia. Many of the widows of people of distinction have whole pots full of ducats lying in their houses, which pass from father to son undiminished, and commonly without ever being counted.

"Since the foundation of the university Charkow, the Gymnasium at Tscherkassk has been placed on a better footing; and I must own that I scarcely expected to find so good a seminary among the Cossacks. During my stay there was a public examination, which was highly creditable to the institution; and truth obliges me to declare that it may vie with any other in Russia. The Cossacks are quick of apprehension; they have shrewd understandings, and are not deficient in Asiatic acuteness. This circumstance of itself evinces that they are not of pure Russian descent. They are much addicted to intoxication, but are ashamed to suffer its consequences to be publicly seen, which is not the case in the rest of Russia; for there, when a man of quality reels along the streets after a debauch, no one takes the least notice of it, neither does it cast the slightest imputation on his character. The people of Tscherkassk choose rather to drink to excess at home,

and the fair sex make no scruple to partake in these Bacchanalian orgies.

"The little town of Nachtschiwan, built since the year 1780 by the Armenians who have emigrated from the Krym, is only 28 wersts from Tscherkassk. The road thither crosses the Akssai, and then leads on the right side of the Don past dangerous ravines, in which run small streams that are dry in summer. I cannot describe what an agreeable impression was made upon me by this perfectly regular and handsome place, and the great order which prevails there; it were to be wished that many such Armenian towns might be founded in other parts of the Russian empire. Nachtschiwan signifies new settlement, and has been thus named after a town of Armenia, where, says tradition, Noah, on descending from Mount Ararat, first built himself a habitation. The shops here are particularly worthy of notice; they form a long row, and are stocked with all kinds of commodities. In front of them runs a broad and completely covered passage, which is lighted from above by windows, and has, on account of its height and elegance, an imposing appearance. According to the Asiatic custom, the mechanics work in their shops, and all the persons of the same trade live near one another; so that you here see a row of goldsmiths, there another of bakers, tailors, &c. Nachtschiwan is moreover a very populous and lively place.

"My host, who was then chief magistrate (Golowa), took a pleasure in conducting me about every where, and showed me in the town-house the license for building the town confirmed by the empress Catherine

Catherine II., which, written in the Armenian language and in large characters, adorns the court of justice. Colonel Awramow, an Armenian by birth, has rendered great services to the town, and was one of the original founders. At his house I met with two Armenian archimandrites, who were on the way to the celebrated convent of Etschmiadsin, near Eriwan. At night we had a truly cheerful ball, at which however but few Armenian females were present, because they live very retired, and seldom show themselves to strangers.

"I returned the following day from Nachtschiwan to Tscherkassk, where I staid but a few hours, and

immediately made an excursion, among the Calmucks settled on the opposite shore of the Don. These, like the Don Cossacks, to whom they are accounted to belong, are divided into regiments of 500 men, each of which is under a colonel and major (Jessaul). Only one company of these Calmucks, under a Ssotnik, was encamped here in their ordinary felt-tents or jurtas, and they appeared to be in indigent circumstances. These Calmuck Cossacks have by right their pasturage between the Don, the river Ssal, and the great Manytsch, and are totally distinct from the Wolga Cossacks in the government of Astrachan."

[DESCRIPTION OF PENANG ON THE MALACCA COAST.]

[From Mr. Wathen's Voyage to Madras and China.]

"PENANG, or Pinang, is a Malay word, signifying the betel leaf, or the betel and areka together; and Pulo, in the same language, means an Island. The great quantities of betel and areka produced in it, gave rise to the appellation of Pulo-Penang. It lies on the fifth parallel of north latitude, and in longitude $100^{\circ} 20^m$ east, at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca from the bay of Bengal. It is about sixteen miles in length, and from six to eight in breadth. Its shape is an oblong square, distant between two and three miles from the country of Queda, in the peninsula of Malacca. It was a royal present from the king of Queda to capt. Light, and was first settled in 1786. An irregular ridge

of mountains runs from north to South, the whole length of the island. They rise in some parts to the height of near 3000 feet from the level of the sea. The northern extremity is the most lofty; and here a signal-house has been erected, and several bungalows built. The whole of the ridge of mountains is covered with a forest of trees, of an immense size. The level ground, from the base of the mountainous ridge to the eastern coast opposite Queda, extends about twelve miles in length, and is of different breadths, from two to four miles. This slip of land is in a state of high cultivation, producing abundance of pepper, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, betel, and areka. The whole is interspersed with elegant garden-

houses and bungalows, surrounded by beautiful plantations. The roads are lined with a great variety of fragrant shrubs and trees, which enjoy perpetual verdure.

"On the north-eastern point of this little plain, Fort Cornwallis and George Town are situated. The latter is called by the natives Tenjong Painaique. The population of the island is supposed to amount to about 20,000, consisting of Europeans, Malays, Sumatrans, Chinese, Birmans, &c.

"Provisions of all kinds are in great plenty, and supplied at a very reasonable rate from the Queda shore. Fruits are so cheap that I purchased three dozens of oranges for two-pence, and beautiful ripe pine-apples for two-pence each. Culinary vegetables of all sorts were also to be had in abundance. A great variety of the most excellent fish is found in shoals in every direction round the island, which, Mr. Johnson says, "from the salubrity of its air, is justly esteemed the Montpelier of India." *Coups de soleil* are seldom experienced in this settlement; although the Europeans walk and ride about at all times of the day exposed to a vertical sun.

"From the dawn of day until the sun has emerged above the high mountains of Queda, and even for some time after this period, Penang rivals any thing that has been fabled of the Elysian fields. The dews which have fallen in the course of the night, and, by remaining on the trees, shrubs, and flowers, have become impregnated with their odours, early in the morning begin to exhale, and fill the air with the most delightful perfumes; while the European inhabitants, taking advantage of this

pleasant season for air and exercise, crowd the roads in carriages, on horseback; and on foot, till the sun, getting to some height above the mountains of Queda, becomes so powerful as to drive them into their bungalows, to enjoy a good breakfast, with a good appetite.

"The low lands of Penang being liable to inundation in the rainy season, the houses of the Europeans are all elevated from the ground eight or ten feet, on arches or pillars. They seldom consist of more than one floor, are built of wood, and thatched with leaves of trees."

"In short, the garden-houses and bungalows are erected here in the same manner, and with similar materials, as they are near Madras, with the exception of their being elevated here to avoid the floods.—They are surrounded with gardens, and each has its veranda. The land is much better, and therefore infinitely more productive here than near Madras. The most luxuriant vegetation is every where seen in Prince of Wales's Island, even to, and on the very summit of the mountains.

"When we landed, a great crowd of persons met us at the jetty, or pier; and it was with some difficulty we made our way through them into the town.

"George Town is near half a mile in length, and is inhabited by Malays, Chinese, Hindoos, Arabians, Sumatrans, Birmans, &c. besides the European settlers. The streets are regular, but the houses are detached, and are built according to the native custom, or the taste of the inhabitant.—The markets are well supplied with fish, poultry, rice, and vegetables.—The Chinese here, as every where
else

else in India, are the most industrious class; and they meet with that encouragement and countenance from the government which their exemplary conduct deserves.

"During our first visit to George Town, after our introduction to several gentlemen in official situations, I separated from the company, with a view to see the town. In passing through a street, I was surprized to hear sounds familiar enough in London, but which I by no means expected here—"a-going!—a-going! for only six rupees!—a-going!"——

"I entered the auction-room, where a Mr. Perkins had just knocked down a small lot of European ware to a Malay purchaser.

"The sale being ended, Mr. Perkins very politely shewed me the articles he dealt in, which consisted in a great variety of English goods, and among the rest some books and pictures. His audience, collected from so many different eastern nations, each in the costume of his own country, exhibited a groupe so motley—with countenances so whimsically attentive, at the same time so perplexed and distracted, endeavouring to catch the meaning of the flippant auctioneer—that it was with great difficulty I refrained from laughter. The Malays, I have heard, are devoted to gambling—therefore an auction is very much adapted to their taste. Mr. Perkins will, no doubt, thrive among them.

"There were many handsome shops in the street where Mr. Perkins resided, chiefly kept by Chinese tradesmen. I made some purchases among them; but it was with great difficulty we could understand each other; the Chinese here not having made such progress

in the English language as I afterwards found their countrymen to have made at Canton.

"At night I returned on-board the Hope. The luminous appearance of the water was much more vivid in this sea than any I had before observed—The boats seemed to pass through liquid fire.

"A house had been prepared at George Town, for the reception of a Mr. De Cæof, who came a passenger in the Hope from Madras, on his return to the island of Banda, then recently taken possession of by the English. Mr. De Cæof had been secretary to the Dutch governor of Banda, and had been at Madras on business.—I was kindly invited by him to make his house my rendezvous in my visits to the town, during my continuance in the harbour. The house was pleasantly situated, surrounded by a large garden, full of delicious fruit, and shaded by fine trees.—I had not occasion to intrude long upon Mr. De Cæof: indeed the kindness and hospitality of the principal persons in the island would have rendered it unnecessary, had the ship continued a much longer time than she did.—I visited the town daily, and rambled about the environs with infinite pleasure, enriching my portfolio with many new and interesting sketches. On the 23d of September (the anniversary of his majesty's accession) an accident happened, which had fatal consequences, and threatened to delay our voyage considerably.

"At six o'clock in the morning on the above day, the three East India ships fired a royal salute of eighteen guns each, in honour of the day, according to custom. Soon after the firing, we observed an unusual agitation among the people on shore,

shore, and in a few minutes we were informed that one soldier was killed, and that another had an arm blown off by a cannon shot from one of the ships. These men belonged to a regiment of Sepoys, which was then drawn up on the parade before the Government-house. Providentially no further mischief was done, though the ball had entered a house, and passed through a room in which were several children.—A few days afterwards, a coroner's inquest was held, at which the recorder, sir Edmund Stanley, Mr. Haliburton the sheriff, and several others of the principal persons at the settlement were present. I was appointed one of the jury, who, after a long and patient investigation, brought in their verdict of "accidental death." The shot was ascertained to have been fired from the Taunton Castle, the gunner having carelessly left the shot in some of the guns, from the time of our alarm at seeing some supposed enemy's ships. Notwithstanding the verdict of the Coroner's jury, the gunner of the Taunton Castle was detained, and afterwards (on the 21st of October) arraigned in the supreme court, for the murder of the Sepoy. I was excused serving on this jury, on my appealing to the court. A great crowd of persons repaired to the court-house at eleven o'clock, when the recorder, with his excellency the governor on the bench by him, opened the business in an impressive speech. There were several prisoners placed at the bar; and among them the gunner of the Taunton Castle, in irons. This was a very painful circumstance, in the estimation of the officers of the Indiamen, most of whom were present. The trial of the gunner lasted for five hours. His defence

was most ably conducted by some of the officers of the Indiamen, who cross-examined the witnesses for the prosecution with great acuteness and success, for the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The gunner was discharged, and went on-board his ship with his officers.

"This disagreeable business being concluded, I return to describe some of my excursions in this delightful island.

"On the 24th of September, after breakfasting with Mr. De Cæof, I pursued the road leading northward from the town, along the valley, with the sea on my right about the distance of a mile, and on my left the mountains of Penang rising from the plain, covered with wood, and timber-trees, chiefly teak and pines of very large dimensions, to the summit. The valley was studded with handsome bungalows and Malay cottages, with plantations of cocoa-trees, pepper, areka, betel, and sugar-canes, and abundance of beautiful shrubs and most fragrant flowers. My principal object in this excursion was to visit a waterfall which had been mentioned to me. I left the road therefore about four miles from George Town, and took an intricate path, which led to the foot of the mountain; and afterwards took a winding direction upwards through the forest. Ascending under the shade of enormous trees, I soon heard the dashing noise of the waterfall; but I could not see any thing of it until I arrived at the rocky bason into which the water is precipitated. It is said that the fall is 160 feet. The stream was at this time inconsiderable, but clear as chrystal—it fell over broken ledges of rock, and formed, together with the scenery which surrounded it, a most beautiful,

tiful, though gloomy picture; the luxuriant foliage of tropical trees denied all access to the rays of the sun—the shade was deep, which, with the din of the cascade, invited the mind to melancholy musing. After contemplating this solitary glen for some time, I began to feel a kind of superstitious horror creep over my senses, and I hastened from the spot, after having taken a sketch of the waterfall.—This cascade differed from those I have seen in England and in Wales, in having at its summit, as well as its sides and base, immense trees, of great height, whereas the British waterfalls are mostly in situations where timber trees are not found, or, if they are, their size is inconsiderable.—I make no doubt that the fall of water at Penang is tremendous in the rainy season, and often prostrates some of the gigantic trees in its way; for I perceived several large trunks of teak and pine lie near the bottom, torn up, and shivered by the fall.

“When I returned to the road leading to George Town, I had recovered my spirits; and seeing some Sepoys going up the hill side, I was induced to follow them, with the intention of reaching the top of Penang mountain; but after proceeding for about a mile, and considering the distance from the town, I determined to return, and take another opportunity to visit the mountain. A great number of snakes, beautiful lizards, and other reptiles, crossed my path in this walk; but I could now see these creatures without alarm. I sat down on a bank, and enjoyed a fine view of Fort Cornwallis, George Town, the Straits of Penang, and the coast and mountains of Queda.

“Approaching the town, I heard a great noise, proceeding from a

crowd of people, who were stationed in the road opposite a house. A gong, and other discordant music, announced some entertainment about to be performed.—I soon learned that a strolling party of the Chinese sons of Thespis were to perform their sing-song, or theatrical exhibition. The stage was elevated from the ground to the height of one story in the front of the house, and was covered with green baize. A curtain was drawn across, and anon the play commenced!—The performers dressed in the most extravagant costume, came forth from behind the curtain, and proceeded to declaim with great vehemence, accompanied with pantomimic gestures. The hero, who, no doubt, represented some great warrior, was armed with a most enormous scimitar, and “so strutted and bellowed,” that Hamlet, had he seen him, would have again said that “some of Nature’s journeymen had made men, and not made them well,” this player “imitated humanity so abominably.”—After several murders and executions, the play ended, and a dance succeeded. I confess that I could not make out the story, nor discover the plot. The audience in general, however, were delighted beyond measure with the exhibition.

“In reading some late accounts of voyages and travels, I have observed with much surprize, that the authors affect to conceal the names of persons in different places who they acknowledge had treated them with the greatest hospitality and attention; and this concealment is pretended to be out of good manners towards the author’s kindest friends. I cannot bring myself to imitate this refinement in good manners: I hope, therefore, that those

those generous individuals who have so kindly entertained me at the several stations where the ship touched, will not be offended at the grateful remembrance of them contained in this little memorial.

"I had received the honour of an invitation to dine on the 26th of September, with a party at Suffolk-house; the residence of his excellency Mr. Phillips, at that time officiating in the absence of the governor, who was gone to Batavia with the army. Mr. Haliburton, sheriff of Penang, treated me with a ride in his curricule several miles into the country, in the cool of the evening, when every soft gale was loaded with fragrance from the ever-blooming shrubs and flowers of this climate. At seven o'clock, we arrived at Suffolk-house, which is a very splendid mansion, built in a mixed style of English and Indian architecture. The dinner was sumptuous and elegant, and the desert such as can only be found in a tropical climate. The wines were excellent, the rooms were kept cool by watered mats, and the tables were covered with a profusion of the most odoriferous flowers. The company was numerous, and included most of the principal persons in the island. Sir Edmund Stanley and his lady, Dr. and Mrs. M'Kinnon, Mr. and Mrs. Hall, Major and Mrs. Munt, Mr. Haliburton, and many others of the principal persons in the island.

"Soon after the ladies had retired from the dinner-table, the gentlemen followed, and found them in a very elegant and splendid withdrawing-room, engaged in examining some portfolios, containing drawings of figures, beasts, birds, insects, shells, flowers, &c. beautifully coloured after nature. Mrs.

M'Kinnon, I soon found, was an artist herself; and it was very gratifying to me to receive an invitation from Dr. M'Kinnon, and his amiable lady to pay them a visit at their residence in the country. About eleven o'clock, after tea and coffee, the company retired, and I took my lodging at my friend Mr. Croft's bungalow, near George Town.

"The next day I walked to Dr. M'Kinnon's house, three miles from George Town, where I was much entertained and pleased with viewing the successful exertions of his lady's pencil, not only in some neat copies of the works of some English artists, but in some exquisite original drawings of plants, fruits, and flowers, which Penang produces, particularly of the nutmeg, cinnamon, and pepper plants.

"During my visit to Dr. M'Kinnon, I attended him and his lady to a small village in his neighbourhood, inhabited by a colony of emigrants from the Birman dominions, a recently established empire, on the eastern shores of the bay of Bengal, northward of Siam. Ava is the capital of this new empire. The whole population is stated to be seventeen millions. The countries of Arrakan and Pegu are included in it.—When we arrived at the village, the inhabitants were preparing to celebrate certain religious ceremonies observed by them at the change of the moon. A small temple is erected, in a thick grove of cocoa and betel trees. This building is highly ornamented with carvings of no mean workmanship; and is surrounded by a wall five feet high, at a short distance. The area is covered with fine white sand, and in different parts of it are fixed stems of areka trees, each surrounded

rounded by at least an hundred small lamps (sea shells, furnished with cocoa-nut oil,) affixed spirally to the trees. In each of the four corners of the court is fixed a pole twenty feet high, supporting a canopy of coloured paper, richly ornamented, with a deep fringe all round the edge or border. We were admitted within the walls of the court.

"At eight o'clock, the time of the change of the moon, a rocket was thrown up. In an instant, all the little lamps were lighted, as well those I have mentioned as others thickly placed on the wall, all around the area. The priests then came into the area, and entered the temple, where we could see them in a deep recess prostrate themselves before a large idol, having something of the human form, placed on a pedestal.—After pronouncing a long prayer with great apparent zeal and devotion, each person placed, with profound humility, a white flower, in the extended hand of the divinity, and retired.—When this ceremony was ended, large fires were lighted up, and shouting and rejoicing concluded the festival.

"Most of Dr. M'Kinnon's servants were Birman, and were present at the ceremony.—The religion of Arrakan, and Pegu, is said to be the same, precisely, or at least very nearly, as that of Siam; and it was from Pegu these people had emigrated. Father Fontenay, in the account of his voyage from Siam to Macao, in speaking of some Talopins, or Siamese priests, whom he had seen at their devotion, says, "They were sitting on the ground, with their hands joined together, and chaunted for the space of an hour, with their eyes fixed on the idol. But few people in Europe

perform their devotions with so much modesty and respect, especially when they last so long. I confess that their example made me feel more sensibly than any sermon could have done, with what humility and reverence we should behave before the majesty of God, when we address him in prayer, or appear before him at the altar."

"I hope I shall not be thought impertinent by the reader, or charged with a wish to extend these pages with irrelevant matter, if I insert here the rules of the order of Talopins, the priests of Siam, who live in monasteries under vows of chastity and poverty. Their moral tendency, as well as singularity, invite me to make this transgression, by copying Mr. Craufurd, who has transcribed them from the voyages of the Jesuits:

"The Talopins are enjoined to go to the temples, and perform their devotions twice a day, in the morning and evening: to confess their faults to each other: to be watchful not to encourage any wicked thought, or ever to admit into their mind any doubt with respect to their religion: never to speak to any of the other sex alone, nor to look steadfastly upon any one they may accidentally meet: not to prepare their own food, but to eat what may be given, or set before them ready dressed: not to enter into a house to ask alms, nor to wait for them longer at the door than the time that an ox may take to drink when he is thirsty: not to affect friendship or kindness, with a view to obtain any thing: to be sincere in all their dealings, and when it may be necessary to affirm or deny any thing, to say simply, it is, or it is not: never to be angry, or to strike any one; but to be gentle in their manners

manners, and compassionate to all : not to keep any weapons of war : not to judge any one by saying, he is good, or he is bad : not to look at any one with contempt : not to laugh at any one, nor make him the subject of ridicule : not to say that any one is well made, or ill made, or handsome, or ugly : not to frighten, or alarm any one : not to excite people to quarrel, but to endeavour to accommodate their disputes : to love all mankind equally : not to boast either of birth, or learning : not to meddle in any matters of government, that do not immediately respect religion : not to be dejected at the death of any one : not to kill any one : not to drink spirituous liquors of any kind : not to disturb the earth by labouring in it : not to cut down any plant or tree : not to cover the head : not to have more than one dress : not to sleep out of the monastery, nor to turn and go to sleep again when once awake : not to sleep after eating, until the duties of religion are performed : not to eat out of any vessel of silver or gold : not to play at any game : not to accept of money, but by the hand of the person in the monastery who may be appointed for that purpose, and then to apply it to charitable and pious works : not to envy any one what he may enjoy : not to be in anger with any one, and, retaining that anger, come with him to any religious ceremony, or act of devotion : not to sleep in the same bed with any one : not to move the eye while speaking ; nor make a noise with the mouth in eating ; nor speak with victuals in the mouth ; nor pick the teeth before company, &c."

"The Birman settlers live much after the manner of the Hindoos,

their principal subsistence being rice, and other vegetables, and milk when they are able to obtain it. The men are chiefly employed in cutting wood, and in fishing. The females are industrious, and make good and faithful servants.

"I had obtained governor Phillips's permission to ascend to the top of Penang mountains, and to visit the convalescent bungalow erected there by the government for the temporary residence of European invalids. On the third of October, I set out from Dr. M'Kinnon's villa before six o'clock in the morning, in his palanquin, upon this excursion. On arriving at the foot of the ascent, I dismissed the carriage, and proceeded on foot. The path is not more than ten feet wide, and is cut with great labour through a forest of majestic teak trees, whose branches uniting above, form a shade impervious to the rays of the sun, which renders the walk pleasant, and cool. At this time in the morning the air was loaded with perfume, and the birds, arrayed in the most beautiful plumage, poured forth a concert, though harsh, not unpleasing. The tropical birds are not musical.—There is in this island one exception, however ; a small bird, not larger than a linnet, sings most sweetly, perched among the branches of the teak.—A great many small snakes crossed my path, in my winding ascent ; and myriads of large black ants, in some places, absolutely covered the ground. It was near eight o'clock when I reached the summit. I now sat down to rest myself, and to contemplate the scene before me. Nothing could exceed the beauty or variety of the picture which presented itself ; but as I had some inquiries to make, and some distance

tance to walk to the residence of major Sealy, to whom I had been recommended, I did not continue long on this spot.

"My attention was attracted by the noise of a great number of turkeys, near a neat cottage by the road side. Here dwelt an invalided serjeant of the 33d regiment of foot, with a wife and family, comfortably settled, and profitably employed in breeding turkeys for sale. He that morning had sent fifteen to George Town, for each of which he expected to receive four or five dollars. He had a handsome garden, well planted with fruit trees and vegetables, and two large plantations of rice and paddy, to fatten his turkeys. His greatest difficulty in rearing these birds was the almost impossibility of protecting them from the depredations of the snakes and foxes. I was directed by the industrious serjeant (who does not realize less than 300*l.* sterling per annum by the sale of his turkeys) to major Sealy's bungalow, which was a very commodious and elegant building of that class.

"On delivering my letters, my reception was cordial and friendly. I much enjoyed a luxurious East India breakfast with the major and his lady, consisting of tea, rice, fish, and fruit, both fresh and preserved. Afterwards, the major kindly attended me to Mr. Haliburton's spacious bungalow, situated on the eastern edge of the hill, from whence the most extensive and interesting view could be obtained. The eye, after passing over the abrupt side of the mountain, clothed with a thick and almost impenetrable forest of gigantic trees, rests delighted on the beautiful plain, stretching from its border to the sea. This charming valley is thickly

studded with handsome villas and picturesque bungalows, and intersected with pleasant carriage-roads, and meandering streams issuing from the mountain, making a reluctant passage to the sea. The whole is in a state of high cultivation. Gardens, producing the most delicious fruit, are kept in the best order. The pepper plant is raised with great success, although it requires much care and skill in the cultivator. There are in this vale many extensive plantations of it, as well as of rice, areka, and betel, and groves of cocoa-trees. Turning the eye southward, George Town and the harbour are seen. The various styles of building used in the construction of habitations in this small town has a strange effect—the European house, the Hindoo bungalow, the Malay cottage, the Chinese dwelling, and the Birman hut, are mingled together without regularity, and apparently without any plan, the first settlers having each built his residence, according to the custom of his country. They have, however, one feature in common, which is a garden surrounding each habitation. These various modes of building, by exhibiting the strongest contrasts, add considerably to the beauty of the picture. The four East Indiamen riding at anchor (for the Walmer castle had joined our little fleet at Penang) in the roads, with the Chinese junks, Malay proas, grabs, and small craft, moving in all directions, finished the view southward.—To the northward lay the great bay of Bengal; and as far as the power of vision can extend, small islands appear, with a line of coast to the north-eastward, until the whole vanishes away in the utmost verge of the horizon.—The

Malay

Malay coast in front consisted of a large plain, covered with wood, among which several villages or small towns appeared, and a navigable river winding through the country to the base of the high mountains of Queda, which terminated the view. Having completed my sketches of this enchanting prospect, I returned to major Sealy's to dinner.

"When the sun had declined towards the west, the air was cool and delightful. I accompanied the major and his lady in a pleasant walk to the convalescent bungalow, erected on the western side of the mountain, for the better enjoyment of the sea breezes by the enfeebled inhabitants. The prospect hence is the boundless ocean, at this time unruffled and serene, with the sun about to sink into its bosom from a cloudless sky, leaving the horizon glowing with the deepest saffron tint.

"In returning, we passed near a handsome dwelling, which Major Sealey informed me was once the residence of Colonel M'Alester, formerly Governor of Penang. This gentleman, his lady, and children, and near 200 other persons, were lost in the Indiaman, on their return to England. These anecdotes leave an unpleasant impression on the mind, particularly at a time when one is engaged in the prosecution of a long and dangerous voyage.

"In our way we saw a great many snakes, large centipedes, and scorpions—and when night approached, bats of a large size flew about with a singular noise. These bats are sometimes eaten, and are said to be very agreeable food. While we were taking our tea, a large snake crept into the room—

but being accustomed to the appearance of these reptiles, no alarm was manifested or created by its presence—a domestic took it out in his hands, but did not attempt to destroy it. More danger is apprehended from the centipedes and scorpions than from the snakes.

"As soon as night closed, such a concert of birds and insects arose, and continued for several hours after I had retired to rest, that it effectually prevented me from sleeping. The most surprising noise was made by an insect called the Trumpeter, which I afterwards found was not more than an inch in length. The noise was so loud, and so much like the sound of a trumpet, that I thought a troop of horse was actually approaching the bungalow. When I had an opportunity of examining this little swaggerer, I could with difficulty be persuaded that it had power to produce so tremendous a blast.

"The next morning, after viewing the governor's elegant bungalow, surrounded, and almost concealed, by fine trees, and shrubs of the most beautiful kind, I parted from my kind entertainers, and proceeded down the forest, on my return to Dr. M'Kinnon's house. On the way I met a party of twelve stout Malays carrying an invalid in the chair, to enjoy the bracing air of the convalescent bungalow. Soon afterwards, I sat down to view the prospect through a glade made by the fall of some trees; and my attention was excited by a rustling I heard among the underwood, occasioned by the motion of a large serpent, which came into the road a few steps from me. It was more than six feet long, and was most beautifully adorned with streaks of several colours, black and light blue.

It stopped in the middle of the way, and rose, in folds, near two feet from the ground, and fixed its eyes upon me, seeming to prepare for defence, or annoyance.—He

“ ————— tower’d
“ Fold above fold, a surging maze, his head
“ Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
“ With burnish’d neck of verdant gold, erect
“ Amidst his circling spires that on the grass
“ Floated redundant; pleasing was his shape
“ And lovely ————— ”

PAR. LOST, Book IX.

“ We looked at each other for a short time; at length he relaxed his folds, became “prone,” and glided, “with indented wave,” into the wood. It was near one o’clock when I arrived at Dr. M’Kinnon’s house.

“ His Majesty’s ship the *Minden*, of 64 guns, Captain Hoare, came into Penang Roads on the 5th of October, on her return from *Batavia*.

“ My time until the 10th was very agreeably taken up in visits to Sir Edmund Stanley, Mr. Haliburton, and my hospitable friend Dr. M’Kinnon, at his country bungalow called Treelough. On the 10th, I accompanied Dr. and Mrs. M’Kinnon in two palanquins, on a visit to the corn-mills of a Mr. Amee, a Chinese, who had been resident in Penang for some years. They were situated at the foot of the mountain forest, about four miles from George Town. The road along which we passed led through charming plantations of rice, pepper, cocoa, and areka trees.—Amee’s dwelling-house, and his mills built in the Chinese taste, formed a very picturesque groupe of buildings. The spot was romantic, and a powerful stream of water set his machinery in motion. We were received with courtesy, and met Sir Edmund and Lady Stanley, who had just arrived before us. We were regaled with a

sumptuous breakfast, and afterwards Mr. Amee shewed us every part of his spacious premises, his machinery, his bakehouse (for he is a baker as well as a miller), gardens, &c. He employs about 60 persons in his mills and bakehouse, and supplies not only George Town, but also the India shipping, with bread and flour. As much as possible of the labour is performed by the machinery; the dough is kneaded by it in an expeditious, effectual, and infinitely more cleanly manner than by the usual way.—Amee seems to be an able engineer; and his machinery, most of it his own invention, and especially the reservoir and water-course to the mills, give proof of his abilities.

“ He was much gratified when he saw me prepared to take a drawing of his house and mills. He produced a drawing of his own of the same subject, in which, though the outline was pretty correct, perspective was entirely wanting, and therefore the effect was feeble.

“ About noon the sky became dark and cloudy, and the rain soon descended in torrents. Our host made us perfectly comfortable, and insisted on our partaking of an early dinner, to which, at three o’clock, we were summoned. We found a sumptuous repast, consisting of a variety of dishes dressed both in the English and Chinese manner. Several sorts of sea and fresh water fish, ham, turkeys, fowls, &c. with excellent wines, and a desert of the most delicious tropical fruit.

“ It was near six o’clock before we left the mills, and took a cordial leave of the generous and friendly Chinese miller, who, on his part, felt himself highly honoured by a visit from persons of such consequence as Sir Edmund Stanley and Dr. M’Kinnon.—Sir Edmund proceeded to George

George Town, and I accompanied the Doctor and his lady to Treelough.

"I continued my excursions through the charming vale of Penang daily, sometimes in Sir Edmund Stanley's or Dr. M^c Kinnon's palanquin, oftener on foot; and in the evenings enjoyed the most agreeable society.

"On the 17th, a christening was celebrated at Treelough, of an infant daughter of the Doctor's.—The most remarkable object at this ceremony was an ancient Hindoo nurse, who had lived many years in the family—She was dressed in a style so youthful and gay, and so bedizened with mock jewels, in her ears, nose, hair, &c. and was so full of consequence upon this grand occasion, that the doctor, in making me observe her airs, thought it proper to say, that though this vanity of finery was ridiculous in so old a duenna, yet it was a venial fault, and pardonable, as she was an excellent servant, careful, and faithful—affectionate to the children, and devoted to her mistress.

"Monday the 21st of October. As I was this morning taking some sketches in the cemetery of Penang, near the end of George Town, a silent procession of English sailors entered the ground, bearing the bodies of two of their comrades to be "compounded with dust" in this spot, so far distant from their native soil. The graves were soon dug; and the poor deceased tars, inclosed in a few boards, were deposited in them. No bell was tolled—no requiem was sung—no service read! but grief and regret were visible in the countenances of some, and decent sorrow in those of all the survivors.—When the earth of Penang had covered the cold re-

mains of the gallant British seamen, the procession left the burying-ground, except two ancient sons of Neptune, who remained, one at each grave, leaning on their sticks in deep contemplation; "meagre were their looks, and pale." Some baleful disease had seized their vitals.—They regarded the last abode of their friends with profound attention.—Roused at last, they looked at each other, passed the backs of their hands across their eyes, and with feeble steps followed their companions.

"I was engaged for the remainder of this day in the painful duty of taking leave of those kind friends whose hospitality had been so generously extended to me—and in attending the trial of the gunner of the Taunton castle as before related. The Indiamen were preparing to sail, and it was necessary to repair on-board.

"Before I quit this beautiful island (where in my early morning's walk I frequently visited the lanes at Mount Olivia and near the Birman village, that afforded me excellent subjects to draw; among which, the handsome and spacious hospital for invalid soldiers was an object well worthy of notice; as was the neatness, as well as the luxuriance of many of the gardens adjoining the bungalows, and picturesque cottages, a few miles from George Town) it may be proper to mention something of its produce. No ferocious animals inhabit it; and it was formerly much more free from reptiles, snakes, scorpions, and centipedes, than it is at present. The serjeant who bred turkeys on the mountain told me there were foxes in the forest; and it is said that a beautiful species of deer is sometimes seen in the woods.

Birds,

Birds, of the most gaudy plumage, are seen on every bough; and among them the superb Argus pheasant is not uncommon. The horses are small, but strong and sure footed, and are imported from Achen, in the island of Sumatra: the buffaloes are brought from Queda; and the sheep from Bengal.

"The method of bringing the buffaloes from the opposite shore is curious. They pass thongs of leather through the cartilage of the noses of about half a dozen of them, then make them fast to the stern and sides of one of the boats, which is pushed off from shore, and the beasts driven into the water along with it; the thongs help to keep their noses above water, and assist them in swimming, until they gain the shore of Penang. The distance is not quite three miles. They are sometimes seized by the alligators, which are frequently seen near the shore. The buffalo is a very useful animal, patient in labour, but if enraged or tormented, becomes furious and dangerous. His flesh is good; the excrescence, or hump upon his back, when properly salted and preserved, is esteemed a delicacy at the best tables.

"Bathing near the shore is very dangerous on account of the alligators, which are of a very large size. Snakes of an enormous length are found in the woods. A species of large rats, called bandicotes, were formerly numerous, and did considerable mischief, but they are now much reduced in their numbers. The white ants are also here, and are still more mischievous than the rats, as it is more difficult to guard against their depredations.

"Among the useful trees and shrubs, this island is famous for producing the betel leaf, and the

areka nut, from which circumstance it was named Penang, or Pinang.—The use of the betel by both sexes, and all ranks, is universal all over India; and is, with the areka, an object of commerce to China, and other countries eastward. It is constantly presented to visitors, prepared in small parcels, of a fit size to be put into the mouth, consisting of two or more leaves, spread with a small quantity of chunam, or shell lime, and folded neatly round a small piece of the areka nut. Sometimes a bit of clove is added. The flavour is agreeable, but it gives the mouth a disgusting appearance, rendering the teeth black, and hastening them to decay.

"The tree which bears the areka nut is tall, and perfectly straight, and makes a very handsome appearance; its branches are slender, but the leaves are beautiful, forming a coronet at the top of the trunk. The masts and yards of the small vessels of the natives are formed of this tree.—The nut has no shell; and when divested of the skin or husk, and dried, it resembles the nutmeg both in size and colour.

"The betel is a parasitical plant, having props placed for it to run and climb upon. In general, it is planted at the foot of an areka tree, for the purpose of its winding round its stem for support. The leaf, which is the only part used, is of a hot aromatic quality; it resembles that of the citron, but it is longer, and narrower at the extremity. The plant grows in all parts of India; it affects a moist soil, where it best thrives.

"The pepper-plant is also a creeper, and requires to be supported. Its wood has the same kind of knots as the vine, and when dry

dry exactly resembles a vine-branch. The leaves have a strong spicy smell, and a pungent taste; the flowers are white, leaving, when they drop, small berries, something resembling those of the currant tree, producing from twenty to thirty corns of pepper at each bunch; they are gathered in October, and exposed to the sun for seven or eight days. The fruit is at first green; it then changes to red; and lastly assumes the appearance it has when we see it: it is not sown, but planted; a great nicety is required in the choice of the shoots: it produces no fruit till the end of three years, but bears plentifully the three succeeding years. The bark begins then to shrink, and in twelve years it ceases bearing. The pepper must be planted in a rich soil, and kept perfectly free from weeds. As the sun is necessary to the growth of this plant, the trees which support it are lopped, to prevent their shade from injuring the fruit.

"The sugar-cane is cultivated in

this island with considerable success. The most delicious fruits are produced in the greatest abundance. Pine-apples grow wild; while shaddocks, plantains, jack-fruit, oranges, lemons, &c. are reared with very little attention or labour.

"The principal object in settling this beautiful island, was for the purpose of supplying the China fleets with wood and water. The latter, which is of the most excellent quality, is conducted from the foot of the mountain in pipes to the wharf, where boats have their casks filled by a hose which leads from a cock into their bung-holes.

"It is with regret I quit this most delightful spot, emulating in beauty and produce the seat of Paradise itself. I shall ever cherish the remembrance of the kindness I receive from those families in it with whom I had the honour of being acquainted; and I request that they will accept my thanks, esteem and gratitude."

[PICTURESQUE SCENERY AND CUSTOMS AT CANTON.]

[From Mr. Wathen's Voyage to China.]

"ON the 11th of January I was introduced to the gentlemen at the factory. The chief, Mr. Elphinstone, to whose liberal kindness I shall ever consider myself deeply indebted, gave me a cordial welcome; and, to prove his desire of rendering my stay as agreeable as possible, he placed an elegant boat at my disposal, for my

sole use in trips along the river Tigris.

"Monday the 13th, I took possession of my boat; and the first use I made of it was to visit a large Josse temple on the opposite side of the river. I was attended by a young officer of the *Amelia*, (Mr. Taunton).—After crossing a large court shaded by immense banian trees,

trees, we ascended a flight of steps which led to the door of the sacred edifice. The priests permitted us to enter. The idols were very large figures of bronze, fifteen or twenty feet high. These divinities had nothing very sublime or awful in their appearance; on the contrary, they appeared to us Europeans, filthy, disgusting, and abominable. They were adored, however, by a great number of prostrate devotees while we were present, and those had no sooner withdrawn but others pressed forward to supply their places; so that the worship seems to be continued all day. There were several monstrous idols; and altars were placed in different parts of the temple, with priests officiating at them. These reverend fathers did not pay much attention to cleanliness, for they wore "marvellous foul linen;" their polls were as closely shaven as any Bernardin monk's, and their long robes shewed symptoms of their having been once white. They were polite enough; and, as a great favour, they took us to the sty, or temple of the holy pigs. These deities were well attended, and were certainly much cleaner than their priests. They were very large and fat; and some of them, we were informed, were thirty, and one forty years old. This last was an immense sow of a very venerable appearance.—Leaving the grunting gods, we returned to the large temple, where I prepared to take a drawing of its interior. This was no sooner perceived by the priests and the devotees, than such an outcry was raised, and such dismal yells and groans uttered, that we thought it necessary to effect our retreat as speedily as possible, not without receiving some insults from

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the sacred priests and their devout penitents.

"Having regained the street, we halted, to recognize our position! We discovered that our egress was through a different gate than the one through which we entered; and as the enemy had quietly retired into their strong-hold, we had leisure to contemplate the exterior of the building, which is of vast extent. It consists of many temples inclosed within a wall of great circuit, having several gateways for entrance. On the outside of the one we had just passed were two colossal statues in niches, one on each side, placed on pedestals five feet high. They were highly gilt, and executed with a certain degree of Chinese proportion which claimed attention. The one on the right hand had a fierce aspect, and stood in a threatening attitude. The other had a mild countenance, and a gentle demeanour.—We were told afterwards that these figures were emblems of war and peace. After having made some sketches, we re-crossed the Tigris, and landed at the factory. Notwithstanding the ill success of this adventure, I was determined to take some more favourable opportunity to explore the temples of Josse and the sacred hogs.

"I was this day, January the 14th, introduced to Messrs. Barretti at their residence in the factory. They are merchants of great eminence; and as the roof of the building occupied by them commanded a very extensive prospect; I had their permission to ascend. From this elevated station I had a view of the city of Canton, its pagodas, and temples. The extent is vast; and as the streets are narrow, the population must be immense.

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The streets nearest to me, and of which I had a full view, were counterparts of those without the wall—but I could not help regretting the policy which forbids all foreigners from entering the gates of Canton.—On the other side of the city rose a hill or peak of great altitude. I lamented my inability to obtain permission to visit its summit. I had an opportunity of sketching, where I was, a panorama of great extent, including scenes equally novel and interesting to European eyes. But it would be very inconvenient to introduce folded plates into a work of this nature, which can only contain detached views, and representations of rare or curious objects, either in landscape or architectural subjects.

"In one of the streets behind the factory I this morning met a marriage procession. Six sedan-chairs contained the married couple and their friends. No other mode of street conveyance is used in the suburbs of Canton. No wheel carriage, or even a horse, is seen. The crowd was immense, and the procession was almost endless—I got into a shop, to avoid being thrown down, and trod to death. The clamour of the gongs, and their musical instruments, resounded in my ears for many hours afterwards.

"Canton, like most of the cities in the east, classes the different trades together; the apothecaries engrossing one street, the silk-mercers another; the cabinet-makers a third, and so on.—But this mode is not adhered to in China-street; there we found the shops occupied by persons of every profession, for the convenience, we were told, of strangers.

"I was one day introduced to a hong merchant (who is also a Man-

darin) of the name of Con-se-qua. Mr. Bosanquet, who did me the honour to conduct me, informed Con-se-qua of a fact which he could scarcely credit, namely, that I had voyaged to China without any other object than to see the country, and to learn as much as I could, in a short residence, of the manners and customs of the people. Mr. Bosanquet added that it would be highly gratifying to me to be permitted to make drawings of the merchants' elegant and spacious residence, as well as some of the curious subjects in and about the mansion. This was readily granted. And after being regaled with wine, tea, and sweet-meats, Mr. Bosanquet retired, leaving me to commence my operations immediately. Con-se-qua spoke tolerable English, and led me through the different apartments, pointing out what he considered as the most interesting subjects, and explaining the uses of such articles as were new to me. The house and offices form a quadrangle. In the centre is seen a fountain of water as clear as crystal, contained in a capacious marble basin, which may probably serve for a bath for some of the males of the family. The area around it was planted with beautiful shrubs and flowers, exhaling the richest odour. Arches of rock-work, excellently executed, supported the building; and the whole was grand and solid. The appearance towards the street gave no reason to expect so much magnificence within.

"A temple was included within the walls, finished with a frightful Josse, and some curious and costly vessels and instruments were placed upon his altar. The furniture of the house corresponded with the grandeur of the edifice, and every thing indicated wealth and happiness.

ness. A great many children came to me while I was employed, and a great number of domestics passed and re-passed, but no female of any description appeared. I continued my visits for several mornings, and was always presented with sweet-meats, and tea of the finest quality. The tea was brought in elegant oval China basons with covers to them, without sugar or milk. The tea is made in these basons, and the leaves are left in the liquid.

As tea is a favourite beverage with me, I was very desirous to see some plantations of it. On the 28th of January, I was gratified. Four gentlemen of the factory accompanied me across the Tigris, and, after walking a few miles into the country, we came to a plantation of tea of about two acres. We were conducted to it by the servants of the proprietor. The plants were then in blossom. The most perfect neatness had been observed in their cultivation; not a weed, or even a blade of grass, was suffered to rob the cherished plants of their food. The soil seemed to be a sandy loam, rich with manure; and several persons, with hoes of singular shapes, were busy in the act of stirring the mould. The shrubs were disposed in rows perfectly strait.—In only picking a few leaves to taste the green herb, I perceived that I offended our Chinese attendants, so careful are they of this valuable plant.

“In the course of our walk, we passed through several fields planted with indigo, another very important vegetable.—Several elevated pieces of ground, near the road, were appropriated for the repose of the dead. We saw a vast number of graves in the form of little barrows, or circular hillocks, not un-

like the appearance of the ground in a new plantation of hops in England. A great many were distinguished by upright stones, with Chinese characters cut in them, placed on the side of the hillock.

“It was during this excursion, accompanied by gentlemen of enlightened and liberal minds, I paid my second visit to the great temple on the south side of the river. Whether the priests knew some of those gentlemen, or that they were in a better humour than when I had the honour of visiting them before, they suffered me to draw some of the statues, altars, &c. without much interruption. We again visited the holy inhabitants of the sty, and their more slovenly priests.—Absurd, however, as these institutions appear to us, they should not be rashly condemned, or even ridiculed, without knowing the reasons, which, perhaps, may be brought to explain them, by some of the intelligent and learned men who not only countenance a mode of worship which to us appears so ridiculous, but would lay down their lives rather than abjure it.

“After a most agreeable ramble, full of information and amusement, we returned to the factory, to a dinner which would have tempted the appetite of an alderman, and gratified the taste of the most fastidious epicuré.

“On the 29th of January, I had the honour of being introduced to the Rev. Mr. Morrison, a Protestant missionary settled at Canton. This gentleman has acquired such a perfect knowledge of the Chinese language, that he speaks it with the greatest fluency, and writes it correctly. The principal hoppo, or comptroller of the customs, at Canton, had appointed this day to

visit the Typan (so the Chinese call the chief officer of the Company's establishment at Canton), and the other gentlemen at the factory.—Mr. Morrison attended for the purpose of maintaining the conversation with this great man.

“ Having received the most polite invitation from Mr. William Parry (lately deceased), I attended; and at twelve o'clock Mr. Elphinstone, the chief, and all the supercargoes, India captains and officers, assembled in the noble veranda adjoining the great room, to receive this important personage. The thundering clangor of gongs announced his approach. A band of musicians also attended. Some officers, in whimsical and fantastic dresses, preceded the superb chair of the hoppo, carried by six stout bearers. Six Mandarins in elegant chairs followed; and near them, the hoppo's principal attendants in similar vehicles; but the crowd was immense, pressing forward even to the pillars of the veranda. Mr. Elphinstone, attended by Mr. Morrison and all the gentlemen of the factory, received the distinguished visitor at the top of the grand stairs, where the proper ceremonials were observed, and due compliments paid and received. He was then led to a table, spread with a profusion of fruit, sweetmeats, coffee, wine, &c. —The hoppo sat on Mr. Elphinstone's right hand; and the other Mandarins were placed according to the rules of precedence, each in his proper and relative station.

“ There are no people more fond or observant of ceremony than the Chinese. The rank of the Mandarins was known and distinguished by the large bead, or button, affixed to the front of their caps. I was told that these ornaments were

formed of precious stones; but I could not give credit to this information, on account of the large size of those pretended jewels. The hoppo, and each of the other Mandarins, successively paid their compliments to the Typan, and to every other individual of the establishment; and then rose up, as did the whole company. The Rev. Mr. Morrison now addressed himself to the hoppo in a long speech, which, whatever the subject was, gave evident satisfaction to the person addressed; who, when it was concluded, made a reply with great gravity, attended with very little action on the part of the orator; but a strong emphasis was laid upon some expressions.

“ Mr. Morrison explained this speech to Mr. Elphinstone; who, through Mr. Morrison, expressed his satisfaction.

“ Some refreshment was now taken; and afterwards the hoppo and his friends walked round this grand saloon, and viewed some pictures with great attention. The full-length portraits of their majesties, by sir Joshua Reynolds, were those of which they took the most notice. The magnificent cut-glass chandelier, hanging in the centre of the room, excited their admiration. After looking at the library, and reading-room, attended by Mr. Morrison, who explained every subject which seemed to attract their attention, all the company repaired to the Creek factory, where the depôt of the most curious and costly productions of English art and ingenuity is situated.

“ Here the visitors had an opportunity of seeing and admiring the perfection at which the mechanical arts had arrived in England.—Here were to be seen, arranged in the
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most conspicuous and advantageous manner, the most superb jewellery, clock-work, watches, gold and silver vessels of the most exquisite workmanship, engraved and chased by the first artists, fire-arms, cabinets, boxes for snuff, or for betel, and opium; but what most surprized and delighted the guests, especially the younger part of them, were the automata; consisting of many wonderful pieces of mechanism and machinery, displaying in moving figures of birds singing and fluttering their wings, self-moving chariots, musical time-pieces, &c. &c. The hoppo examined several articles very minutely; and those with which he seemed most delighted were set aside, to be presented to him from the company.

"After continuing at the repository until four o'clock, the company departed with the same ceremony and order as they came. The Typan, and gentlemen of the factory, attended them to the gates of Canton, where they took leave.

"Among these visitors, I observed some young men of a very interesting appearance. We were informed that they had but lately come to Canton, and were natives of Pekin. Their persons were handsome, and their complexion something fairer than that of the Cantonese.—Pekin lies about a thousand miles North of Canton, in N. lat. 40°.

"The hoppo was grave in his manner, with a shrewd and observing countenance, and seemed to be at least sixty years old.

"After visiting the extensive warehouses of a hong-merchant and mandarin named Hau-qua, containing upwards of twelve thousand chests of tea, I had the honour of being introduced by Mr. Parry, of

the Canton establishment, to the Mandarin Pon-qua-qua, at his residence on the south side of the river. This Mandarin has, with the permission of the emperor, retired from all employment, and has given up all mercantile concerns. The gentlemen of the factory, with whom he is upon the most friendly terms, have given him the English title of "the 'squire.'" Besides Messrs. Parry, Bosanquet, Ball, and several other gentlemen of the factory, the Rev. Mr. Morrison was of this party. We were shewn on our arrival into a grand audience-chamber, furnished with chairs and tables of elegant workmanship, in the English taste. When the Mandarin entered, Mr. Parry introduced me to him in great form; at the same time informing him that a strong desire to see some part of the immense empire of China, and its inhabitants, arts, and antiquities, was the sole inducement which brought me from my country, traversing nearly half the globe. He added, that, being entirely discouraged from all kinds of business, I applied my leisure in the exercise of the pencil, for my own gratification, and the amusement of my friends.—The Mandarin, who possessed a fine open countenance, displaying traits of benevolence and sensibility, was surprized and pleased at so unusual a circumstance, and received me most cordially; insisting upon performing the ceremony of ching-ching with me; for Jossé. This was done by his taking both my hands within his, and gently pressing them. We were now sworn friends.

"Pon-qua-qua conducted us through an elegant suite of rooms, most richly furnished, tables of the most costly wood, some of them

them inlaid with marble, cabinets, and ornaments, couches, and sofas, placed and disposed, with the most finished taste, upon superb carpets of the most lively colours, graced every apartment. The library, full of Chinese books, was kept in the neatest order. And what rendered these fine rooms the more striking to a stranger, was an immense banian-tree, planted many ages since, spreading its huge branches over the greatest part of them.—This noble tree grew in the garden, and had seats beneath it, where the generous host and his visitors generally sat to converse, while they waited for dinner. On my expressing my admiration of this fine tree, the Mandarin told me that it was planted by one of his ancestors, and that he could not take too much care of it upon that account. The piety of the Chinese towards their progenitors is proverbial.

“We were led to an aviary filled with the most rare and beautiful birds. We were also shewn a green-house furnished with curious and scarce plants and flowers; and on each side of the walks in the garden, orange trees growing in enormous porcelain pots, were disposed in equi-distant rows. Our host, with a friendly frankness, invited me to visit him often, and take sketches of whatever I pleased, in or about his mansion. I accepted his invitation with pleasure; and after a refreshment of wines, and some rich conserves, we returned to the factory.

“In one of my visits to this kind Chinese, I presented him with a finished drawing of his own house. This little mark of attention gave him evident pleasure; but when, on another occasion, I gave him a coloured sketch of the interior of

his grand saloon, with a representation of himself reposing on an elegant couch, his expressions of thanks and satisfaction were too flattering for me to repeat.

“To a dinner which Pon-ququa gave to the gentlemen of the factory, and some of his own friends, I had the honour of an invitation. The party were only about thirty in number, who sat down to an elegant dinner dressed in the mixed style, English and Chinese. It was here I made my first essay in the use of the chop-sticks, instead of knives and forks. They were too long pieces of ivory, of about the thickness of a large quill, and tipped at the ends with silver. A couple of these are held in the right hand, between the fingers and thumb, something like the manner in which we hold pens in writing; and with these the Chinese pick up their meat out of their little tureens with the greatest ease and quickness.—But it should be remarked that their dishes are all ragouts or hashes, where the meat is divided into small pieces. After a great many trials, and consequent failures, (to the great amusement of my English friends, and indeed I could see that the Mandarins, present could scarcely refrain from laughing at my awkwardness,) I gave up the chop sticks, and took to the knife and fork, with which I contrived to make an excellent dinner on some roast beef, and ham and fowls.

“Soon after dinner, Pon-ququa ordered the glasses to be filled; then, all standing, he gave, as a toast, the king of England!—In return for this compliment, Mr. Parry, who represented the chief of the company's establishment, gave the emperor of China!—all standing.

ing.—Pon-gua-qua, and the other Mandarins expressed their satisfaction. Many other toasts succeeded; and in the intervals many sallies of Chinese wit escaped the Mandarins, intelligible only to each other, and Mr. Morrison. At twelve o'clock, tea and coffee were brought in; and soon afterwards, we were ferried over to the factory.

"One day I accompanied captain Pendergrass and a party to visit a large Chinese junk, which lay in the river about a mile below Canton. The naval gentlemen examined her with minute attention, but did not seem to approve of her construction. For my part, I do not pretend to have an opinion upon these matters. While we were on board, the sailors were engaged in raising the mainmast by means of the windlass. The mast at the base was about four feet in diameter, and its height was about eighty. When it was elevated to the altitude of about forty-five degrees, the following ceremony was performed: a sailor, with a lighted paper match in his hand, walked along the reclining mast, nearly to the top; here he waved the lighted paper three times, describing a circle each time; having done this, and pronounced some words, he descended. The mast was then raised to its proper station.

"Mr. Johnson, speaking of the craft on this river, says, that the Chinese work their junks and other boats with astonishing adroitness, that they actually seem to fly through the water; outstripping the European vessels in velocity, though they fall more to leeward on account of their peculiar construction. "The sails are all made of mats, and are narrow, but very lofty. Slit pieces of bamboo cross

these sails horizontally, at short distances; and to one end of these is attached a bow-line leading forward, to the other a sheet leading aft, by which means their sails stand better, and lie nearer the wind, than any European sails possibly can do. On each bow of their junks there is always painted a large eye; and they are, or pretend to be, astonished that our vessels can find their way through immense oceans without eyes."

"While I was engaged in making some sketches from the river-side one morning early, twelve tea-boats came down the river from the interior of the country, laden each with 600 chests of tea, to be stowed in the Company's warehouses at the factory. As soon as they came alongside the wharf, they proceeded to unlade the cargoes, which were with surprizing quickness and dexterity conveyed by the coolies or porters to the warehouses. Each porter carried two chests, one depending from each end of a bamboo slung across his shoulder.

"The feast of the new year was now approaching. It commenced on the 15th of February, and continued for three days. During those days all business ceases; nothing but rejoicing, visiting, sailing on the river, excursions into the country, theatrical exhibitions, &c. and the most brilliant fire-works at night, are attended to. Every one is dressed in his best apparel, and you see in every corner the ceremony of ching-ching performed; and, as I am informed, the most hyperbolical compliments are paid and received, by persons of all ranks and degrees. Visits of ceremony are paid by the Mandarins and merchants to the gentlemen of the factory, which are returned with the most precise punctuality.

tuality. In the absence of the persons called upon, the Mandarins leave their names and addresses on coloured cards highly ornamented. In short, every thing announces festivity, rejoicing, and dissipation. The third day of this festival is devoted chiefly to aquatic excursions, and particularly to visits to the Parterre gardens. In these parties the ladies are allowed to accompany their lords. The 17th of February, being the last day of the feast, our party, occupying two boats, embarked at the factory at eleven o'clock, to proceed up the river to the Parterre gardens. Thousands of boats of all descriptions were already in motion, the gongs sounding on all sides, the sam-pans and smaller vessels shooting swiftly along, while the large Mandarin and chop-boats proceeded regularly and majestically up the stream, all newly painted and gilt, with gaudy streamers flaunting in the wind; while shouts, laughter, and the clacketing of the Chinese language, filled the air. The imagination cannot conceive a more lively scene. Several picturesque and beautiful subjects on the banks of the river would at any other time have engaged our attention; but at present the mind was entirely engrossed by the singular and animated moving picture before us.

"The gardens are situated about three miles above Canton, in a charming country, abounding with tropical trees, plants, and vegetables of the most useful kind. Just after we had landed, three large Mandarin boats came up to the landing-place, finely painted and decorated, from which several ladies were handed on shore. As these were the first women of rank I had seen in China, I observed them

with particular attention. They were small, but very elegant figures, most richly dressed; their eyes and hair black, the latter ornamented with diamonds and other precious stones; their complexions were fair, but evidently aided by some white paint not very artificially laid on. They hung on the gentlemen's arms, and tottered along with much pretty affectation; perhaps this might be occasioned by their feet having been crippled in their infancy to render them small. They took several turns in the gardens; but they did not continue there above half an hour, when they were re-conducted to the boats, and rowed down the river.

"These gardens are laid out in long regular walks, in straight lines; the sides of which, as well as the compartments, display large pots containing the most beautiful shrubs and flowers. On returning to our boats, we came to several shops displaying their goods to the best advantage, consisting of ornaments, articles of dress, and toys; among the latter were some very curious and well-executed models in clay, of beggars and other grotesque figures, seen in the streets of Canton. They were so well executed, discriminating and marking the characters they represented with so much truth and humour, that I apprehended the price must be high; but I found it was very reasonable. I purchased a few, as memorials of the feast of the new year at Canton. After walking among an immense crowd until we were quite tired, we re-embarked, and sailed down the river. In the course of our voyage we sometimes were very near the streets of stationary boats, or boat-houses; when that happened, we were loaded

loaded with abusive and insulting language, which I could easily comprehend from the menacing gestures of the speakers. Ladies were also seen in these aquatic dwellings, assimilating in manners and delicacy, with those of our own country damsels whom we meet at the Point at Portsmouth, at Wapping, or St. Giles's.

"During our residence at Canton, I took several short excursions into the country, with one or other of the gentlemen of the factory, and once with the Rev. Mr. Morrison. Indigo seems to be the article mostly cultivated near Canton. I observed that all their plantations, whether it was of indigo, tea, rice, paddy, or esculent vegetables, were in rows; and the grain and seeds drilled. The neatness of the husbandry was admirable; not a weed was suffered to continue. The hand-hoe seemed to be the instrument chiefly used for the extirpation of weeds; it was always in requisition. In every piece of ground or plantation we saw, there was one, if not two, labourers at work with the hoe.

"In one of these excursions we continued an hour, to observe a party of young men of a rank evidently far above the vulgar, engaged in shooting at a target with bows and arrows. They were very dexterous, lodging the arrow frequently near the centre, and almost invariably in the target, at the distance of eighty yards. Their bows were long, and required great strength as well as skill to bend them. Their behaviour to us was polite and communicative, as far as signs could supply the place of conversation.

"On the 20th of February we were invited to a grand dinner at

the house of a distinguished hong-merchant, of the name of Mauk-quan. This personage transacted business with the Company to an immense annual amount. The merchant resided at a splendid mansion, nearly adjoining the European factories. His warehouses were very extensive, and occupied a large space of ground. About six o'clock the company began to assemble; it consisted of all the gentlemen of the factory, the India captains and their principal officers; foreign merchants and Mandarins, the friends of Mauk-quan and others, in the whole to the number of eighty persons. We were all received in a large anti-chamber by Mauk-quan in person, to whom every stranger was introduced in due form. At seven o'clock we were shewn into the dining-saloon, which was lighted up with elegant lamps; and here I met again with my pleasant fellow-voyager and ship-mate, Hommagee, the Persian merchant, after a separation of many days. The table was covered with a profusion of costly delicacies, dressed according to the mode of several other nations as well as the Chinese. On one side of the saloon, the curtains opened, and discovered an elegant theatre richly decorated. The performers entered; and a play, or sing-sang, commenced. The music was loud and harsh; but the company in general paid much more attention to the exquisite dishes on the table than to the play, although the players exerted themselves to the utmost, to excite the notice and obtain the applause of their auditors. I confess that I, also, had so bad a taste, or was so hungry, that I could not discover the least beauty in the poetry, excellence in the acting, or harmony in the music until

until I had somewhat allayed the appetite which the sight and smell of soups made of birds'-nests and sharks'-fins had occasioned.

"These soups as well as most of the Chinese cookery, were served up in small upright porcelain dishes. I tasted the soups, and found them palatable and highly seasoned; but, as they are said to be stimulants of a particular nature, I refrained from indulging my taste, and made my dinner of some fine fish, and the substantial English dishes of roast beef, and ham and fowls. Some excellent pastry and curious confectionary succeeded; and the feast was concluded with a dessert of fruit, among which were fine large grapes, and deep coloured Mandarin oranges of a most exquisite flavour. The wines were Madeira and claret; but the Chinese gentlemen preferred their own sam-soo to the European wines. The sam-soo is a strong fiery spirit, and is said to be very unwholesome to an European constitution.

"I had now leisure to attend to the sing-sang, and the exertions of the sons of Thespis—"the brief abstract and chronicles of the times;" but I soon perceived that these heroes of the stage had never heard Hamlet's instructions to the players, or, if they had, they had not profited, for "they so strutted, and bellowed, as if Nature's journeymen had made them, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably!" Yet there was a fable, a plot, and a catastrophe, to be distinguished even by us, who were totally unacquainted with the language. Could an intelligent Chinese discover as much in our most celebrated pieces; in our Hamlets, our Othellos, and our Richards? I am afraid he would be tempted to call them, as we did

the sing-sang, "a tiresome bore!" Music, however, being the universal language of nature, is as universally understood. But if the sounds we heard were delightful, or even tolerable, to the Chinese, their auditory nerves must have been very differently constructed from those which compose the European organs of hearing; for nothing could be more harsh and discordant, than the noise proceeding from Mauk-qu's orchestra.

"The fable of the piece represented, as I understood it from the action, and the information of those sitting near to me, as follows: a governor of a province at a great distance from the capital having a beautiful daughter, bestowed her upon the son of a Mandarin in his province, who was the next in authority to the governor, and who, under professions of the utmost devotion and friendship to his superior, concealed a heart full of baseness, envy, and avarice. He had no sooner obtained the daughter of the governor for his son, than he began to employ all his art and finesse to destroy the credit of his friend at court, and to render his authority contemptible in the country. Forged complaints were continually sent to the emperor's ministers of the mal-administration of the governor, and the oppression he exercised towards those over whom he presided. The son, whose disposition was the reverse of his father's, with the utmost humility, endeavoured to check his schemes with intreaties, and even gentle remonstrances, sometimes hinting at the fatal consequences to his father and himself in case of a discovery; but without the least effect. At length the repeated complaints which the treacherous Mandarin continued to send to court reached the

the emperor's ears, who in consequence ordered the governor to come to Peking to answer for his conduct. His false friend now threw off the mask, and boldly stood forth as his accuser, accompanied by others whom he had suborned, whose evidence bore down the assertions of the governor, who had relied upon the zeal and integrity of the Mandarin, but chiefly upon his own innocence for his defence. He was condemned to lose his head, and the treacherous Mandarin was rewarded with his office. Hitherto his schemes had succeeded, and his utmost wish was obtained; for his whole aim was to succeed to the government by the destruction of his friend. His virtuous son was, however, inconsolable; and though his filial piety suppressed, it could not extinguish his emotions. There was one individual, a Mandarin also of some consequence in the province, who had silently observed the conduct of the false friend towards the governor, but not with indifference. When this person was told what had happened at Peking, and that the traitor had been appointed governor, he immediately collected a certain number of the most considerable men in the province, and repaired to court with a petition in favour of the condemned chief. They arrived just in time; for the preparations for his execution were finished, and he on the point of being led to the fatal spot where it was to take place. The good Mandarin threw himself at the emperor's feet, loudly asserting the innocence of the victim; he produced his respectable witnesses, many of them known to the ministers for men of honour and probity. The execution was stayed; the prisoner pardoned, and reinstated in

his government; and his vile accuser, who had remained at Peking to enjoy the destruction of his friend, was seized, tried, and condemned to suffer death.

"It was now that the son displayed his filial piety and heroic virtue; he found means to visit his father in his dungeon, changed cloaths with him, and remained in his place, while the basest of criminals left him to his fate, and fled to the Wilds of Tartary. The deception was not discovered by the officers of justice, who led the son to the place of execution, where the finisher of the law took off his head with one dexterous stroke of his scymitar. The head actually fell on the stage, the body staggered a few steps and fell also, covering the floor with blood. How this was done, I was not informed; but I was assured that the performer received no damage. Thus ended the Chinese tragedy, the pious fraud having been discovered when it was too late. A kind of epilogue was recited in praise of filial duty, and inculcating obedience to parents, even to death.

"Although poetical justice is not observed in this drama, the moral it enforces is popular among the Chinese. The passion of love is seldom the subject of their dramatic pieces; but conjugal infidelity is often brought on the stage, and exemplary punishment is inflicted on the guilty party.

"When the play at the hong-merchant's was concluded, I observed that two of his Mandarin guests were fast asleep; and a young Englishman had, by taking "potations pottle deep," brought his spirits into such a pitch of riotous elevation, that he made more noise than the sing-sang, and was much more troublesome.

"The 23d, 24th, and 25th of February were employed in taking leave of my friends at the factory, and of the Mandarin Con-se-qua, and the ingenious artist Tan-qua, of whom I purchased several curious drawings; and as I was preparing to cross the river to bid adieu to the kind and generous squire Pon-qua-qua, a fire broke out at his house, which threatened the worst consequences. So highly esteemed is Pon-qua-qua, that not only the Chinese of all descriptions ran to his assistance, but the gentlemen at the factory, without a moment's loss of time, sent over four of the Company's engines, and a great number of labourers, who soon got the fire under, but not before it had destroyed the private Josse chapel, where it had commenced,

with its ornaments, and the rooms over it.

"When the fire was completely extinguished, and order and quiet restored, I visited Pon-qua-qua, as well to condole with him for the accident, as to take my leave of him. He did not seem in the least affected with his loss;—spoke very lightly of it; and assured me that three or four thousand dollars would replace all that was destroyed. The fire was occasioned by his mother's performing, rather too carelessly, some of the rites of their religion in his private temple. The women's apartment was at one time in danger of the flames; but the ladies were carefully conveyed to a place of safety, in another part of the building."

[DESCRIPTION OF ST. HELENA.]

[From the same.]

"ON the 22d of May our fleet cast anchor in the roads of St. Helena. Here we found nine homeward-bound East India ships under convoy of his Majesty's frigate the *Phaëton*, captain Fleetwood Pellew.

"This solitary, though beautiful spot, lies in the great south Atlantic ocean, in latitude about 15° south, and longitude about 5° west from Greenwich. It is distant from the African continent about 1000 miles, and from the south American, 1500. St. Helena was discovered by the Portuguese in 1508, on the

21st of May, being the festival of St. Helen. The English settled on it in 1660; in a few years afterwards it was taken by the Dutch; and in 1674 it was retaken by the English, under captain Munden; and it has ever since remained in the possession of the East India Company. Its length is no more than ten miles, and its breadth at the widest part about seven. The population is between four and five thousand souls. It is so defended by nature and art that it is deemed impregnable.

"This little island has been so often

often and so well described, that nothing remains for me but to express my admiration of the sublime and romantic scenery it contains, some part of which I have presumed to present to the public. It would require a much more able pen than mine to describe the gigantic rocks which present themselves to the curious traveller in his ascent to the top of Ladder hill. Some of these rocks, of stupendous size, seem scarcely attached to the hill, but appear almost in the act of tumbling down headlong on James town seated in the valley below. The sterile and rocky ascent to the summit of High Knole, another lofty eminence, exhibit scenes such as Salvator Rosa would have chosen to paint; while the delicious valleys of Sandy Bay contain the most delightful sylvan retreats, the fabled haunts of fauns and satyrs, nymphs and naiads, and the sequestered bowers of pastoral innocence and love.

“ Every person on board, whose connexions were in England, was in eager expectation of finding letters from their friends waiting for them at St. Helena. It is impossible to describe the gratification the perusal of letters from those we love and esteem affords the mind after an absence of eighteen months from one's native country, and still at the distance of many thousand miles from it. Packets of newspapers were also received as most valuable presents. I took the first opportunity of going on shore, and hastened to present a letter of introduction to the governor of the island (governor Beatson), with which my kind friends at Canton had furnished me. I found that gentleman at Plantation house, his country residence. After the most po-

lite reception, the governor sent an intelligent soldier to conduct me to the most remarkable places in the island.

“ I visited in succession Ladder Hill, High Knole, Diana's Peak, Lot and his daughters, Sandy Ridge and Bay, and was charmed at the beauty and variety of the views they presented. On the 14th I breakfasted with the governor by appointment, at Plantation house. Several elegantly-dressed ladies, captain Pellew, and the governor's aid-de-camp, were of the company; the party was a most agreeable one, all of them conversant with the fine arts, upon which, and other interesting topics, the conversation was maintained for nearly two hours; while my port-folio contributed something towards their amusement.

I continued my rambles, after taking my leave of the governor, until near five o'clock P. M. when I attended captain Pellew in James Town, and accompanied him in the Phaëton's boat, on board the frigate. In our way we saw a melancholy and disgusting sight, a contention between two ravenous sharks for a dead body which had floated from the town; it being calm, and the sea perfectly clear, we could plainly see the horrid contest. I had the honour of dining with captain Pellew, and a large party; and after a moderate enjoyment of the bottle, that gallant officer requested a lieutenant to take me round his beautiful frigate of thirty-two guns, which equally gratified and obliged me. The frigate's boat conducted me afterwards on board the Hope, at seven o'clock, the signal for sailing flying; and at eight the fleet, consisting of thirteen sail, the Phaëton taking the lead, majestically

jestically moved under a fine breeze from the roads of St. Helena, steering homeward. Adieu! sweet lonely spot, where Solitude had taken her abode for thousands of years, until restless man at last accidentally discovered her retreat, and forced her to seek repose in other regions!

"This little island was uninhabited at the time of its discovery; the nearest land to it is the Isle of Ascension, at the distance of about 800 miles north. It is demonstrative of the perfection to which the wonderful art of navigation is arrived, that a single ship shall unerringly sail to the port of so diminutive a spot, situated in the vast expanse of the wide Atlantic!

"There are some wild goats on the island; some cattle and sheep

are also bred there, but the pasturage is not sufficient to support the number necessary for general consumption. The soldiers, servants, and labourers, are therefore served with fresh meat only four times in the year: a few meals at each period. If the use of fresh provisions was unlimited, the island would not answer the purpose for which it is held by the company at a great expence; because it could not in that case, at all times, furnish the company's homeward-bound ships with the necessary refreshments. The sea, however, supplies the inhabitants with fish in abundance; and the gardens produce the finest vegetables, especially cabbages and potatoes, equal to any to be found in the English markets."

PIC DU MIDI.

[From Mr. GOLD's Translation of M. Ramond's Travels in the Pyrennees.]

NOT a step can be taken in any part of the Pyrennees, which I have just traversed, without continually turning to the Pic du Midi. It commands almost all the known part of the country, and every where forms the most striking object in the landscape. Its situation, indeed, in the vicinity of the plains, presents them with an elevation which they rarely behold so near them, and its apparent dimensions, which are very deceptive with regard to its height, appear to place in an inferior rank the higher mountains which are scattered behind it.

Yet, however inaccessible it may be on that side where it shews itself in its greatest majesty, it possesses many winding avenues, which lead to its summit with so much facility as to place it within the reach of the most ordinary strength, so that the bathers of Baresges and Bagnères, who ascend thither to enjoy one of those views which nature refuses to the central summits of the chain, procure this advantage only at the expence of such labour as is requisite to give it proper zest.

"It is therefore by more than one title that the Pic du Midi is become

compete the rival of the Canigou, which perhaps is ennobled by the neighbourhood of Perpignan as much as by the labours of M. Cassini. Both these mountains indeed are very lofty. Their summits are in the region of the clouds, but they do not attain those uninhabitable altitudes where existence is supported with pain, where the naturalist loses his courage, and where the cares of preserving life must be substituted for those of contemplation.

"It was with the design of casting a glance over the southern mountains from the top of this observatory that I ascended it for the first time. This general survey might, I thought, direct me in the excursions which I purposed to make; with a view of comparing the centre of the Pyrenees with the corresponding part of the Alps, and of forming a just idea with regard to the state of the snows of the former. I could hardly doubt but that at the summit of the Pic du Midi I should have attained a sufficient degree of elevation, to enable me to arrange, in some degree, this chaos of rocks, and ascertain whatever was really higher than the level upon which I stood.

"To ascend the Pic du Midi from Bareges, the borders of the Gave are generally followed as far as the Tourmalet, and from thence the way is to the north, along the valley, which rises to the base of the cone of the peak; but in order to quit the sooner the melancholy abyss in which Bareges is buried up, I preferred to pass the Gave below the town, and to ascend directly towards the heights which were known to me; from thence a shepherd, whose hut was sometimes my asylum, had undertaken to point me out a road to

those regions, which would open to my view the whole extent of the country which I wished to notice. Two persons but little accustomed to the fatigues of the mountains, were my companions. The first part of our journey was by no means the most easy.

"The declivities we found here baceous; some meadows have been formed upon their first platforms, and a few habitations erected which are scarcely visible from the bottom of the valley. In one of these I chose my guide. Higher up the turf is shorter, and nothing to be found but huts of shepherds and scattered flocks; not a tree, not a shrub, nothing, in short, above the level of the turf, excepting the Rhododendron, which is first perceptible at about 200 toises above the level of Bareges, and whose pretty crimson flower enlivens the monotonous verdure of this region. This humble shrub is the only combustible which the inhabitant of these elevated pastures has within his reach; and in the Pyrenees, as well as in the Alps, its presence informs the naturalist, that he has attained an elevation of from eight to nine hundred toises above the level of the sea.

"We kept ourselves at about this height, but soon turned off into the valley of the Pic du Midi, leaving beneath us pastures, in which the Iris had formed an entire carpet of the most lively purple. The narrow valley into which we now had entered is just as dull as the declivities by which we had ascended. Its rocks are vertical, and the sides of the mountains covered with fragments. Here it is, that terminates the sphere of the activity of the shepherds of Bareges, for they are not possessed of a sufficient extent
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of meadow to nourish the cattle with which in summer they might cover their hills; and are too poor to give themselves up in any way to commercial speculations. They abandon then the Pic du Midi to the Bearnese, who, encouraged by a form of government which affords more incitement to industry, are in the habit of purchasing the right of conducting their sheep thither. Indeed, at the very moment when we were entering this valley, we had seen a flock upon the heights, where they appeared to be in peaceful possession of the pastures. But the shepherd who conducted us was not a man to be mistaken; by the disposition of these flocks he soon was capable of guessing that their conductors were not the lawful tenants of the canton; and in fact he had scarcely mentioned his suspicions, before we saw the dogs collecting the sheep, and the shepherds making their appearance. These were Bearnese in the act of fraudulently traversing these high vallies. Our guide, who recognised them at an incredible distance, was very eager to be up with them; but the enemy had put himself in motion, and kept the interval which separated him from us. All was on the watch, nothing strayed; the dogs, the very sheep themselves, appeared to be aware of danger; and, continuing to graze as they proceeded, had soon attained the upper passes of the mountains.

"We were still discoursing upon these remains of Tartar-like manners, when we arrived upon the borders of a beautiful piece of water called the Lake of Oncet. This lake lies very high, being scarcely 320 toises below the summit of the peak. Its length, according to M. Moisset,

is 250 toises, its breadth 150. The scenery around is grand. To the south it is enclosed by rocks, which are only visited by the Izard and the Hunter. One of their ravines, the deepest and most rugged of them all, had conducted from the region of the clouds to the level of its frozen surface an immense body of snow. On the opposite side, however, are small vallies and the freshest verdure. In front the peak rose rapidly, meanwhile to the south the view extends as far as the points of Granite, whose bases form on this side the boundary of the valley of Bastan.—The place, indeed, is a fine desert; the mountains well connected, the rocks of a majestic form, the outlines wild, the summits pointed, their precipices profound; and they that have not sufficient strength to seek the centre of the hills, where nature is more sublime, and her solitudes more rude, may here obtain at little cost a very good idea of those aspects which are exemplified in mountains of the first order.

"The heat of the sun was now felt strongly, and obliged us to rest a moment. We resumed our march at a slower pace. Here it was that the flowers of a short and vigorous turf, but just forsaken by the snow, which was still apparent in patches, recalled to my remembrance the high vallies and the pastures of the Alps. The air was calm and loaded with perfumes; the *Daphne Cneorum* but just in blossom, for the dog-days are the spring of these high regions of the earth. I had now begun to feel that charm, which I have so often known, so often tasted upon the mountains, that vague content, that lightness of body, that agility of limb, and
that

that serenity of mind, which are all so sweet to experience but so difficult to paint. My steps became more rapid: at last, I could no longer wait for my companions, but, leaving them and my guide, began to climb in a straight line towards the summit of the mountain. I had soon attained it; and from the brink of a hideous precipice beheld a world beneath my feet.

"The confused mass of southern rocks, which till now had confused my sight, and bewildered my conjectures, extended behind me in a vast crescent; and towered with its superior eminences at a distance, where greatness ceases to be overwhelming. Placed in the apparent centre of the curve, I could see its extremities die away on either hand; nothing interposed between me and the plains. Here, then, as from the height of the clouds, I gazed down on the vallies and their hills, and with one glance embraced all Bigorre, Bearn, the Conserans, and even Languedoc itself; to that extreme distance where a light vapour, confounding the limits of the horizon with the immensity of the heavens, assists the eye, and leaves it nothing to regret.

"But what incessantly attracted my regards, and afforded them a delicious repose, were the hillocks and the pastures which rise from the bottom of the precipice towards the steep declivity of the peak, and from a resting point betwixt its summit and its base. There I perceived the hut of the shepherd surrounded with the fresh and verdant herbage of his meadow; the windings of the waters describing the figure of the heights; and the rapidity of the torrents perceptible by the foaming of their waves. Some points especially rivetted my attention. I fancied

that I could distinguish a flock and discern their shepherd, who, perhaps, was gazing from below at an eagle, which I beheld beneath me, describing vast circles in the air.

"The spot itself on which I stood was the last to attract my notice. I had already exhausted the little strength which man is possessed of for contemplating the immensity of nature, when I began to consider my narrow situation. I now beheld that even upon this barren rock there are other things to examine besides rosmery and that the pointed plates of the very hard schiste, which compose it, protect a verdure and flowers from the cold and storms of the place. The *Silene Acaulis*, the ornament of lofty rocks, and two or three roots of *Gentian*, a plant which delights in situations for a long time buried and moistened under snow, were flourishing here, exiled upon this desert summit. A few insects buzzed about me; even a butterfly, which had arrived at this height by ascending the southern declivities, fluttered for a moment from flower to flower, but soon was borne towards the brink of the precipice, and confided its frail existence to the ocean of the air.

"Such however is not the aspect, nor such the decorations of the central mountains of the earth. Very different are those desolated heights, under which the vallies sink into an abyss; which the eye dares not sound; far other are those summits, the view from whence shows only other summits, which seem to swim above the terrestrial vapours, and those deserts in which the eye finds no repose, where the ear catches not a sound of life, nor the thought an object of contemplation, which does not seem to overwhelm it with the

approaching ideas of immensity and eternity. In such scenes the traces of the habitable world expire, and that gloomy state of mind succeeds which recoils upon the idea of the nothingness of itself. Here upon the Pic du Midi we are not beyond the sphere of the world; we are above it and observe it; the dwellings of man are still beneath us; their agitations fresh in the memory, and the expanding heart still trembles with a somewhat of remaining passion.

"I had recollected, rather than reposed, myself; and with the air of the region was inhaling peace of mind, when my companions arrived, and recalled my attention to the object of my journey. While they enjoyed, in their turn, this view, which overpays us for all fatigues, I was examining the southern mountains. One look was sufficient. The chaos was unravelled, and I had no longer any doubt as to the relative height of its various mountains, or the road towards the principal elevations. Many ranks of mountains rise in succession, like a vast amphitheatre, from the Pic du Midi as far as the frontiers of Spain. They are united in distinct groupes. One sharp and snowy peak commands the groupe, which is nearest the Pic du Midi and the valley of Bastan. It is marked in the great map of the Pyrenees, but has no name assigned it. The inhabitants of the country call it Neou-vielles (old snows). Another peak, the name of which I could not ascertain, commands another groupe, which is situated to the west of the first, but nearly in the same line, and on the same degree of the general amphitheatre. Behind these are others still more considerable, the highest of which compose the crest itself of the Pyrenees, and make a line of

separation to the two kingdoms. It is there that, at the distance of 16,000 toises, are seen the towers of the Marboré, so remarkable for their blunt and rounded forms, which they owe to the singular disposition of their strata. To the left we have Vignemale, surrounded by its numerous attendants; to the east Mont Perdu; the latter may be considered as belonging to the Marboré, of which it forms the most elevated point; and further on may be distinguished, as a confused accumulation, the very considerable mass of mountains, which are traversed by the Port of Pez, and separate the valley of Aure from Spain.

"Here then we see the same arrangements as may be observed in the Alps. We see the chain of the Pyrenees composed of many separate and distinct chains, all of them pursuing one direction; low towards the plains, higher in proportion to their distance from them, and thus by degrees or stages ascending to compose the crest. But farther still we may observe that each of these smaller bands is composed in its turn of a small number of principal mountains, which leave between their summits so many intervals occupied by their dependants.

"At the same time that these observations instructed me not to seek between the Pic du Midi and the frontiers of the kingdom, the more elevated mountains which I wished to visit, they gave me an idea of the heights of the summits, which form the crest of the chain. In fact I could now no longer doubt that the Pic du Midi exceeded the Canigou in height; and that M. Fa-michon, in assigning to it an elevation of 1371 toises above the bridge of Pau, has nearly approached the truth. I could see, however, that this

this peak is sensibly inferior in height to that of Neou-vielles, and that Neou-vielles itself is very much below the principal mountains of the crest. This increase of elevation would have appeared indeed exceedingly rapid, if I had considered only the increase of snows by which it is accompanied, but knowing that these augment in a proportion much greater than that of the heights which support them, so that the mountains next the plains lose the snows which they ought to preserve, and those which are near the centre of the chain preserve those which they ought to lose, I reduced this increase of elevation to quantities, which I have since found to be much about the mark; and from the considerable quantity of the snows of the crest had hopes of finding a still greater similitude between the higher region of the Pyrenees, and that of the Alps, than I had as yet been enabled to suppose.

“ My companions had rested themselves for about an hour at the summit of the peak, when they proposed to quit it. We descended rapidly to the Hourque des Cinq Ours, a small platform which is situated between the top of the mountain and the lake. It is at this point that the valley which goes from the bottom of that of Campan to the summit of the peak is met by that through which we had ascended: and it was at this spot that in 1748 M. de Plantade, at the age of 70 years, died suddenly by the side of his quadrant, in the arms of his guides. Here we found a hunter. The Izard frequents this region, and in the windings of its valleys avoids the heat of the sun, which it cannot endure. The Izard is the champion of the Pyrenees. I

found it smaller and of a lighter colour than that of the Alps; and if I may judge from the information which I have received from the hunters, with respect to its manners, and the method of pursuing it, I have reason also to believe that it is weaker and less active.

“ In less than three quarters of an hour from the time of our departure, we were on the borders of the lake. We rested there a moment. The heat was insufferable. The very sheep that here were scattered over the pastures were reposing, some under the shadow of the rocks, others on the snow; their shepherds had thrown themselves out upon the top of an enormous fragment. The sight was at once picturesque and pleasing; and this time nothing fled at our approach. We were soon accosted by two young mountaineers, handsome and well made; they were walking barefooted, but with that grace and agility which so particularly distinguish the natives of the Pyrenees. Their bonnets were tastily ornamented with mountain flowers; and an air of adventure about them interested me exceedingly. They were ascending to the peak, they said, and asked if the plain were visible and free from vapours; for curiosity alone it seems had conducted them thither from the mountains of Bearn. Never had I seen in the Alps a similar instance of curiosity. It supposes that inquietude of mind, those wants of the imagination, that love of what is extraordinary or famous, with which the peaceful felicity of the Swiss has never yet been troubled; but of this the more romantic happiness of the inhabitant of the Pyrenees is composed: for independent of liberty, of ease, or of education, an elevated

elevated train of ideas are here discernible in the language of the shepherd, whose appearance would bespeak him the most gross of men. In fact, the true inhabitant of the Pyrenees, the native shepherd of these mountains, however uncultivated or poor, is lively, generous, and noble; proud even in a state of degradation, and under every reverse of fortune; ever amiable, ever alive to the soft illusions of sentiment, and the noble charms of glory, and thus is ever to be recognized by that inheritance which he has received from race, not climate, a true nobility, from which he has never derogated, and which follows him alike in every condition.

"From the borders of the lake we directed our course towards those heights to the south of the valley of Bastan, which we had traversed in ascending to the peak, but kept the path a little higher. I then conducted my companions to the most elevated huts of the whole country. As I knew the shepherd, I expected to be able to procure some milk there. The milk of the Pyrenees is as inferior in quality, as it is in quantity, to that of the Alps, but even what we found, from its delicious freshness, was the most agreeable beverage that we could desire. The shepherds cover up their milk from the burning heats, which upon the southern declivities are felt during part of the day, by plunging the vessels which contain it, into the nearest current of water. For this purpose they form a reservoir in the torrent, dividing the stream across a portion of its width, by two parallel layers of stones,

which leave between them intervals sufficiently large for the waters to find a passage. The vessels, when plunged into the current, and sheltered from the sun by tables of stone which cover the reservoir, are kept in a temperature below the freezing point. They are made of wood, of a single piece; and large ladles of the same substance, neatly made, and perfectly similar to those which the shepherds of Switzerland make use of, swim on the surface of the milk, to serve as they are wanted. The reservoirs are generally situated at a considerable distance from the huts, and abandoned to the faith of the public, but all is so well concealed from the eye of the stranger, that he passes above without even suspecting its existence.

"The shepherd to whose hut I led my companions, is one of those unfortunate men, whom I have described as condemned to perpetual solitude. Alone, with his herds on their summer pastures, he returns with them, and lives in as lonely a way in their winter stables. His long association with his cows and sheep has given him so extensive a knowledge of their tastes and passions, so perfect an acquaintance with the least of their desires and affections, that he scarcely dares maintain, with regard to them, his pre-eminence as one of the human race. One day, as he was compassionating their wants, with a sentiment of equality, he cut short the expression, and frankly avowed that, saving the light of Christianity, he could find but very little difference betwixt their condition and our own."

PICTURESQUE BORDER COUNTRY OF THE PYRENEES.

[From the Same.]

"I WAS again on foot before day-break, and under the conduct of my guide of Oo, though still accompanied by my Bareges friend. This latter was not acquainted with the mountains which I was about to pass; but his agility, his courage, and prudence, had determined me to make him the companion of my journey, and I had reason, more than once, to applaud myself for the resolution.

"A narrow valley, the bottom of which is traversed by a torrent, rises southward from the melancholy tunnel, of which the centre is occupied by the village of Oo. This valley, though it belongs to that of Arboust, assumes the name of the Val de Lasto, and its torrent, though one of the sources of the Pique, changes also its denomination, and is properly called the Go. Sometimes, however, the names of the Pique and the Neste are given it. These are epithets which, in the Celtic language, design the nature of the bed, the waters, and the velocity of a torrent, rather than its geographical situation.

"The part of the valley, near the village, is shaded by cherry trees and ashes. From the inclining base of the mountains, a number of beautiful meadows descend to the borders of the torrent; and the fertile pastures of the crest of these mountains are peopled, during the summer, with numerous flocks of cattle. In the bottom are the ragged rocks, and eternal snows, which

at this point separate the two countries of France and Spain. My purpose was to cross them.

"We now were passing through the rustic avenues of the port of Oo: the sun was risen only for the summits which meet its oblique rays in the high region of the atmosphere; the dawn of the morning had tinged them with a clear and celestial purple. The little fringed carnation, which grows here in tufts upon all the rocks, was exhaling its perfumes most powerfully; for flowers, as well as animated nature in general, experience the repose of night, the freshness of the morning, and the exhaustion of the day. We were still ascending by degrees, when a beautiful cascade, to the right, extended like a sheet on the smooth declivity of a rock, attracted my regards, and occasioned me to remark a mountain in which is found a vein of lead containing silver. The mountain is called the Esquero. It commands an elevated plot of herbage, rich in Alpine plants, and well known to botanists.

"Here, instead of following the road frequented by the curious from Bagneres de Luchon, who go to see the lake of Seculejo, we took a steep and direct path suspended on the precipice, from the bottom of which are heard the high and thundering cataracts of the torrent. The Nappellus, a species of aconite, the cisorhutli of the Swiss peasants, bordered our path with its beautiful tufts of blue flowers. This plant, however,

however, is much less dreaded here than in the high Alps, and has never manifested that degree of virulence which renders it there so famous.

"In less than an hour we had reached the most elevated part of the path, and had discovered already the vast basin in which the Seculejo reposes, together with the highest part of a cascade at the further end of the amphitheatre. The height of the fall may be estimated by the distance from which the spectator may perceive it, and its volume by that of the torrent which is formed by the discharge of the water of the lake. A few steps further, and we attain the borders of one of the most beautiful sheets of water which it is possible to meet with at such an altitude. Its form is a regular oval, entirely surrounded with high mountains, excepting on the side of its entrance: there it is retained only by a natural dyke, a little raised above its level, in which is hollowed out the narrow opening by which its superfluity escapes. In every other part it is contained in the declivities of the mountains, which are loftier and more abrupt in proportion to their distance from the dyke; and so steep in the part which is opposite to it, that a cascade of more than eight hundred feet high falls perpendicularly into the magnificent piece of water underneath. This cascade must entirely supply the lake, as the few small rivulets which flow into it from its sides would scarcely furnish as much as is necessarily absorbed by the evaporation of a surface which I should not estimate at less than two hundred thousand square toises.

"Such is the general aspect of the beautiful lake of Seculejo, the

Culego of the map of the academy, and an object of curiosity to those persons who pass the summer season at Bagneres de Luchon. Few ascend above the lake; its banks, however, cannot fail to attract the notice of such as are not entirely insensible to the savage beauties of nature.

"This lake contains fish. My guide informed me that a person who some few years ago was taking the waters at Bagneres, conceived the happy idea of constructing a small bark upon its banks, by means of which his table was supplied with the beautiful trout of the lake. It is not indeed possible that any vessel should resist the violence of the weather in the stormy seasons; but if the information of my guide be true, a small advance of money subscribed each year by the society of the bathers, would furnish them with fish of a superior delicacy to any that can elsewhere be procured.

"Some rough wine in a leathern bottle, a little rye bread, and a few onions, were a delicious repast for us on the borders of the lake. We rested there for a few moments, but rather to husband than repair our strength, which was soon afterwards to be much more severely tried, for nature was not in that state of tranquillity which announces favourable weather. The heavens, though clear, were pregnant with tempests, and the south wind fell in gusts upon the surface of the lake, whose agitated waters were breaking against the mole of rocks which sustains its weight, and suspends it above the Val de Lasto. I know not what sort of inquietude was brooding in the air, but it was felt alike by the earth and by the waters, and acted not on the mobility of the foliage alone
which

which fringed the surface of the lake, or the floating herbage which covered its banks, and waved in tufts over a shoal which rose above its waters, but seemed to affect even the immoveable cincture of the desert: and that involuntary sentiment which makes no attribute to inanimate objects, (the knowledge of the passages which they transmit to us in the paleness of the mountains, illumined as they were by a discoloured rather than by an enfeebled light, had ample room for supposing them to participate of the secret trouble of nature, and sensible to a presentiment of the tempest.

"Every thing was a warning for us to lose no time, and we soon set out again. A path which winds about the eastern declivity of the boundary of the lake, is that which is usually taken. It passes over a rock which seems to have been broken away in steps, a circumstance which has obtained it the name of *Scala*. This term, indeed, in the higher part of the Pyrenees, is common to every path where the rocks are ascended by a sort of staircase.

"This path is not at all dangerous, and leads above the great canal to a ravine, which opens into a new basin higher up, and hollowed out at the very foot of the *Espingo*. This mountain rises to the south, and along it we had to climb to the region of the snows. Here are found two lakes. The first is the immediate source of the great cascade of the *Seculejo*, and its length about 250 toises. The second is of a less extent, and situated, as I have said, at the foot of the very rocks of the *Espingo*. Nothing can be more dismal than the spot. A few knotty pines confined to its entrance; a short herbage which clothes its sur-

face; blocks of granite covered over with moss, and scattered here and there; the steepest rocks surrounding it; and the *Espingo* overlooking it at its extremity, and divided into its three great naked peaks of an enormous height; such is the picture. The temperature of the glen besides is cold, and in order to reach it we had already passed a mass of snow of sufficient hardness to form an arch above its torrent. Nevertheless a few sheep are fed here for some few weeks. We soon perceived them, and about the centre of the valley discovered, in a hollow beneath the shelter of a rock, the solitary cabin of their shepherd. We entered it. I found it very low and small, but prettily constructed of schists well put together. In the middle was a great fire, the smoke of which, after having circulated in the cabin, escaped by an opening in the side. This fire, and even its smoke, was a great comfort to me. The smoke carries the heat into every part of the building, and need enough was there for it, the walls admitting the wind on all sides. Besides, I have often found that it relieves the lungs, which become fatigued with the penetrating air of so high a region. The shepherd was busy in making his cheese of sheep's milk, an aliment which in itself is but little agreeable, and becomes still less so from the imperfection of the process employed in the Pyrenees for making cheese.

"After having warmed ourselves a little, we continued our journey. The largest of these two lakes is named the *Lake d'Espingo*, although the most distant from the peak of this name. The small lake which immediately bathes its base, is named the *Lake of Saounsai*. The

first

first, like the lake of Seculejo, is full of fish. The second, being less exposed to the sun and higher up, is too cold for fish to live in it. Did there exist in the Pyrenees but a little of that industry which enriches every part of the Alps, the fish of the lakes of Espingo and Seculejo would become an object either of consumption or of commerce for the poor inhabitants of the country.

"The lake of Espingo receives the small torrent of a ravine which descends from the mountains of the port of Clarbide, and indicates a communication between these two ports. This communication is frequented on some occasions by the mountaineers of the country. We approached the ravine, and, trusting to our acquaintance with the disposition of rocks in general, directed our course immediately to the summit of the mountain. This summit, as I have before said, is divided into three very lofty peaks, which range in a direction east and west, and between the middle one and that to the west our path lay. Seldom are they approached in so direct a manner. Towards the heights, however, we found from distance to distance a number of piles of stones, collected together by some smuggler with a view of their serving him as landmarks in case of fogs, or at night.

"I observed, with astonishment, that these signals were necessary even to my guide, and that without them he would not have been able to choose those bands of rock which would have furnished openings; a circumstance the more remarkable, as he had worked for a long time at a lead-mine situated at the summit of the pass, whence it might have been supposed that he should

have known as well as any one those rocks which he had climbed every day for many succeeding summers. However this might be, the ascent was a business of three hours without an interval of repose. We had fully as much occasion for our hands as for our feet, upon the whole of this declivity; but I met with nothing really dangerous, excepting the top of a wall of rocks entirely covered with thick tufts of smooth and dry grass, which, with a surface as slippery as ice, and a very considerable degree of inclination, would have made it impossible for me to answer for my life, had I not been provided with long and well fixed cramp-irons.

"It was mid-day before we attained the ridge immediately below the peaks. Having arrived at this height by declivities too abrupt to suffer the snows to lodge upon them, I had no idea of my having reached the region in which they should be permanent. I was much astonished therefore to find myself above a lake entirely frozen over, and wholly surrounded by snows, which were pierced by three great bands of ice, belonging apparently to a single glacier, the whole extent of which is never perhaps entirely exposed, and which itself appeared to be a prolongation of another immense band of ice, observable among the snows of the opposite declivity. This glacier extends towards the mountains of the port of Clarbide, whose vallies are covered with eternal snows, in a situation where it might be supposed that the sun would most effectually have opposed their accumulation. These snows indeed have invested almost all the heights which here present themselves. It was the most beautiful desert of the

kind

kind that I had seen in the Pyrenees. The Brèche de Roland itself had offered me nothing like it, either for the grandeur of its objects, or the boldness of their forms; and the unexpected appearance of this vast region of ice and snow, when mingled with the impression which I felt from the suddenness of my view of it, occasioned a sort of astonishment, which increased in proportion as I recognised the immensity of its extent.

"The name of the Sehl de la Baque is given to the spot on which we stood. The frozen lake is known by the same denomination, and a mine of lead, which is situated almost upon the level of its waters, partakes of the name as well as the lake and rock. This mine is rich; but the working of it was attempted on the very worst of principles, and is at present entirely abandoned.

"The storm which had threatened us ever since the morning, was now at hand, and the air of the heights in a state of violent agitation. The clouds, which were hurried along with an extreme rapidity, were breaking against the summits before us, and rolled in confusion along the declivity which we had ascended. The south wind blew in gusts. Benumbed with cold, and threatened at every moment with being tumbled into the bottom, by the sudden blasts which assailed us, we bent ourselves down under a block of granite, and might have supposed ourselves in the deserts of the frozen zone. My guide from Baresges had seen nothing like it in his country. His lively surprize, and the rustic but strong expression of his admiration, was an interesting episode in the

reflections which our situation suggested.

"I was now reminded of the idea which the Alps had given me of the polar countries, and of the rigor of their winters, and this, in the very midst of summer. Why might not an observer be a witness in these mountains to the frosts and to the storms of December? Why might he not construct, upon a declivity sufficiently steep to prevent the snows from accumulating, or under the shelter of a rock where nothing might be feared from their fall, a solid, warm, and well provisioned dwelling, where he might be present at those revolutions, from the sight of which to this day have been banished all that breathe? Why might he not subject to calculations and to measurements the combats of the elements, the swiftness of the winds, the power of the avalanches, the convulsions of the air and earth? To what unknown and unheard of events would he not be a witness; what spectacle would he not behold, when the tempests of Autumn should have seized upon these spots as their domain; when the active izard and the melancholy raven, the sole inhabitants of the place, should have fled their heights; when a light and sustained snow, continually drifting under the blasts from rock to rock, should have buried up their barren surfaces; and when the summits, robed in clouds, should long have been swallowed up from the sight of man? What combats, what whirlwinds, what whistlings in the air, what murmurs in the entrails of the mountains would there not succeed! and then what silence, when the heavens should at last be at peace, and the winter victorious; when

when the sun, enfeebled in the dark profundity of the skies, should only re-appear to cast an oblique regard on summits of ice; and when, in the long obscurity of the nights, the moon should seem to approach them only as if to shed upon them with her light the piercing cold of the etherial regions, and in consonance with so tranquil a region of peace and death to pass them over, as over the tomb of nature. But the sun resumes his power. At the approach of May, already reigning over our plains, he comes to pursue the winter in his last retreats. Capricious at first, and veiling his face with light and fleecy clouds, he dissolves them in gentle rains, which open the earth to the influence of spring, and then proceeds to attack the frosts with all the power of his rays. The atmosphere becomes inflamed, the earth revives; the masses of the snows of December continually disappear; but his triumph is imperfect, and still more terrible than that of winter itself. Not a moment does he allow of silence and repose; avalanches roll and break on all sides; torrents, long confined, escape and spring upon the vallies; rocks, which have burst, fall and cover their declivities with ruins; the world itself appears to be dissolving; and the rash observer, who the moment before was conversing with nature, and surprizing her in her most secret operations, dismayed, and at the brink of annihilation, must doubt the safety of the rock which supports his dwelling, and tremble for the very mountain of which it makes a part.

"The hurricane was a little abated, but the cold had become insupportable. We set out, and

coasted round the greater part of the tunnel of the lake, to find a rock by which there is a possibility of gaining the valley of snow in which it is situated. On our arrival at the bottom of this valley, I hastened towards its ice, but found the three bands which border on the lake entirely inaccessible. The highest band, however, I could easily reach; and here I perceived that all of them were parts only of a single glacier of a very great extent, the whole of which would not be exposed this present year, the snows having fallen during the spring in a very unusual quantity. The surface of the great band was entirely drenched with water in those parts where it was not entirely laid bare; and the layer of snow, thus penetrated, was of such a thickness, and extended so far, as to have added very considerably to the mass of the glacier itself. In general the situation of this glacier favours its extension. It is commanded by very considerable masses from above; its inclination is not so great as to suffer its waters of dissolution to escape with facility; and its mass of ice being tranquilly seated upon a declivity, so gentle as not to allow its descent, has not contracted those fissures which are always the consequence of motion in all glaciers, and which accelerate the evacuation of their waters. The winter, therefore, must find in it much to freeze; and its rapid usurpations will only be repressed by its aspect, which, though north, admits the rays of the sun even at mid day.

"Meanwhile the wind continued to blow with violence, and the sky was far from clearing up. My guide, therefore, who knew what risks are run in these mountains from

from bad weather, was fearful lest the snow should surprise us upon the heights. We therefore continued our way, leaving to the right the two valleys of snow which connect the superior gorges of the port of Clarbide, and ascended as far as a sharp ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the great basin, a part of which is occupied by the Schl de la Baque. This is the highest point of the pass. In front, we have a basin similar to that which we had been traversing, but extending in an opposite direction. This last, however, has no lake, and it is evident that the waters which it once contained have escaped to the south. In this point the limits of France should be placed; and I know not what consideration has pushed them to the southern border of the basin, which forms a much less elevated crest than that on which we stood.

"What stupendous degrees are those which we had mounted! The avenues of the towers of the Marboré are composed of a long succession of basins, a little raised above each other, and multiplying the stages of the mountains, according to the facility which the torrents have found in overturning here and there a wall of rock, possessing little coherence, and no great solidity; but here, in the mountains of Oo, the hardest rock of the globe has refused to open itself to the shock of its waters. Its original inclination has mastered their course, its platforms measured their falls. Poured in full stream from the basin of the Schl de Baque upon that of the Espingo, and boiling under this frightful cataract, thence in enormous volumes hurried down upon the lake of Seculejo, which at that time impetu-

ously passed its actual dyke, and was digging out the precipice of the Val de Lasto, they made but three great steps to descend from their highest reservoir to the inferior masses of softer matter, whence their course inclined towards the common level, without encountering any further obstacle which they could not overpower. But with what solidity must not the rock have been endowed, which, in impressing such violence upon its waters, has not been shaken to the very foundations? At the same time, from what an altitude must not these summits have descended, which at present can furnish only an inconsiderable stream of water to those valleys, ravines, and abysses, which once were digged out and filled by the deluge from above.

"This region is all composed of enormous masses of granite. The peaks of the Espingo seem to be accidentally laid down upon it; but the granite of these mountains is distinguishable from every other sort of granite, by crystals of feld-spath of two inches and a half in length, and confusedly interspersed throughout the whole of its substance. These crystals, being little destructible by the air, project from its surface, and render many rocks accessible, upon whose declivities the foot would otherwise have been unsupported. The granite forms a calotte of very great extent, the port d'O traversing it in the most elevated point of its convexity. It extends towards the valley of Clarbide and the port of that name, and afterwards plunges under the mass of slaty rocks which it crosses by the pass of Pez; hence it happens that on the one side the Go, or the pique of Arboust, carries its fragments to the environs of Bagnères de

de Luchon, where I have remarked them, and on the other side the torrent of Clarbide brings down considerable masses of the same substance, which the Neste de Louron seizes upon, and transports as far as the environs of Genos and Viela, where also I have traced them; so that the curious may examine this remarkable rock without exposing themselves to the fatigues and dangers inseparable from any journey which might be undertaken to seek it in the mountains of which it forms the mass.

"We were now arrived upon the limits of Spain. Here we had no more snow, though I saw it all about us. The peaks under which I had passed, and which I now was leaving behind me, were loaded with it in those parts, whose inclination was such as to suffer it to accumulate. A very remarkable summit here attracted my attention. It was the Spijole, sometimes called the Portillon. I saw it to the east beyond the three peaks of the Espingo, and upon a line with them, sustaining two great masses of ice upon it to the north.

"Another basin here succeeded, and we passed it: it extends still further to the south, its boundary on that side being overturned by the waters which it once contained. In this way it forms, like the Breche de Roland, a vast crescent, the horns of which are turned towards Spain, and are accompanied by two fine promontories. In front we had a magnificent mountain separated from us by a large and steep valley, the direction of which is nearly parallel to that of the chain. The mountain is loaded with an amphitheatre of four beautiful Sernelles, and is called the Astos de Venasque. To the bottom of the valley, which

separated us from it, our road lay; and if the degrees by which we had ascended were abrupt, those which were to bring us to the level of the plains of Spain appeared to be still so.

"Thus far we had been guided by piles of stones, the sole traces indeed which man could have left of his passage in such a region, and we had charitably paid our tribute to each heap, but at last these signals failed us, and our guide was much in need of them. He kept to the left, and kept too high. We were marching obliquely, neither ascending nor descending but with extreme peril and fatigue, upon the inclined plane of the masses of granite which form the body of the mountain, an inclination really frightful, where sometimes slight depressions, and sometimes slighter eminences, formed of feld-spath, were the sole support of our steps. We might have been precipitated at an instant from it, as from the top of a wall.

"My guide from Eareges, honest Simon, was the first who suspected that rocks of such a disposition could not be those of a pass; in fact he took advantage of the nearest ravine, to descend directly towards the vallies which we overlooked. He was soon at a distance from us; but scarcely had he continued half an hour in this direction, before he found himself in a worse situation than ourselves. I saw him obliged to descend a rock of a frightful inclination: I could perceive his incertitude, could distinguish his vain attempts, and only encourage him by my cries, which scarcely could he hear. At last he arrived at the bottom of the rock, when I supposed him to be out of danger; but what was my surprize when I saw him hesitate still more than ever, and

and afraid to put his foot upon the valley of snow which lay before him. I attributed his embarrassment to an interval which I observed between him and the snow, perhaps it was a fissure, perhaps the borders of the sheet of snow very likely to give way. My anxiety redoubled at every instant. It became extreme, when I perceived him entirely renounce the issue. I then beheld him turn his eyes on all sides, examine, climb the fatal rock again, again descend, and climb it again. I trembled. His patience and address at length succeeded, and I was somewhat surprised to learn that what had terrified him was the inclination of the valley of snow. This man is one of the hardiest mountaineers of the Pyrenees; and his pastor has more than once made it a case of conscience to absolve him from the boldness of his enterprizes; but whether I judged ill from such a distance, or whether the inhabitants of these mountains are less familiarized than those of the Alps with snows and ices, and exaggerate their dangers, I know not, but I could not but set it down as a fact, that it is only on rocks that they like to exercise their agility, and display their courage, and that they are accustomed to regard situations among the snows as dangerous, which to me would be indifferent.

"The unfortunate attempt of my comrade of Baresges had the inconvenience of giving confidence to my guide of Oo, who, proud of the error of the other, persisted firmly that he was keeping the right road, because poor Sinton had kept a wrong one. He quite fatigued me with his airs of importance, but it soon was his turn to

be humbled; for he led us in full confidence to the brink of a precipice of five or six hundred feet in depth, and absolutely perpendicular, so as to leave no resource to our address, and no excuse for his ignorance.

"We were now obliged to look out for passage. This was our business." Discovery did not seem the fort of our guide of Oo; and in fact so little success attended him, in two attempts which he made to recover the dignity from which he had so disgracefully fallen, that he was at last content to follow us humbly. We succeeded in descending the precipice by means of a crevice, but here we met with a second precipice, which occasioned us fresh doubts, and fresh researches; at length, by keeping along it, and following up some traces of the passage of the izard, we found a place in which it was practicable, and again descended. No sooner had we got to the bottom of it, however, than we perceived a third precipice; and if our courage increased in proportion with our success, our impatience was increasing also, as the storm approached us. This last cost us many a vain attempt, and gave us no small trouble. A little stream of water at length assisted us, by means of the holes which it had worn in its fall. At the bottom of this rock we found ourselves within the sphere of the knowledge of our guide of Oo, and he resumed the lead.

"We were now in the valley of Astos, the highest valley of this region, however deep the length and abruptness of the descent had made it appear to us. It is clothed, however, with a thick and short herbago and grotesquely ornamented with

with knotty firs, so as a little to relieve the sight, which has been wearied with the melancholy aspect of uninterrupted rocks and snows. The precipice which we had just been traversing, has here a strange appearance: it seems to be an enormous wall crowned with trees, and its chain of sharp rocks, which rise almost vertically to the clouds, and materially present to the eyes the invariable limits of two great empires, is a grand and magnificent object.

"The Spijole, as seen from this valley, has no ice. It is a sharp and menacing peak, the base of which is the valley itself. From the middle of its height there falls a torrent, which is spread out over a rock into a beautiful sheet of water, and rushes down to mingle with another torrent, which rises in the highest part of the valley. These two torrents when united are one of the principal sources of the Essera, a river which flows by Venasque, and swells the waters of the Ebro with the produce of the snows which are melted in this high region of the Pyrenees. It is at the foot of the Spijole that the union takes place: they pass under a rock there which has only the necessary width for forming a bridge. This bridge has been built by nature only, and is one of the most singular objects of the kind that I have ever met with.

"From hence the descent into the lower valleys, which are entirely covered with forests, is rapid. The torrent, however, plunges down more rapidly than the path, and rolls the bottom of a precipice, overgrown with furz and birch wood.

"The storm had now overtaken us: it was terrible: and not the

smallest shelter could we find. Accordingly we were obliged to endure with patience one of those rains which are known only among the mountains, where the clouds, as they come in contact with them, are suddenly deprived of their elasticity by the summits which absorb its cause, and fall at once upon the earth in torrents. This rain continued for an hour; and when it ceased, we had reached a low valley, almost on a level with the torrent, the course of which was bordered by meadow-land. The valley, however, soon again became contracted, and its walls were so high and steep, that an avalanche which had fallen between them and about six months ago had not as yet been melted, and absolutely barred the way. We passed it, and at a little distance entered the valley of Venasque, that of Astos being only a branch of it. Here we meet the Essera, properly so called. It was swoln by the waters of the torrent, along which we had been coasting, and, together with this river, having turned to the south, after about a fourteen hours walk, we arrived at Venasque. The entrance of the town is commanded by an old castle, the abode of an officer who has the title of governor. It is guarded also by two companies of soldiery, but its aspect was more picturesque than menacing.

"I have read in some old treatises of geography, that Venasque is a large and beautiful city, well fortified, rich and flourishing. At present this is the contrary of the truth. Its appearance is as dismal as its situation is wild. All the valley is covered with the wrecks of the neighbouring mountains, and its ill-built houses have the air of belonging

belonging to those ruins. The title of Comté is all that now remains to this district, of the honour which it anciently enjoyed of forming the kingdom of Ribagorça; a kingdom, whose monarch in the days of his wrath, might with much exertion put on foot perhaps an army of three or four hundred men, and dispute the palm of imperceptibility with those kings of Northumberland who enjoyed for some time the advantage of presenting in a single province of England more crowned heads than all Europe at the present day can reckon.

"I did not forget that I was in a small town of Spain, but was not at the trouble of seeking out an inn, or of deciding whether it might be to the class of the Funda, the Vents, or the Poserda that it be-

longed. I went directly to the alcade of the place, who not being able to give me a lodging, for reasons which he mentioned with a frank and obliging politeness, informed me of a good citizen who would receive me well. In this he was by no means deceived. I never had a better bed or a better host. For a moment, indeed, my repose was interrupted by two fine men in the ancient costume of Aragon, whom I recognized to be guards, but I made them my friends; and some other neighbours of a different class having joined my host, we all of us sat down together, being served by the mistress of the house and her daughter, and celebrated one of those saturnalia, at which only the traveller on foot assists."

VIEW OF CHAMOUNY ON MONT BLANC.

[From Mr. Bernard's Tour through Switzerland.]

"**H**AVING made the necessary arrangements in the evening, our carriage was in readiness at an early hour next morning. It was something like an English coach, but had a leather cover which could occasionally be drawn over our heads, and of which we more than once experienced the utility, in protecting us from the very sudden and violent showers which we sometimes met with. As soon as the rain was over we drew back the cover, and enjoyed the romantic prospects which surrounded us. From Geneva we ascended continually through a wild

but not uninteresting country to Bonneville, a distance of about five leagues; here we breakfasted, and remained two or three hours to allow our horses to repose from the fatigues of the road. This little town has nothing particularly worthy of remark, and its appearance is dull, although it is the chief place of one of the three divisions which are formed of Savoy. Here is a bridge of stone (which is not usual in this country, where timber abounds, and where many of the rivers are so rapid, as to oblige the inhabitants to remove the bridges, at the commencement of autumn)

over the river Arve, the course of which we followed for several leagues through the valley of Chaise, so called from the little town of that name. This long and narrow district is surrounded by lofty mountains, and the traveller is often at a loss to guess which way he can proceed, until some sudden turning discovers an outlet, barely sufficient to admit the passage of a carriage, and by various windings he arrives in the valley of Maglan, which presents a still more interesting variety of objects, amongst others the cascade of Nant d'Arpennas and many other inferior ones, which tumbled from the mountains, and increase the rapidity of the Arve. About a league beyond the fall d'Arpennas is an excellent view of Mont Blanc, which crowned with all the horrors of a perpetual winter, presents one of the most sublime, and majestic spectacles, which it is possible to conceive. To describe the contrast between its snowy summit, and the cultivated valley beneath, so as to convey any just idea of the scene, to those who have not themselves seen it, would require all the descriptive powers of a Radcliffe. We arrived to a late dinner at the hotel de Mont Blanc, at St. Martin, which is a large single house situated about a quarter of a league from the little town of Salenche, of which I do not recollect having heard any thing remarkable, except that the right of burgership may be purchased for forty-five livres. The windows of our hotel commanded a most astonishing extent of mountain scenery diversified by the windings of the Arve through a well cultivated valley. The hotel was sufficiently comfortable, but the bill was extravagant beyond any

precedent in the annals of extortion. We had occasion to remonstrate with our host on the subject, and our French companion exerted himself so much on the occasion, that at last we succeeded in persuading the landlord to make a considerable reduction in his charges, which were out of all reason, making every allowance that his house was so situated, as not to be accessible during the whole year. We were afterwards told that he would have considered himself amply paid by receiving the half of his first demand, and I found it is often the practice to ask of the English at least double of what is charged to travellers of any other nation. Appearances were so much against our landlord, that one might say to him in the words of the epigram, "If thou art honest thou'rt a wondrous cheat."

"The carriage road ends at Salenche; and we, therefore, made the necessary arrangements to proceed on mules, and sent back our carriage to Geneva. It was the first time I had travelled in a country only accessible on foot or by mules, and I cannot but add my testimony to that of all those who have ever made excursions into these mountains, respecting the very extraordinary and almost incredible safety with which the mule conveys his rider over tracts, which were any one to see suddenly, coming out of a civilized country, he would think it the height of folly to attempt to pass even on foot. There are, however, places where it is expedient to climb for one's self, but as long as one remains on the back of the mule, it is advisable not to attempt to direct his course, but to submit one's reason for the time to the instinct of the animal.

On

Our guides assured me that they had never known a single instance of any one's having had reason to regret having placed this confidence in them; and, indeed, it is by having the command of his head that the mule is enabled to carry his rider in safety over passes, which one is often afraid to recall to one's memory. Several of the mules in Savoy are handsome, but one of our party, who had crossed the Pyrenean mountains, thought the Spanish mules were much more so; the ordinary price of a mule here, is from fourteen to twenty Louis d'Ors.

"The distance between St. Martin and Chamouny, is little more than six leagues, but from the extreme inequality of the ground and the intricacy of the paths, occupied a very long space of time in passing. We still continued to follow the course of the Arve, which, according to the opinions of some writers, is believed to have, at one period, formed a lake between the mountains which encompass this valley; a conjecture which the marshy appearance of the ground seems to render probable.

"These mountains abound with an animal which is mostly an inhabitant of the Alps, the marmot, and there are a vast abundance of wild strawberries. The river is most considerable at this season of the year, being supplied with the meltings of the snow and ice. About two hours after our departure from St. Martin we passed over the Pont des Chèvres, which, from the extreme slightness of its construction, seems hardly secure enough to permit the passage of a goat; and it is rendered more formidable to the nervous traveller by its vast height from the bed of

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the rocky torrent over which it passes.

"We went a little way out of the regular track to see the beautiful cascade of Chede, which is by M. Bourritt ascertained to be sixty-seven feet in height. A number of peasants attended us from a cottage, where we left our mules, and one of them carried a plank to serve as a bridge over a neighbouring stream, and levied toll on us for permission to pass over it. We returned in about a quarter of an hour to the cottage, and paid, as we thought, very liberally for the trouble the peasants had in holding the mules during that short time; but where expectations are unreasonable it is impossible to satisfy them; and that was the case here. One old woman, in particular, exclaimed against us. She said, "We were English, and ought to give gold." Such is the idea entertained, even in these secluded mountains, of the riches of the English, that a sum, which would be received with thanks from the travellers of almost any other country, would be considered as an object of complaint if given by an Englishman; and the thoughtless profusion of some English travellers is a subject of regret to many persons, who, although less opulent, are still desirous of visiting foreign countries, as the inhabitants of the continent, in general, receive from some of our fellow subjects such an idea of the opulence of their country, that they think it impossible to charge all who come thence too extravagantly. We next proceeded to the lake of Chede, which is not far distant. It was first discovered by M. Bourritt, when hunting a wolf amongst these mountains, as he mentions in his itinerary, which contains much useful information,

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mation, and is a necessary appendage to the traveller in these wild districts. This lake, considering its limited extent, is a handsome object. Here is a curious species of moss which gives the banks a singular appearance. We stopped to breakfast, as well as to refresh our mules, at a little cottage-inn near the village of Servoy, in the neighbourhood of which are mines of lead and copper, together with many large buildings and furnaces for the preparation of the ore. We here met another party also going to Chamouny. They had preferred travelling in little carriages drawn by mules, which they were obliged to quit continually, by the uneven nature of the road; and they did not arrive till some time after us. We here found that one of our party was mounted on the mule which had lately had the honour of carrying the Ex-empress Maria Louisa, who passed this way on her tour to Chamouny. She is said to have appeared very thoughtful; but the guides praised both her courage and her beauty.

"We breakfasted with the other travellers, under the shade of an orchard, near the inn; and the repast was much more luxurious than we could have supposed from the rustic appearance of the place. As soon as the guides informed us that they were ready to attend us, we continued our journey to Chamouny, making another little detour to visit the glacier des Bossons. Here we were astonished at the singular appearance which was exhibited by a vast number of pyramids and towers of ice, many of them upwards of 100 feet in height, and which remained at this season almost in the centre of a valley richly cultivated and well inhabited. The definition of the word glacier

has given rise to several arguments. I shall therefore insert that given by the celebrated M. de Saussure, in his Tour amongst the Alps, of which he was one of the first and most able explorers. He says, "The word glacier designates any one of those cavities, natural or artificial, which preserve the ice, or guard it from the rays of the sun." This glacier is only three quarters of a league from Chamouny or the priory, where we soon arrived. The valley of Chamouny is about eighteen English miles long, and hardly one in breadth. It is as varied a scene as can possibly be imagined; and no where can the contrast between nature in its wild and in its cultivated state, make a more forcible impression on the mind.

"Many of the farms here are very neat. They sow the grain in May, and reap in August.

"We remarked several small chapels and crosses where promises of indulgence for thirty days are held out to those persons who shall repeat there a certain number of prayers. One of these chapels, more spacious than the rest, was constructed by a bishop of Sion. The village of Chamouny is not large, but contains several extremely good inns, which, since the opening of the continent, have had their full share of English travellers, whose names, in the books of the hotel where we lodged, more than doubled those of all other nations who had visited the various grand scenes with which this country abounds; and the most lucrative employment here is that of a guide. Strangers are often much imposed on by them, and should therefore be careful to get recommended to such as will conduct them safely to all that is curious. We met a party who

who had been deceived by either the ignorance or laziness of their guides; and who, we found, after spending two or three days in exploring this neighbourhood, had seen but a small portion of what is worthy of attention. The air here is of a very wintry temperature. This, however, is not astonishing, when we consider that this place is situated 500 toises, or 2,040 feet above the lake of Geneva, and 3,168 feet above the level of the sea, but 11,532 feet below the summit of Mont Blanc.

“Chamouny is the chief place in the commune to which it gives name, and which is inhabited by a remarkably hardy and intelligent peasantry. I was informed that the Austrians obliged this district to furnish 100 cows, a vast quantity of cheese, butter, &c. &c.; but the inhabitants were so much rejoiced at being released from the French yoke, that they did not complain of these exactions. As far as I could judge, the wish of the young men here seems to be, that Savoy should form a canton of Switzerland; but the old men, who formerly lived under the government of the king of Sardinia, wish for the restoration of the order of things to which they were long accustomed; and it seems most probable that the king of Sardinia will be restored to that part of this ancient patrimony of his family which has not been ceded to France. The Savoyards complain of this division of their country. The part assigned to France is the most valuable district, and forms above a third of the duchy: in it is situated its ancient capital, Chambery. It is, however, not probable that the wishes of the Savoyards will be consulted as to these points, which will be determined by the

allied powers on the grounds of political expediency.

“I also made inquiries concerning the state of taxation in Savoy, and found, that under France the inhabitants were obliged to pay more than three times the sum which they had paid to Sardinia. The imposts were here the same as in the rest of France, no distinction having been made between this mountainous country and the other more productive departments. Doors and windows are amongst the articles taxed, and the stamp duties are very heavy.

“Having refreshed ourselves sufficiently to encounter fresh difficulties, we determined to visit Montanvert, and the Mer de Glace, two of the most distinguished objects of curiosity which this place boasts of. Having provided ourselves with guides and mules, we set out accordingly; and, after quickly passing the narrow valley, began to ascend mountains which abound with chamois, and which, by their height and irregularity, seemed to render our arrival on their summit an event not speedily to be expected. We had more reason than ever to be astonished at the extraordinary security with which our mules carried us up such abrupt ascents, which in many places more resembled a flight of steps, hewn roughly in a rock, than a practicable road, and there were in many places hardly any marks to shew which was the preferable way.

“After a continual ascent of between two and three hours, we were advised to send back our mules to wait our return in the valley, and to continue our way on foot, which we did accordingly, being provided with long sticks, pointed with iron, to assist us in climbing the

the remainder of the ascent. Our arrival on the summit amply repaid us for the toil which it had cost us: the view is not to be described;—before us lay the Mer de Glace (sea of ice) extending to the length of four leagues, and being about three quarters of a league in width; which is one of the most sublime spectacles in nature.—Around us were mountains much more elevated than those which cost us so much trouble in ascending, which consisting of granite, dispersed in the most majestic forms, and being the perpetual abode of frosts, storms, and tempests, leave a most awful impression on the mind. It is impossible to behold these stupendous scenes without, in the language of the Psalmist, ‘ascribing unto the Lord worship and power.’

“Although we had ascended not less than 3000 feet, yet, to our astonishment, Mont Blanc appeared nearly as elevated as when we viewed it from the valley. It is unquestionably the highest mountain in the three old quarters of the world (being exceeded in height only by the Andes); and I shall insert here the calculations of its elevation, and of that of some other mountains:

English feet.

Chimboraco, the highest of the Cordilleras -	20,608
Mont Blanc, above the level of the Mediterranean, according to Sir G. Shuckburgh -	15,662
Ditto, according to M. de Luc -	15,302½
Mount Caucasus -	15,000
Etna, according to M. de Saussure -	10,700
Teneriffe -	10,954

“The highest mountain in Scot-

land is Ben-Nevis, 4,387 feet. In Wales, Snowdon, 3,555. In England, Ingleborough, 3,200 feet. In Ireland, Croagh Patrick, 2,666.

“Mont Blanc is easily distinguished from amongst the other mountains (of which Mont Buet, of 9984 feet in height, approaches the nearest to it) when seen on this side, by the astonishing altitude to which it rises, and by the vast body of snow with which its top and sides are covered to the perpendicular height of above 4000 feet, without the intervention of any rock, to take off from that extreme whiteness that gives name to this mountain, uniting in the circular form of its summit all the majesty that can possibly be imagined. We partook of some refreshment in an apartment on the summit of Montanvert, which the extreme cold of the atmosphere rendered very acceptable. Having enrolled our names in a book kept here for that purpose, which abounds with the praises of all travellers who have viewed these scenes, we descended to the Mer de Glace, which is appropriately so named, from the striking resemblance which its broken masses of ice bear to the waves of the ocean, and the resemblance is still further heightened by the blue appearance which the numerous cavities present to the eye.—We walked a little way on this frozen ocean, the better to contemplate its vast extent, as well as to have it in our power to boast of having walked on a mass of ice in the month of August. The depth of the ice is calculated to be from three to four hundred feet, and the solemnity of this scene of desolation is increased by the sound of several torrents tumbling from the surrounding rocks. We again returned

turned to the summit of Montanvert, and were again lost in astonishment at the scene; which did not fail to recall to my recollection the beautiful lines of Pope, in his essay on criticism :

So pleas'd at first the tow'ring Alps we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky,
Th' eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last.
But, those strain'd, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthen'd way,
Th' increasing prospect tires our wand'ring eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise.

" Having sufficiently contemplated the view, we began to think of returning to the valley, which presented a most enlivening appearance after the chaos we had left. The descent was much easier than the ascent, and we were not long before we met our mules, and returned to our inn in great prosperity, although we had, most of us, occasional falls during so difficult a progress.

" We had great reason to be pleased with our expedition, and were most fortunate in the clearness of the day, without which our labour would have been lost. The valley is, of course, much more mild in its atmosphere than the mountain, but the weather was autumnal, and a fire was quite indispensable to our comfort. There are no less than five glaciers in this valley, they are separated from each other by forests and by cultivated lands, and this intermixture presents an appearance which, from its singularity, cannot fail to astonish the beholder. These glaciers all

lie at the foot of that vast chain of mountains, which supply the sources of many of the greatest rivers in Europe. I observed that the mountains in this vicinity were the first I had seen enlivened by the mixture of the larch with the fir, which produces a very pleasing effect, and continues afterwards to be often seen. The vast quantities of Alpine strawberries that every where abound on these mountains, have a most excellent flavour, and numbers of children employed in gathering them find ready sale among the numerous strangers attracted by the wonders of the neighbourhood. These Alps possess great attractions for the botanist, who is surrounded by saxifrage, rhododendrons, and a variety of other plants, which he must highly value, but which I have not sufficient knowledge of the science to distinguish particularly. Nor would the mineralogist find fewer attractions in the rocks themselves, than the botanist in the plants which they produce. We did not witness any of those avalanches which are said to fall so frequently from the mountains, and of the dreadful effects of which such interesting statements have been published. The whole of this valley, however, appears to be continually threatened, by the enormous masses which hang over it, and seem to need the application of but a trifling force, to move them from situations, to which they are to all appearance so slightly attached."

[DESCRIPTION OF THE NETHERLANDS.]

[From the same.]

ALTHOUGH the present population of the Netherlands bears no proportion to that which it formerly maintained, yet it is still very considerable, and exceeds that of any country in Europe, Holland only excepted; being 252 persons to each square mile. The decrease in the number of inhabitants in these provinces is chiefly to be attributed to the religious persecutions which compelled thousands of industrious families to emigrate.

"This depopulation is very perceptible in many of the cities I passed through, which are capable of containing double their present number of inhabitants, and is nowhere more striking than at Louvain, where the present population does not exceed 25,000, and where formerly there were 4000 manufactories of cloth, which supported 35,000 labourers. This city is surrounded with an ancient wall of brick, which, as well as its numerous towers, presents a half ruined appearance. Many of the public buildings of Louvain indicate its former opulence. The town-house is considered as a model of Gothic architecture, and the cathedral of St. Peter is a stately building. The portal of the Collegium Falconis presents a specimen of Grecian architecture, which is much admired for its simplicity. The University of Louvain was formerly of great celebrity, and no person could exercise any public authority in the Au-

strian Netherlands, without having graduated here. This regulation, however beneficially intended, only produced the effect of raising extremely the expence of the different diplomas, without being attended with any advantage, except to the funds of the university. In the present unsettled state of the Netherlands, it cannot be expected that the seats of learning should be as much frequented, as they probably will be when their new sovereign shall have had leisure to turn his attention to the important subject of public education; and the wisdom of the regulations he has promulgated, on other matters of general interest (particularly that which enforces the more solemn observation of Sunday) leaves little room to doubt that this point will, in its turn, be duly and successfully attended to. Those who have resided at Louvain have observed, that its inhabitants are in general more polite than in most of the towns in these provinces; but my stay was not sufficiently long to enable me to form any opinion on the subject. The manners of the people do not seem to me very dissimilar from those of the French, but others think they most resemble the Dutch. In fact, the Netherlanders have no very peculiar characteristics, but partake, in many respects, of those which distinguish the various nations from whom they are descended. They have been much

much and often abused by various writers, who have attributed to them the faults of almost all the nations of Europe, without allowing that they possess any of the good qualities by which those faults are palliated in the other nations. Those, however, who are of a candid disposition will not feel inclined to assent to the truth of statements so evidently dictated by enmity or spleen. But whilst I would not have the Flemish considered as a compound of all that is exceptionable in the human character, I do not consider them as meriting any particular praise; nor can I vindicate them from the charge of dishonesty, which has been so often alleged against them. In general on the continent, where the English are the subjects of extortion, the fraud is considered as trivial, and the French often boast in conversation how John Bull is pillaged at Paris. But whatever may be the Flemish character, it is allowed by all that they follow the French customs in their domestic arrangement, but are in general more cleanly. Their kitchens are kept very neat, and the cooking apparatus is ranged in order round the stove, which, in many of the kitchens that I saw in the small inns, projects considerably into the room.

"Many of the inhabitants of these provinces are below the middle size; they are extremely intelligent and active, and in general civil to strangers. Before I quit Louvain, I must not omit to notice that it is famous for its beer, which is certainly the best I have tasted on the continent. The number of breweries is said to exceed twenty, and the consumption is astonishingly great in the neighbourhood, besides a considerable export trade.

"I continued my journey to Brussels along an excellent road, the centre of which was paved, as, from the nature of the soil, it would be otherwise impassable in winter. The roads in this country run for many miles together, in a straight line between rows of trees; and I must confess I thought it very uninteresting to travel through. The flatness of its surface is but rarely interrupted by any eminence, which affords a prospect calculated to make any impression on the mind. There are many neat villages, and occasionally one sees country seats decorated in that formal style of gardening which was originally introduced from this country into England, but which has there long since yielded to a more natural taste. The farming seems very neatly managed; the numerous canals, although they add nothing to the beauty of the country, are of great utility to the farmer; and travelling is very cheap in the boats which pass between the chief towns.

"It would require scenery like that of the Rhine, to induce me to adopt this conveyance; but many of these canals pass between banks which exclude all view of the surrounding country. I found the Netherlands generally impatient to be relieved from the great military expences incident to their present situation. There is, I think, little reason to doubt, that when some of the existing taxes can be removed, the Orange family will become popular. The stamp duties are very heavy; there are land and house taxes, and a personal tax. It is to be expected, that the people should wish for a diminution of their burdens, but Liege is the only place I have visited in the countries lately

lately relinquished by France, where the separation seems to be generally regretted. I found that the Prussian government was by no means popular on the left bank of the Rhine, and that an union with either Austria or Bavaria, was much wished for in those provinces, whose future destiny remains to be decided at the congress of Vienna.

"Having met with but few English travellers since I had quitted Switzerland, I was much struck on entering Brussels with the vast numbers of my fellow subjects, moving in all directions. The garrison was almost entirely composed of English troops, so that I felt here quite at home. I found that there was an English theatre, as well as a French one, and that balls, and entertainments of all descriptions, à l'Anglaise, were in abundance. Indeed the upper part of the city differed little in appearance from an English watering place.

"Brussels is a city of great extent, built partly on the river Senne (naturally a very inconsiderable stream, but which, being formed here into a canal, becomes of much advantage), and partly on a hill, commanding an extensive view of the rich and fertile plain by which it is surrounded; much of which resembles a vast kitchen garden. It is, like Louvain, surrounded by a ruined wall of brick, as formerly all the towns of Flanders were fortified. This was the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, and lately the chief place of the French department of the Dyle: it will, probably, now become, for a part of the year, the residence of its new sovereign, whose sons are at present amongst its inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Brussels are calculated at 70,000, and its environs give the traveller an idea of its importance, as they have an appearance of much traffic and are decorated with many villas which announce the opulence, but not always the good taste of their owners. The city is, in general, irregularly built, and the lower part does not deserve commendation; but the place royale is fine: the park is surrounded by many handsome public buildings, and by a number of private houses, which would ornament any capital in Europe. The park is of considerable extent, and forms an agreeable promenade. Its avenues are kept in excellent order; they abound with statues and other formal decorations, which are, however, more admissible in a city promenade than in the retirement of the country. A fountain here was celebrated by Peter the Great's having fallen into it, as that monarch, like Cato, was said,

"Sæpe mero caluisse virtus."

"His virtue oft with wine to warm."

The circumstance was recorded by the following inscription:

"Petrus Alexowitz, Czar Moscovæ, magnus dux, margini hujus fontis insidiens, illius aquam uoluit libato vino horâ post meridiem tertîâ, die 16 Aprilis, 1717."

"That renowned General P. A., Czar of Moscovy, having poured forth ample libations of wine, whilst sitting on the brink of this fountain fell into, and ennobled its waters about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of April, 1717."

"The

"The town-house is one of the most conspicuous of the public buildings at Brussels, although it is situated in the lowest part of the town, its steeple rising to the height of 364 feet; it is a very fine piece of Gothic architecture. The equestrian statue, noticed by M. Dutens, as being placed on the top of a house in the square before the town-house has disappeared; the horse and his rider having been removed to a more suitable situation. The church of St. Gudule presents a venerable and interesting appearance; it contains several fine paintings, and windows of stained glass. There are many ancient tombs of the old dukes of Brabant. The church of St. James is also worthy of notice, and its façade of the Corinthian order, is an elegant and uniform piece of architecture, which does honour to the taste of the builder.

"Brussels contains many fine collections of paintings, which I have not time to enumerate; but I was much pleased with some pictures of M. Danoots, to whom I had a letter. They are not very numerous, but are undoubted originals of S. Rosa, Teniers, Rembrandt, Mytens, and of J. Bassano, who is remarkable for having attained a greater age (82) than most of the great painters, he has accordingly left behind him a greater number of pictures than almost any other master. He is said to have expressed great regret on his death-bed, that he should be obliged to quit the world at the moment when he had begun to make some little progress in his art. A shorter life than Bassano's, is, however, sufficient to establish the reputation of an artist. Raphael died in his 37th year, but public opinion has

placed him at the head of his art for general proficiency.

"There are several excellent hotels in Brussels which command a view of the park. I was at one of these, the hotel de Bellevue, and found the hour of the table d'hôte had been changed to accommodate the English, to four o'clock, at least two hours later than the usual time; but as the company consisted always entirely of English it was but reasonable that they should fix the hour. The dinner here more resembled an English one than any I had hitherto seen on the continent, and reminded me of the public tables at Cheltenham.

Brussels was some months since a very cheap residence, but I have been assured, that the prices of most articles have more than doubled since our troops first arrived here. Living at an hotel here is nearly as expensive as in London; but no doubt there is a considerable saving in the expences of a family who are recommended to honest tradespeople. There are still a number of good houses to be let, notwithstanding the great influx of English, many of whom have engaged houses for four or five years, on terms which seem very reasonable to those accustomed to the London prices.

"The country round Brussels presents several excursions which would probably have better answered my expectations had the weather been more favourable. The Abbey of Jurourin, was a country seat of the princes of the Austrian family, and was formerly famous for its menagerie. The forest of Sogne is of great extent; and its numerous avenues, which now had a sombre appearance, are, no doubt, in summer, much frequented by the

the inhabitants of Brussels. This forest was the property of the emperor of Germany, and is said to have produced an annual revenue of one million of florins.

"The prison, or house of correction, at Vilvorde, is worthy of attention, from the excellent manner in which it is conducted. Those who wish for the introduction of some improvements into our workhouses, might surely derive many useful hints from the manner in which similar establishments are conducted abroad; and although I have never thought much on the subject, yet I did not fail to remark the cleanliness, regularity, and industry, which prevailed here and in another place of the same kind near Berne.

"Brussels is seen to great advantage from the ancient ramparts which surround it. I went entirely round the city in about two hours, and afterwards attended divine service, which was performed in English, to a congregation which proved the great number of English now here. There are at present but few very strongly fortified cities in Belgium, compared with the vast number which it formerly contained. The period is past, when, after the ablest engineers had exerted their utmost skill in the construction of fortifications around its cities, generals, not less distinguished, contended for the honour of reducing them. Amongst numberless other instances, the siege of Ostend sufficiently attests how successful the engineers have been in rendering those places strong; and also bears ample testimony to the perseverance of the commanders who at last succeeded in taking them. Ambrose Spinola entered Ostend in 1604, after a siege of above three years,

during which the besieged lost 50,000 and the besiegers, 80,000 men. The siege and capture of Valenciennes might also be adduced, if testimony were wanting of the zeal and bravery of British armies and commanders. But however justly these sieges are celebrated in modern times, the antiquarian who contends for the supremacy of past ages over the present, will not fail to instance the siege of Troy and the exploits of Achilles, and Agamemnon, as a more distinguished instance of perseverance than any to be met with in these degenerate days, and if he should meet with some sceptic who insists that the heroes of Homer owe their existence only to the imagination of the poet, although he can assent to no such hypothesis, yet he will also instance the siege of Azotus, on the frontiers of Egypt, which Psammeticus, meditating extensive conquests, and thinking it beneath him to leave so strong a fortress unsubdued, is related to have spent 29 years of his reign in reducing.

"As I was desirous of visiting Antwerp and Ghent, and as the period allotted for my tour was drawing to a close (a circumstance which the advanced season of the year gave me but little reason to regret) I left Brussels, enveloped in a fog, which might remind the English fashionables of those so prevalent in London during the gloomy season of November, and proceeded to Malines, 14 miles distant, formerly one of the greatest cities of Belgium, but now like too many other once celebrated places in that country, affording a melancholy contrast to its former splendour, and proving that in the vicissitude of all sublunary affairs, cities,

cities, as well as their inhabitants, are subject to decay.

*Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi
Cælestis exemplis oppida posse mori.*

"Here are several manufactories of excellent lace and many breweries, but the beer is considered as greatly inferior to that of Louvain. The houses are spacious, and exhibit singular specimens of ancient taste; the roofs rise to a great height and terminate in a sharp point. Their walls are generally of an excessive whiteness. The tower of the cathedral is highly finished, and rises to a vast height. There being little to detain me here, Malines being more remarkable for what it once was, than for what it now is, I continued my way to Antwerp along an excellent paved road, lined by avenues of trees, which are often so cut (the Dutch differing from the Minorquins, who never prune a tree, saying, that nature knows best how it should grow) as not to be at all ornamental, and in some places cannot be said to afford either "from storms a shelter, or from heat a shade." In that state, however unnatural, they answer the intention of their planters, by marking the course of the road in the snowy season, without excluding the air from it in the wet weather prevalent in autumn.

"Antwerp is one of the most celebrated cities of Europe, and although its present situation is far from comparable with its former celebrity, yet it has revived greatly of late years; and the events which have restored to these provinces their independence, will, no doubt, fill with the vessels of all trading nations those docks which were

constructed by the French government at such incredible expence, and with far different views than the encouragement of commercial speculations. The canals by which these docks communicate with Bruges and Ostend, that the navy of Napoleon might run no risks by passing on the high seas, are vast works, which must have cost enormous sums of money. The Scheldt is here about half the width of the Thames at Westminster; but Antwerp is above fifty miles from its mouth. Its depth is very considerable; and such was at one period the commerce of Antwerp, that not less than 2500 vessels annually entered its port. The present population of this city is stated at 60,000. There are manufactures of lace, silk, chocolate, and extensive establishments for refining sugars. The export of the productions of the fruitful district which surrounds the city is very considerable. Nothing proves more strongly the riches of these provinces, than the short period in which they recover the evils of a campaign; and it was their fertility in grain which principally rendered them of such importance to the French government. During the late scarcity in France, the crops succeeded tolerably well here; and Buonaparte obliged the inhabitants of Belgium to supply France at a price which he fixed himself, and by which they lost considerably.

"There are many buildings at Antwerp, which are justly admired for their magnificence, particularly the cathedral, which, like many other churches here, was decorated by the pencil of Rubens. The tower of the cathedral is a rich specimen of Gothic. The general effect of this building is lessened by a number

a number of mean houses which surround it. The church of St. André contains a monument to the memory of Mary queen of Scotland. The town-house is a large building; its façade is 150 feet in length, and is composed of all the orders of architecture. Many of the streets at Antwerp are tolerably well built. I was informed that many individuals have good collections of paintings, by the chief painters which this country has produced. It is impossible to pass through Flanders without being struck with the exactness with which its painters have represented the face of their country, and the persons of its inhabitants. Antwerp, on the whole, has a tolerably cheerful appearance. The promenade of Peninpiere is pleasant, and much frequented by the citizens.

"The country between Antwerp and Gand, presents, like the rest of Flanders, a level surface, highly cultivated, traversed by excellent roads, running in straight lines from one town to another. I must, however, own that I have seldom traversed a more uninteresting country. But as the reign of a

prince, which affords the fewest incidents for the commemoration of the historian, is thought to be often the most fortunate for the interests of his subjects, so a country, which is passed over in silence by the tourist, as devoid of those natural beauties which fix his attention, often contains the most land susceptible of cultivation, which best repays the labours of the husbandman, and is the most valuable to the possessor. Many of the Flemish inns are very neat; but the traveller who has recently quitted Germany, is struck with their inferiority in point of decoration (although, perhaps, in no other respect) to those of that country, which abound with gilding, trophies, and armorial bearings, to invite the stranger, who here has a less shewy intimation of the entertainment he seeks for. The peasants here commonly wear wooden shoes; and they who do not consider how powerful is the force of custom, are surprised how they contrive to walk so well, in such awkward and clumsy machines."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

SITE OF THE ORACLE OF DODONA.

[From Dr. HOLLAND's Travels.]

THE question regarding the situation of Dodona, the most ancient of the Greek oracles, has generally been connected, more or less directly, with the country surrounding Ioannina; and various travellers and scholars have exercised themselves in conjectures on this subject, interesting doubtless from its relation to Grecian history.

“Almost all the authors of antiquity, from Hesiod and Homer down to much later writers, refer to the temple, the oracle and the woods of Dodona; and this reference is generally in terms which express the opinion entertained of the peculiar antiquity and sanctity of the place. Aristotle mentions the deluge, of which a distinct tradition prevailed in every age of Greece, as having occurred particularly in the country about Dodona and the river Achelous; and in the same passage he speaks of this region as the ancient Hellas, inhabited by the Selloi, and by those who were then called Græci, but now Hellenes. Our learned countryman, Bryant, has sought to explain the histories of the deluge and of Deucalion, as they stand connected in ancient writings with the situation and oracular fame of Dodona, by supposing that the Arkite worship, originating in the scriptural record of the flood, was first brought to this place from Thebes in Egypt, and formed the foundation of its mysteries, and of the future sanctity of the spot. For this opinion he derives arguments from Herodotus, who gives the story of two female priests, represented allegorically as black doves, that were carried away from the temple of Jupiter at Thebes; one of whom was transported into Libya, while the other came to Dodona, where she established the oracle and the worship of Jupiter. In reference to this origin, it appears that the priests of the temple of Dodona continued to be called Peleïades or doves; and under this metaphorical character, (derived, as Bryant conceives, from the tradition of the Ark and doves of Noah,) they are alluded to by various writers of antiquity. Their oracular responses

responses were held in great veneration throughout Greece, and it may easily be conceived that the comparative remoteness of the oracle, its situation in a mountainous region, surrounded by forests, and the fountain of fire in its vicinity, would afford many circumstances deeply and peculiarly impressive to the feelings of a superstitious age. We do not possess many details respecting the temple of Jupiter at this place; but it may be presumed that it was large and splendid, and enriched by numerous votive offerings.

“The modern inquiry respecting the situation of Dodona has been perplexed, by the different position assigned to it in ancient authors; some placing the seat of the oracle in Thesprotia, others in Molossia; others again in the district of Chaonia. This difference is explained by considering the irregularity and frequent change in the divisions of Epirus, particularly in those districts which border on the chain of Pindus. Strabo himself informs us, that Dodona, which by the more ancient writers was placed in Thesprotia, was afterwards considered as in the country of the Molossi; and the limits of Chaonia were too vaguely ascertained, to render it surprising that this region also should be mentioned as the seat of the oracle. The speculations of modern travellers have in general fixed its situation in the country to the north of Ioannina; and by a style of research, perhaps more minute than reasonable, any large assemblage of oaks in this district has been interpreted into a vestige of the ancient forest of Dodona. Serefani, an Italian traveller who visited Ioannina, speaks of Dodona as one or two days' journey north

of the city; but in so loose and uncertain a way, as to afford no weight to his opinion. M. Barbié du Bocage has fixed the situation of the oracle at Protopapas, a village at some distance to the north of the lake of Ioannina; and M. Pouquéville appears to entertain the same general idea. I confess that these opinions do not appear to me to be confirmed by any evidence; nor can I regard as more accurate that of a literary Greek, who places Dodona in the country to the east of Ioannina, and north of the river Kalama. A careful reference to all the passages in which it is mentioned by ancient writers, has led me to believe, that its real situation was to the south or south-east of Ioannina, and underneath the great mountain of Tzumerka. This mountain, the position of which has already been referred to, I consider to have been the Tomarus of antiquity; below which, according to Strabo, stood the temple of Dodona. I have not myself been in that part of the country, between the river of Arta and the Aspropotami, the ancient Achelous; and I am not aware that there are any remains in this district which could be interpreted as the vestiges of the oracle. Perhaps indeed, the evidence of Strabo, Polybius, and Dion Cassius may suffice to prove, that little, if any thing, can now remain of the ancient temple of Dodona. Nevertheless, I consider it probable that the situation might yet be ascertained: and I should recommend, as one object in directing the research, the fountain of fire, which gave sanctity to the seat of the oracle. A succeeding part of my narrative will shew that similar phenomena of nature continue in existence, while the wonders of art, which

which were employed to consecrate them to the veneration of the ancient world, have long since been consigned to oblivion and decay.

The circumstance of Dodona being successively included by the ancients in Thesprotia and Molossia, points out its situation near the common boundary of these two regions, which we know to have been in the vicinity of the Araethus; perhaps at one time actually formed by this river. The passage of Homer, (*Iliad*, ii. 746.)

μακροτολεμοὶ τε Περρεῖες,
οἱ περὶ Δωδωνὴν δυσχείμερον ὀκί-
αδεντο,

may be considered as a further proof of its position in or near the valey of the Araethus, if, as appears most probable, the Perræbri inhabited the upper part of this valley. Aristotle, in a passage already quoted, describes the ancient Hellas, as "that region which is about Dodona and the Achelous:" from which it may be inferred with probability that Dodona was on the eastern side of the Araethus, and between that river and the Achelous. The situation of the great and remarkable mountain of Tzomerka in this particular district is a further confirmation of the opinion, as pointing out the ancient Tomarus, underneath which, according to Strabo, stood the temple; and around the roots of which were a hundred fountains. (*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 1.*) The epithets of *δυσχείμερος* and *αἰπυνωτός* which Homer and Aeschylus severally apply to Dodona, (*Prom. Vinc. v. 820.*) though certainly applicable

to many other parts of Epirus, yet unquestionably well accord with the situation just pointed out. Hesiod indeed has described Hellis, in the extreme part of which he says Dodona was built, as a district of *πολυλείος ἡδ' εὐλειμων*; and Apollodorus has spoken of the marshes surrounding the temple; but perhaps neither of these descriptions, admitting them to be minutely accurate, are applicable to the character of the vallies in the mountainous regions of Epirus. I cannot venture to seek a further testimony in the forests which are now so luxuriant in the valley of the river Arta, being aware how little value such an argument would have, after a lapse of more than twenty ages from the period of the ancient Dodona.

"On the whole then, though without the evidence of actual observation, I am disposed to believe, that Dodona was situated in the country between the river of Arta and the Aspropotami, and underneath the mountain of Tzomerka. I would not give this opinion with perfect confidence, but I certainly think it more probable than the other situations which have been assigned to the oracle.

"The editors of the French Strabo (tom. iii. p. 116, 117.) seem to agree with the Suidas mentioned by Strabo, and with one of the commentators upon Homer, in thinking that there was a Dodona on Thesaly as well as one in Epirus. Admitting this to be proved, it does not interfere with the question respecting the situation of the latter. See the Commentary of Eustathius on the second book of the *Iliad*.

[PASS AND HOT SPRINGS OF THERMOPYLÆ.]

[From the Same.]

"WE left Zeitun on the morning of the 23d, directing our course towards the pass of Thermopylæ, which formed the principal object of the day's journey. Traversing the broad swampy plains which form the valley of the Sperchius or Helleda, we crossed this river by a good bridge of modern construction; at no great distance, probably, from the site of the ancient town of Antycrta. The stream of the Helleda is inferior in size to that of the Salymphria at Larissa, though at this time much swelled by the rains which had fallen incessantly for some days past. It enters the bay three or four miles before the bridge, flowing entirely through morasses, and divided into different channels, so as to correspond well with the description Pausanias gives of this point of its course. It appears certain, however, that since the time of Herodotus the alluvial depositions of the Sperchius have encroached considerably on the bay, so that this river now enters the sea much lower down than at the period when Thermopylæ was signalized by the invasion of the Persians. From the lowness of the level it is probable that some saline impregnation may be given to these marshy plains, rendering them more grateful as pasture to the numerous herds of cattle which feed on their surface.

"We now entered upon that narrow portion of the plain which

which lies to the south of the Helleda, intervening between this river and the precipitous cliffs of Cæta. It was in this district, which had the name of Trachina, that the vast army of Xerxes was encamped, while the passage of Thermopylæ was disputed with him by the Grecian army. Looking over the ground, and recollecting the estimate which Herodotus gives of the number of the Persians, it is difficult not to believe from this observation alone, that the historian has greatly exaggerated their amount, unless indeed we suppose that a large portion of the army was left on the northern side of the Sperchius, or that the multitude extended far to the west up the valley of the river. Presuming, what is probable from the season of the year, that there had been a long continuance of dry weather, we may believe that much of the marshy ground at the mouth of the Sperchius was capable of bearing the march or encampment of an army; but with all these allowances, a presumption still arises from the appearance of the ground against the accuracy of the historian's statement.

"From the bridge over the river, we proceeded in a south-east direction towards Thermopylæ, having on our right-hand the Trachinian cliffs of Cæta, which rise above into the lofty summits anciently called Kallidromos and Tichius, impending over the pass. We were made
aware

aware of our approach to this memorable spot, as well by the contracting interval between the cliffs and the sea, as by the columns of vapour rising from the hot springs, which have given origin to the name of the strait. We hastened rapidly towards these springs, which are scarcely two miles distant from the bridge. We observed immediately before us the sacred eminence of Anthela, where the council of the Amphictyons was first assembled; and in the contracted pass in which we now stood, saw the obstacle that prevented the Persians from bursting at once into Greece,—that produced the battle and the glory of Thermopylæ.

“The lapse of 2300 years has indeed made certain changes in the character of this spot; yet, nevertheless, its more remarkable features still remain to attest the integrity of history, and the valour of those who here sacrificed themselves for their country. The traveller must not, it is true, expect to see the waves washing against the narrow road which winds under the rocks of Ceta. A low swampy plain, or what, when I saw it, might well be termed a morass, every where intervenes between the cliffs and the sea; and the alluvial depositions of the Sperchius appear to have been greatest on this side the bay, the river now flowing for some distance opposite and parallel to the pass, before it loses itself in the sea. It is certain, however, that as far back as the time of Herodotus, a morass formed one of the boundaries of the pass even in its narrowest part; and it appears, from his account, that the Phocians had artificially increased this, by allowing the water from the

hot springs to spread itself over the surface with a view of rendering the passage yet more impracticable to their restless neighbours, the Thessalians. From the description of later events by Livy and Pausanias, it is probable, that before that time this swampy plain had extended itself, and become more nearly resembling its present state.

“The hot springs form one of the most interesting features in the topography of the place; the same in situation, the same probably in their phenomena, as they were at the remote period of time when Leonidas fought in the Pass of Thermopylæ. These springs issue at four or five different places at the base of the cliffs, and from their locality, as well from the general outline of the pass, it becomes easy to trace other positions which are important in the history of the spot. The small plain of Anthela, in front of the springs, and intervening between two contractions of the pass, is still an obvious feature; and equally so, the eminence already mentioned adjoining to Anthela, on which, in a temple dedicated to Ceres, the meetings of the Amphictyonic council were held, long before their establishment at Delphi. At a short distance from this spot we noticed the broken fragments of a wall traversing the marsh near the foot of the cliffs—an interesting feature, inasmuch as these remains indicate the site of the wall originally built by the Phocians, to oppose the incursions of the Thessalians; afterwards repaired by the Greeks at the time of the Persian invasion; at a later period renewed and strengthened by Antiochus, when defending himself in the Pass against the Romans;

and, last of all, restored by Justinian when that monarch was labouring to secure the tottering empire by fortresses and walls. This point is the most important in the topography and history of Thermopylae. It may be considered as forming the northern entrance to the strait, and at the same time it is that part where the passage is most contracted by the projection of the rocks towards the sea. It would be difficult to compare together ancient and modern dimensions, where on one side the Pass gradually declines into an impervious morass; but it must be confessed, that there is now no place where it will only admit a single chariot to pass at a time, unless we suppose that Herodotus meant to allude merely to the narrowness of the road or track which even yet is in many places extremely limited by the rocky nature of the ground under the cliffs. Livy, speaking of this as a military passage, states its breadth at sixty paces. I visited Thermopylae during the wet season, and after a continuance of heavy rains for several days, and therefore my observation does not apply to the general character of the spot, but I can venture to assert, that when I was there, the distance between the rocks and the more impassable part of the morass did not in some places exceed three hundred feet. On the whole, the changes at this spot appear to be less than might have been expected from the nature of the situation, and the length of time that belongs to the history of the place.

The Trachinian cliffs, or those which overhang the Pass, may be from four to six hundred feet in height at this point, but they de-

cline in elevation towards the south. The rock is entirely an ash-coloured lime-stone, and presents externally a rude and broken surface of rocky masses, with the wild olive, the prickly oak, and other shrubs growing in the intervals betwixt them. At some distance to the north-west of the hot-springs, and near the entrance of the Pass, there is a break in the cliffs, forming the steep and rugged valley of a stream which descends from the mountains. From the description of Herodotus, there seems reason to believe that this stream is the Asopus, and the opening in the mountains that called Anopæa. The ruins of an ancient Greek fortress are seen upon a summit of rock overhanging this place, probably one of those castles mentioned by Livy in his description of the Pass.

"In this part of Thermopylae, (for the whole length of the Pass may be considered to exceed five miles,) those events occurred which have given a lasting celebrity to the spot. At the time when Xerxes advanced with his army to the northern entrance of the strait, the Greeks were stationed within the wall, and between this barrier and Anthela, the Spartans alone, under Leonidas, placing themselves in front of the wall. It was here that the Persian horsemen sent forward by Xerxes saw these men occupied in combing their hair, or in the gymnastic exercises of their country; and it was in this singular position that the two armies remained for four days in expectation of the event. The combat, which commenced on the fifth, and continued during this and the following day, took place on the same spot of ground; the Greeks
advancing

advancing beyond their wall to meet the Persians in the most contracted part of the Pass. It is needless to speak minutely of the events which are so amply recorded by Herodotus and Plutarch, and so well known to all who feel interest in the record of former times. The Greeks perceiving themselves circumvented by the path over the mountains, which Ephialtes discovered to the Persian king, retired from the Pass, leaving only Leonidas with his Spartans and the Thespians to sacrifice themselves for their country. The scene of combat was still the same, except that now having the certainty of death, Leonidas carried his companions forward beyond the wall and the contracted part of the Pass, and, as Diodorus relates, even in the very midst of the Persian camp. Here the Spartan king fell; his body was the object of glorious but destructive contention to the Greeks surviving him, who seeing at length the Persians advancing in their rear retired through the entrenchments of the wall, and posted themselves on the eminence of Anthela already described. The combat now speedily came to a close, but not before every Spartan had perished on the spot. The inscribed memorials which Greece erected here to commemorate their devotion to their country have now disappeared, but the natural features of Thermopylæ remain and form a still more interesting record of the event.

"This Pass was a second time illustrated by the bravery of the Greeks, and particularly of the Athenians, in defending themselves against the numerous army of Gauls, under Brennus, when these barbarians were seeking to penetrate into

the interior of Greece. A third time Thermopylæ was the scene of battle, between the Romans and the army of Antiochus; the latter stationed in the place of the Greeks within the pass, and behind the Phocian wall; (the Romans under their consul Acilius, attacking them from the position once occupied by Xerxes and the Persians. It is worthy of notice that in each of these instances, the event was brought about by the same means as in the Persian invasion; the discovery to Brennus of a path through the mountains, obliged the Greeks to retreat, to prevent their being surrounded; and Antiochus was compelled to fly with precipitation and loss, on seeing the heights above the Pass occupied by Roman soldiers, who under the command of M. Porcius Cato, had been secretly sent round to seize these positions. In the reign of Justinian, the army of the Huns advanced to Thermopylæ, and discovered the path over the mountains. When the Sultan Bajazet entered Greece, towards the close of the 14th century, there appears to have been little need of these artifices to force a way through Thermopylæ; a Greek bishop, it is said, conducting the Mahommedan conquerors through the pass, to enslave the liberties of his country.

"The mountain route, by which the defences of Thermopylæ have thus been rendered vain, cannot, I believe, be considered as a single path; but probably includes two or three tracks over the rocks above the Pass, which are described by ancient writers. There perhaps may be some doubt as to the actual one by which Ephialtes conducted the Persians; but the general outline

of the route, and its importance to the issue of the contest, are obvious on the first inspection of the spot.

"I examined with some attention the hot springs of Thermopylæ. The water breaks out in different places at the foot of the rocks; but two spots are more remarkable than the rest, from its appearing in greater quantity, and forming small basins at its source. These basins are incrustated round with depositions from the springs; and similar depositions cover a large extent of surface, over which the water flows towards the marshes. I brought away some specimens of this incrustation, which is composed of carbonate of lime, and does not appear to contain any sensible quantity of any other earthy substance. In approaching the springs, the smell of sulphurated hydrogen is very perceptible. The water is extremely clear, but hard and distinctly saline to the taste. It comes from various openings in the rock, or in the basins which the springs have formed; at the mouth of these fissures I found the temperature to be pretty uniformly 103° or 104° Fahrenheit. From two of the springs the water is collected together, forming a considerable stream, which after turning the wheel of a mill erected within the Pass, is dispersed over the marshes below.

"Half a mile to the south of the mill, the Pass is again contracted by some rugged eminences to the

left of the road, intervening between the cliffs and the sea; which eminences, as well as the cliffs, are covered with shrubs and brushwood, giving a wild, yet picturesque character to the scenery. On the highest of them stands a Derveni, or guard house, in which there are a few Albanian soldiers, stationed here for the security of the Pass. Beyond this spot, there is a tumulus, which has been supposed by some to be the spot where the Greeks who fell at Thermopylæ were buried by their countrymen. The Pass still continues towards the South, in some places extremely contracted by the approach of the sea, till beyond the village of Mola, and the site of the ancient Alpenus, it expands out into the beautiful and fertile shores, which line the Eubœan strait.

"We were singularly unfortunate in the day, when we surveyed Thermopylæ. From the time we crossed the Hellada, the rain fell in torrents upon us, and the horizon was so thick, that we were unable to see the opposite coast of Eubœa, or even the summits of the cliffs immediately above us. The state of the weather prevented an examination of the Pass, as minute as I could have desired to make. In any other spot, it might have repressed all feeling connected with the memory of former events; but it was impossible that this should happen in the Pass of Thermopylæ."

[VALE OF TEMPE.]

[From the Same.]

“**T**HOUGH it was a part of our projected day's journey to pass the Vale of Tempe, yet we were compelled to set out under the obscurity of a small rain; consoling ourselves with the possibility that we might be more fortunate in returning towards Larissa. From the heights of Amphilochia we descended slowly in the valley, reaching the banks of the river, where it enters the deep ravine, which conducts it towards the sea. Looking generally at the narrowness and abruptness of this mountain-channel, and contrasting it with the course of the Peneus, through the plains of Thessaly, the imagination instantly recurs to the tradition, that these plains were once covered with water, for which some convulsions of nature had subsequently opened this narrow passage. The term vale, in our language, is usually employed to describe scenery, in which the predominant features are breadth, beauty, and repose. The reader has already perceived that the term is wholly inapplicable to the scenery at this spot; and that the phrase of Vale of Tempe is one that depends on poetic fiction, ignorantly selecting the materials of descriptive allusion, and conveying an innocent error to the imagination of the modern reader. The real character of Tempe, though it perhaps be less beautiful, yet possesses more of magnificence than is implied in the epithet given to it. The features of nature are often

best described by comparison; and to those who have visited St. Vincent's Rocks below Bristol, I cannot convey a more sufficient idea of Tempe, than by saying that its scenery resembles, though on a much larger scale, that of the former place. The Peneus indeed, as it flows through the valley, is not greatly wider than the Avon; and the channel between the cliffs is equally contracted in its dimensions; but these cliffs themselves are much loftier and more precipitous; and project their vast masses of rock with still more extraordinary abruptness over the hollow beneath.

“The length of this remarkable gulph from west to east is nearly five miles; its direction in this distance varying but little from a straight line. Its breadth is varied by the projection or recession of the cliffs; but there are places in which the bed of the river occupies the whole space between the rocks; and where the interval from the base of one cliff to that on the other side cannot exceed 200 feet, and possibly may be still less. In these places, and indeed throughout a great part of the extent of Tempe, the road is carried over and along the ledges of the cliffs; sometimes seeming to overhang the river; then receding to seek a passage across the ravines which descend from the mountain. Livy well describes this singular route,—“*Rupes utrinque ita abscissæ sunt, ut despicì vix sine vertigine*

vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit. Terret et sonitus et altitudo per medium vallem fluentis Penei amnis."

"On the height of the cliffs of Tempe, I cannot speak otherwise than from surmise. Those on the north side, about the middle of the pass, are undoubtedly the highest; and here they appear to rise from six to eight hundred feet above the level of the river; passing more gradually afterwards into the mountain heights to the south of Olympus, of which they may be considered to form the base. Towards the lower part of Tempe, these cliffs are peaked in a very singular manner, and form projecting angles on the vast perpendicular faces of the rock, which they present towards the chasm. Where the surface renders it possible, the summits and ledges of the rocks are for the most part covered with small wood, chiefly oak, with the arbutus and other shrubs. On the banks of the river, wherever there is a small interval between the water and the cliffs, it is covered by the rich and widely-spreading foliage of the plane, the oak, and other forest-trees, which in these situations have attained a remarkable size, and in various places extend their shade far over the channel of the stream. The ivy winding round many of them may bring to the mind of the traveller the beautiful and accurate description of Ælian, who has done more justice to the scenery of Tempe than any other writer of antiquity.

"The Peneus, thus secluded alike by the vast cliffs which overhang the valley, and by the trees bordering on its waters, pursues its course through Tempe, a full and rapid stream, little interrupted in its pro-

gress, though flowing between rocks so rude and precipitous in their forms. Ovid's description of it, in his story of Io, is well known.

Spumens volvitur undæ,
Dejectaque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, seminasque aspergine silves
Impluit, et sonito plusquam vicina fatigat."

At the time I was in Tempe, though the river had been somewhat swelled by rains, there was little of this impetuous violence, but a deep and steady current, capable (as was the case also in former times) of being safely navigated throughout the whole extent of the defile. At this period of wintry floods, the water of the river did not shew that clearness for which the Peneus was celebrated by the ancients, but the streams descending to it from ravines of the mountains, or breaking out suddenly from natural basins in the rock, had a purity which might well suggest the metaphor of nymphs presiding over their waters.

"About the middle of the pass on its southern side, and to the right of the road, are some high ruined walls, composed in part of Roman bricks; and on a cliff which impends over this spot, stand the remains of an ancient castle, one of those fortresses by which art assisted nature in defending this important passage. Just below these ruins a stream enters the Peneus from the heights of Ossa, the scenery near the junction of which is very extraordinary; a vast semicircular basin being formed by the cliffs surrounding it, which are everywhere perpendicular as walls, and of great height. Looking upwards among the mountain precipices on this side, it is difficult to conceive the possibility of that march, by which Alexander conveyed his army from

from Macedonia into Thessaly, skirting along the acclivities of Ossa to avoid the impediments which the Thessalians opposed to his passage through Tempe. At the time of the Persian invasion, the Greeks sent a body of 10,000 men, under Evænetes and Themistocles, to defend this entrance into Thessaly; but on the suggestion that another route was open to Xerxes, over the mountains adjoining Olympus, these generals quitted their post, and retired southwards. Had they remained here, it is not impossible that Tempe might have been another Thermopylæ in the page of history.

"The rocks on each side the Vale of Tempe are evidently the same; what may be called, I believe, a coarse blueish grey marble, with veins and portions of the rock, in which the marble is of finer quality. The front of the cliffs has a general aspect to which the term shattered might best be applied; long fissures, both horizontal and perpendicular, traversing the rock, so as to give it frequently the appearance of being broken into detached masses. In many places large hollows and caves have been formed; and here the surface is generally much tinged with the oxide of iron. Though it would be too much to affirm from the character of the cliffs of Tempe, that there is a proof of this defile having been formed by a sudden and violent natural convulsion, yet their general appearances, as I have already remarked, might certainly warrant some belief in the traditional record of this event, which we have from so many ancient writers. Herodotus, in relating the excursion of Xerxes to survey the pass of Tempe, notices the belief common among the Thessalians, that Neptune had opened this passage to carry off

the waters from their country, and states his own opinion that the separation of the mountains had been effected by an earthquake. It is certainly not impossible that the latter surmise may be well founded. The nature of the tradition points at the event as occurring suddenly; and though we can scarcely suppose that the whole depth of the defile was thus opened, it may be conceived not unlikely that the convulsion of an earthquake had the effect of deepening the channel, and thereby of carrying the waters from off the plain.

"The memory of the event, however accomplished, was preserved by an annual festival of the ancient towns and villages at the western entrance of Tempe, of which we have an interesting description by Ælian. The fine allusion of Lucan to this subject is well known to the classical reader.

"We were extremely unfortunate in the day which conducted us through the scenery of Tempe. The rain of the morning had ceased, but the clouds still hung heavily upon the mountains, and here and there descended below the summit of the cliffs which bound the valley. The foliage too, though yet exhibiting its autumnal tints, had now lost in part that richness and profusion which belong to a less advanced time of the year, and the approach of winter shewed itself in all the features of the landscape. While our cavalcade was slowly proceeding down the defile, the Dervish who travelled with us, entertained the party by his vociferous Turkish songs, which, in various parts of the pass, were echoed back with singular distinctness from the opposing cliffs. The retrospective view of Tempe from its eastern extremity is
very

very striking, and scarcely less so the landscape in front, offering to the eye a sudden change from this contracted mountain scenery to a wide surface of plain, richly wooded, luxuriant in its cultivation, and terminated in front by the sea of the Archipelago, upon which we now looked for the first time. Had

the weather been clear, the peninsula of Mount Athos might have been seen from this point; but at this time we could not even discern the district of the ancient Pallene, which lay immediately opposite to us, forming the eastern boundary of the gulph of Salonica."

[IDENTITY OF THE AMAZONS OF ANCIENT, AND THE CIRCASSIANS OF MODERN TIMES.]

[From Mr. Shoberl's Translation of M. Von Klaproth's
Travels in the Caucasus.]

"AS the tradition respecting the Amazons is still preserved in the Caucasus, I shall here quote for the purpose of comparison the accounts of these warlike females given by the ancients, and Herodotus in particular.—When the Greeks, says the father of history, had fought against the Amazons, whom the Scythians call *Ayor-Pata*, which name is rendered by the Greeks in their language *Androchtones*, (menkillers,) for *Ayor* in Scythian signifies a man, and *Pata* to kill—when, I say, they had engaged and defeated these people on the banks of the *Thermodon*, it is related that they carried away with them in three ships all such as they had made prisoners. When they had got out to sea, they rose upon their conquerors and cut them all in pieces; but ignorant of navigation and unskilled in the use of the helm, the sails and the oars, they suffered the ships, after they had killed the men to drive at the will of the winds and

waves, and landed at *Kremnes* on the *Mæotian* sea. *Kremnes* was situated in the country of the independent Scythians. The Amazons, having here quitted their ships and penetrated into the inhabited districts, seized the first herd of horses which they met with in their way, mounted them, and plundered the country of the Scythians. The latter could not conceive who were these enemies with whose language and dress they were unacquainted. They knew not of course to what nation they belonged, and in their surprise were totally at a loss to imagine whence they came. They took them at first for young men of the same age, and came to an engagement with them, after which they discovered from the slain that the intruders were women. They resolved in a council held on the subject to kill no more of them, but sent a body of their youngest men, equal in number as nearly as they could guess to these female warriors, with directions to pitch their

their camp close to that of the Amazons, and to do whatever they saw them do; not to fight them, even in case they should be attacked, but to approach nearer to them when they desisted from hostilities. The Scythians took this resolution, because they wished to have children by those martial females.

"The young men obeyed these orders; and the Amazons finding that they had not come to do them any injury, left them unmolested, and the two camps kept daily approaching nearer to one another. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and subsisted like them by the chase and what booty they were able to make. About noon the Amazons quitted their camp singly or in pairs. The Scythians observing this did the same, and one of their number approached a solitary Amazon, who neither repulsed him nor withheld her favours. As she could not speak to him, because neither of them understood the other, she intimated to him by signs to meet her at the same place the following day with one of his comrades, and she would also bring a companion along with her. The young man, on his return to the camp, related the adventure, and returned the next day with another Scythian to the same spot, where he found the Amazon waiting for him with her companion.

"The other young men hearing of this circumstance, in like manner tamed the other Amazons, and, having united both camps, dwelt together with them, and each took to wife her whose favours he had first enjoyed. The young people could not learn the language of the Amazons, but these soon acquired

that of their husbands; and when they began to understand one another, the Scythians thus addressed them: 'We have parents and possessions, and should like to lead a different kind of life. Let us rejoin our countrymen and live with them; but we promise not to take any other wives than you.'—The Amazons replied:—'We cannot live in community with the women of your country, because their customs are totally different from ours: we bend the bow, we throw the javelin, we ride on horseback, and have not learned any of the manual employments of our sex. Your women do none of these things, but are engaged only in female avocations. They never leave their carriages, nor go out a-hunting. We should therefore not agree at all together. But if you will keep your promise and have us for wives, go to your parents, demand your portion of their property, and then return, and let us continue to live apart.'

"The young Scythians, convinced of the truth of these representations, complied with the desire of their wives, and, when they had received their share of the patrimony, went back to them. The Amazons then said to them: 'after separating you from your fathers and doing so much mischief to your country, we should be afraid to fix our residence here. As therefore you have taken us for your wives, let us remove from this place and dwell on the other side of the Tanais.' The young Scythians agreed to this proposal: they crossed the Tanais; and having proceeded three days to the east, and as many towards the north from the Maëotis, they came to the country where they fixed their abode and which

they yet inhabit. Hence the wives of the Sarmatians still retain their ancient customs. They ride on horseback, and hunt sometimes alone and at others in the company of their husbands. They also attend the latter in war, and wear the same dress with the men.

"The Sauromatians use the Scythian language, but corrupted from the beginning, because the Amazons never learned to speak it correctly. In regard to their marriages, it is decreed that no virgin shall be permitted to take a husband till she has killed an enemy in the field: but there are among them some who are unable to qualify themselves as the law requires, and therefore continue unmarried as long as they live.

"To this narrative of Herodotus I shall subjoin some other accounts of the ancients respecting the origin of the Amazons, who became the wives of the Scythians, and with them founded the nation of the Sauromatians or Sarmatians.—To the north of the Caucasus dwelt in the remotest times the nation of the Mæotians, from which according to Skymnos of Chio the Sarmatians were descended. A colony of the same people went under Ilinus and Skolopitus to Asia Minor, settled on the coast of Cappadocia in the vicinity of the Thermodon, and inhabited the plains of Themiskire. There they for many years committed all sorts of depredations upon the neighbouring nations; till at length they united against these freebooters and cut them all in pieces. Their wives then flew to arms and defended themselves. They carried on the war for some time with success, but were at length conquered and dispersed by the

Greeks; and part of them fled beyond the sea, not into their own country, but to the westward of the Tanais into the country of the Scythians. They thence removed with their new husbands to the east side of that river, where they continued to reside under the name of Mæotians.

"There is a tribe of Scythians, says Hippocrates, inhabiting the coasts of the Palus Mæotis, who differ widely from the other tribes and are called Sauromatians. Their women ride, use the bow on horseback, and whilst unmarried go out to battle against the enemy: neither is it lawful for them to cease to be virgins till they have killed three of their foes. Their husbands before they marry fulfil the sacred duties which the customs of their country impose on them. Such of them as marry are not obliged to mount on horseback and to attend expeditions, unless necessity requires all without distinction to fly to arms. They want the right breast, for when they are very young their mothers burn it by the application of a hot brazen instrument expressly adapted to the purpose. This precaution augments the strength of the right shoulder and the right arm.

Skylax of Cariandria gives in his Periplus the following account of the Sauromatians:—Beyond the Tanais is the commencement of Asia, and the first nation you come to there on the sea-coast is that of the Sauromatians. The Gynaïko-Kratumenoi (that is, people ruled by women) are a tribe of the Sauromatians. The Mæotians border on the Gynaïko-Kratumenoi. The Sintians come next to the Mæotians, and extend beyond the Palus:
among

among them are the following Greek towns—Phanagori, Kepi, the port of Ssind and Patha.

“No writer is so explicit on the subject of the identity of the Sauromatians with the husbands of the Amazons, as Skymnos of Chio, who says:—The *Palus Mæotis* received its name from the nation of the Mæotians, next to the Sauromatians come the Mæotians, and then the Jaxamates. Demetrius observes that they gave their name to the *Palus Mæotis*; and Ephorus says that they were the same as the Sauromatians. It is conjectured that after the battle on the *Thermodon* the Amazons incorporated themselves with these Sauromatians, and that the latter hence received the name of *Gynaïko-Kratumenoï*, or people ruled by women.

“Strabo’s account is as follows:—It is said that the Amazons formerly dwelt on the mountains beyond Albania. Theophanes, who accompanied Pompey in his expedition to Albania, at least asserts that the Albanians were separated by the Amazons from the Scythian tribes of the *Legi* and *Geli*, and that the river *Mermadalis* formed the boundary between those two tribes. But Skassius, Metrodorus, Hipsicrates and others who were well acquainted with the country, asserted that the Amazons were neighbours of the *Gargaræans*, who inhabit the northern foot of the *Keraunian* mountains.

“These two opinions mentioned by Strabo come after all to the same point; for the *Legi* are the modern *Lesgians*, and the *Geli* the *Ingushian* tribe *Galgai*, and the *Keraunian* mountains are the northern ranges of the *Caucasus* as far as the *Besch-tau*. It is obvious then that the Amazons and their hus-

bands must have resided in the *Kabardah* and the steppe of the *Kuma*, and have been separated by the *Terek* (*Mermadalis*) from the *Lesgian* and *Kistian* tribes. As they were Sauromatians from whom in all probability are descended the *Ossetes*, who likewise formerly resided further northward and are the *Alanes* of the middle ages, it plainly appears that the Amazons, Mæotians, Sauromatians, *Alanes* and *Ossetes* belonged to one and the same race of the descendants of *Japhet*, as I shall endeavour to render still more evident in the next volume.

“It is impossible, I admit, that the Amazons could have existed long as a nation; but their history as related by Herodotus has nothing incredible. Several parallel cases are upon record. Thus it was found that among the *Caribs* the men spoke one language and the women another. According to the oral traditions of that nation, the men are descended from the *Galibes* on the continent, who were neighbours and enemies of the *Alonages*, and who, having exterminated another tribe resident in the islands, afterwards intermarried with their women. A similar difference between the language of the men and women still exists among some of the nations of northern Asia and America. In the latter also the women formerly accompanied their husbands to war. This custom is still retained by many of the *Caucasians*. Thus, for instance, Father *Lamberti* tells us, in his relation de la *Mingrêlie*, that while he resided in that country the prince of it received a letter, informing him that a nation issuing from the *Caucasian* mountains had divided into three bodies, the strongest of which had attacked the country of the *Moscovites*,
while

while the two others had fallen upon the settlements of the Ssuanes, Karatschioli and other tribes of the Caucasus; but that they had been repulsed, and many women found among their dead. The armour of these Amazons, which was very elegant and adorned after the female fashion, was even brought to the Dadian. It consisted of helmets, cuirasses and cuisses, composed of numerous small iron plates laid over one another. Those of the cuirasses and cuisses were so contrived as not to impede the motions of the body. To the cuirass was attached a female garment which reached to the waist, and was made of a woollen stuff of so beautiful a red that it might have been taken for scarlet. Their half boots were decorated with spangles not of gold but of brass, with a hole in the middle by which they were strung upon cords of goats' hair very strongly and curiously plaited. Their arrows were four spans in length, gilt, and armed with a piece of the finest steel, which did not terminate in a sharp point, but was three or four lines broad at the end, like the edge of a pair of scissars. Such were all the particulars that he could learn respecting these Amazons, who according to the report of the natives were engaged in frequent wars with the Calmucks. The prince Dadian promised the Ssuanes and Karatschioli great rewards if they could bring him one of these females alive.

"Reineggs was the first who discovered the story of the Amazons among the Tscherkessians in the Caucasus. "The old people among the Tscherkessians," says he, "relate a fabulous story of their migration, from which I shall draw a particular inference and submit it

to the judgment of my readers.—When our ancestors, say they, still inhabited the shores of the Black Sea, they had frequent wars with the Emmetsch. These were women who inhabit the mountainous region at present belonging to the Tscherkessians and Soanes, and likewise possessed the whole plain to Aghlo-Ckaback. They received no men among them, but, full of military ardour, associated with themselves every female who was desirous to take part in their excursions, and to be admitted into this community of heroines. At last, after long wars carried on with various success, both armies within sight of one another were on the point of commencing a decisive engagement, when all at once the leader of the Emmetsch, who had the reputation of an extraordinary prophetess, requested an interview with Thulme, the commander of the Tscherkessians, who also possessed a spirit of prophecy. A tent was immediately pitched between both armies, and thither the prophet and prophetess repaired. After an interval of some hours the former came out and assured her female army, that convinced by the stronger arguments of Thulme she had yielded to them, and adopted them instead of their own; that she had therefore chosen the prophet for her husband, but upon condition that all hostilities should cease, and both armies follow the example of their leaders. This was agreed to. The women immediately desisted from military operations, kept the Tscherkessians with them as their husbands; and the latter, content with their wives, dispersed over the country which they now inhabit."

"All my endeavours to verify this

this tradition among the Tscherkessians proved unsuccessful. In this respect Count John Potocki was more fortunate, as he met with it among the bards of the Tscherkessians, only with this difference, that the Emmetsch are said to have been at war with the Nogays, whose prince was named Tul. That this is the Thulme of Reinegg cannot be doubted; and thus his Tscherkessians are transformed into Tartars.

“What Herodotus relates concerning the Amazons is so far from improbable, that I shall even venture to explain the Scythian appellation of Ayor-Pata (men-murderers) assigned by him to them. Several historical writers have attempted to derive this term from the Tartar Turkish; but none of them could proceed any further than *er*, which in that dialect signifies *man*. On the other hand they were obliged to consider *Pata*, to kill, as an onomatopœia. Even though that word cannot be perfectly explained from these languages, yet it is remarkable that in the Armenian tongue, which was formerly far more widely extended than at present, *Air* signifies a man, and *Sboan* or *Sbanogh*, a murderer, forming in one compound word Ariousban or Ariousbanogh, men-murderers. I shall not offer this derivation as any thing else than what it really is, an hypothesis: but it is not absolutely improbable that Herodotus received his account

of the Sauromatians from the lips of an Armenian, and that he mistook the only barbarous term which occurs in this narrative for Scythian.

“The name of Thermodon itself might possibly have originated with the Amazons; for I have already observed that in the Sarmatian language, as likewise among the modern Ossetes, who belong to that race, *Don* signifies water and river, in which acceptation it may have formed part of the word Thermodon. Thus we find among the Ossetes the following names for rivers: Arredon, Ursdon, Fainagidon, Dugordon, Iskati-Komidon, &c.

“Schober also informs us in his *Memorabilia Russico-Asiatica*, that in Daghestan he heard the story of the Amazons; which however seems to be fabulous. ‘Here,’ says he, ‘besides other tribes, formerly dwelt the intrepid Amazons. To be sure no traces of them are now to be met with; but the Armenian and Tartar traders relate that they have met with relics of these people on certain mountains in Great Tartary, and that they still bear the name of Emazuhn. It is said that they yet hold the men in complete subjection, keeping them merely for the meanest domestic services, and as bed-fellows. They are no longer addicted to military pursuits, but are passionately fond of the chase.’”

[COMPARISON OF RHYME AND BLANK VERSE.]

[From Mr. ELTON's Specimens of the Classic Poets.]

"I HAVE seen no arguments sufficiently powerful to convince me of the unfitness of blank measure to represent the language and the sentiments of the poets of Greece and Rome. The Johnsonism, which still to a great extent pervades the regions of literature and criticism, would fain persuade us that the public voice has peremptorily expressed itself in favour of rhyme to the exclusion of blank verse. That it requires a more intimate knowledge of the theory of metre, to perceive and relish the complicated melody of unrhymed versification, may be admitted: and it is therefore natural that the greater number of readers should be more quickly struck, and in consequence more readily pleased, with the obvious music of uniform rhymes. But there are still a considerable number of the public, who read Milton, and Akenside, and Young, and Thomson, and Cowper; who are not offended by their metre, and who probably would find it difficult to understand why that metre should lose its properties of conveying poetical pleasure, when applied to clothe the diction and the thoughts of Homer and of Lucan.

"The prejudiced notion, which has been embraced by Mickle in the preface to his translation of the *Lusiad* of Camoëns, and by sir William Jones in his "*Design of an Epic Poem*," that blank verse requires obsolete and foreign idioms,

inversions, and swelling epithets to distinguish it as poetry, if it be countenanced by the erroneous practice of some few poets, is refuted by the example of the best blank versifiers: by Milton in his most pathetic passages; by Akenside, in his "*Pleasures of Imagination*," and his "*Inscriptions*;" and by Armstrong, in the most elegant didactic poem which, perhaps, was ever written. Yet has Dr. Johnson dogmatically pronounced, in his "*Life of Somerville*," that "if blank verse be not tumid and gorgeous, it is crippled prose."

"Why the arranging of language into regular cadences of feet and reciprocations of pause should be said to cripple it, is not very easy to say. That it is measured prose may be said of blank verse, and may be said of all verse whatever. When we call verse prosaic, we imply that it assimilates with bald, or trite, or familiar prose: as where Cowper, in his *Homer*, says of a dying warrior, that he thumped the ground with his heels; for to affirm, generally, of the diction of verse, that it is prose, is to state that the language of verse is language. Poetry, indeed, like other sciences, has its peculiar modes of expression; but the general body of language must be the same in poetry and prose: the distinction is the metrical form. The objection should have been, not that blank verse resembled prose, but that it was not distinguishable

distinguishable as metre. Now the common accident of a prose sentence running into decasyllabic measure, and striking discordantly on the ear, is a proof that the syllabic division of heroic verses without rhyme makes itself sufficiently felt: without insisting on the floating pause; which, if it be acknowledged as a source of true poetic harmony in the metre of the ancients, must equally be so acknowledged in English blank rhythm: of which it forms the marked characteristic.

"Let the assertion of Dr. Johnson be tried by the test of Milton. The speeches in "*Paradise Lost*," which express the despair of Adam and the contrition of Eve, are acknowledged to rank among the finest passages of that noble poem. They have pathos: they breathe the language of the heart; but they have neither tumour, nor glitter; neither obsolete idiom, nor transposition, nor gorgeous metaphor, nor stilted epithet: the words are scarcely removed from common life: but they are so disposed as that the pauses fall with a perfect echo to the sense: with such a faithful correspondence to the various turns of passion, and such a resemblance to the broken exclamation of uncontrollable sorrow, as no possible arrangement of prose could be made to produce: while the affecting naturalness of expression would be marred and sophisticated by the palpable artifice of rhyme.

"This Miltonic harmony displays the power of metrical arrangement independent of rhyme. They, who criticise blank verse as requiring helps to prevent it from lapsing into prose, or losing its distinction of measure, are not aware of the power of simple metrical divisions

and uncertain pauses. They look at blank-metre with an eye confined to the simple and unconnected lines; and fail to perceive that it is not in single lines, but in a sweep of concatenated periods, that the harmony of blank versification consists.

"The late Mr. Pye, whose judgment and taste, as well as learning, are sufficiently evinced in his translation of "*Aristotle's Poetics*, with illustrations from the *Modern Drama*," had, like Mickle, an ear habitually tuned to the mechanical music of couplet rhymes. In considering these different forms of verse, as appropriate to translation, he has dexterously turned the encroachment of one verse upon another against the advocates of blank measure, as a vehicle for the ancient hexameter; and has contended that the full close of the Grecian hexameter is more accurately represented by the rounding rhyme of couplet verse. The argument is specious, but it is fallacious in its general application. It is applicable only to single verses. Whoever recites a page of Homer, or Virgil, must be sensible that he is not detained by the closing adonic; that he is carried by the sense from line to line; that the break, or pause, continually arrests him at uncertain feet of the second verse; and that the second verse flows into the third. In blank measure therefore, although the single verses be not so strongly defined as in the ancient hexameter and the rhymed heroic couplet, the connected succession of verses more closely corresponds with that in the Greek and Latin hexameters, than the succession of verses in couplets, which have not this continuity of sense; but stand, severally, complete

plete in themselves, without a necessary dependence on those which follow.

"It was indeed maintained by Mickle, that the breaks in the sense, and the rolling pause from line to line, could be attained with equal facility by rhymed metre: and if this were so, the advocates of rhyme would have a clear superiority in the argument; as rhymed measures, allowing for the substitution of emphasis for quantity, would then form a very exact counterpart of the ancient versification; and would resemble it both in its singleness, and in its connexion; in the particular harmony of the lines, and the general melody of the sentences. But Mickle himself did not attempt to realize his own theory; and, after jealously asserting the liberty of rhymed numbers, was content to drag the burnished chain of his brethren of the couplet song.

"Successive experiment has in fact proved that, whatever may be said of the superior sensibility to harmony in the elder English poets, the moderns are right. It was the refinement of an improved ear that led Denham, and, still more, Dryden, to compress the straggling couplet of the early rhymers. If we look at the old translation of Lucan by May, though there may be occasional instances of verses intermixed with good effect, we shall find that the general result is a jangled and interrupted melody; and it is evident that the more compact version of Rowe conveys to the ear more of the pomp and vigour of the original numbers. In these free or broken couplets, the eye stops at the rhyme, while the sense requires it to pass on: the rhyme is felt as an impediment; and the verses

have not the smooth easy flow of ancient metre, or of pure blank verse. The public ear has been repeatedly lured back to the halting rhythm of our old rhymers; but it has always listened with renewed pleasure to that poet, who with a Campbell, a Crabbe, or a Montgomery, shall have caught the tone of "The Deserted Village," or "The Essay on Man."

"In objecting to the general fitness of blank verse, that it is of the same character as the ancient Iambic, and, like that, is adapted only to the drama, Mr. Pye has suffered it to escape his attention, that of blank verse there are two species; and that his remark is just only as it applies to one. The Epic and Dramatic measure have little more in common than the absence of rhyme: the one breaking its harmony into periods, with an almost lyrical freedom, yet with the visible method of science; the other less studious of arrangement; more even in its structure; and often admitting a syllabic redundancy at the close of the line. Of this difference the reader will be sensible, if the experiment be made of reading aloud in succession a scene of Fletcher or Massinger, with an equal portion of the *Paradise Lost* or *Regained*.

"The same difference of rhythmical style will appear in a comparison of some of the more exalted passages in Akenside's philosophical poem, with some of the conversation pieces and domestic pictures of Cowper; and it is this flexibility of blank verse, which is either stately or familiar, as the involutions of its rhythm are simple or complex, that excellently adapts it to translation. If the flowing numerousness of its more scientific arrangement

arrangement enable it, by a similar succession of harmonical pauses, to reflect the varied and prolonged melody of Homeric verse, its looser form corresponds very happily with subjects of moral reasoning, such as are discussed, with a careless freedom of manner, in the Horatian epistles.

"To the merits of rhyme I am not insensible. In didactic verse, when science is to be familiarized, or recondite philosophy unfolded and illustrated, the writer, who discards rhyme, will forego the valuable advantage of condensing and illuminating his matter, by that concise, perspicuous, and antithetic arrangement of language, which is favourable to the deductions of

argument. The terse emphatical character of rhymed measure; the point of its close, and the uniformity of its structure, adapt it to round a period of sententious morality with impressive effect; to place words and sentiments in that contrast of opposition, which consists with turns of wit, and strokes of Satire; and to dress up a thought with neatness in short effusions of the elegiac or epigrammatic kind. The minute elegance of rhyme is also in unison with whatever is delicately refined, elaborately polished, or effeminately tender. The patriot may breathe the ardour of liberty in blank verse; but the lover must sigh in rhyme."

ON TRANSLATION.

[From the same.]

"**M**UCH as has been written on the subject of translation, I know not, even yet, that its true principles have been accurately defined; or that the line has been drawn, with sufficient rigour and exactness, between verbal metaphor and paraphrastic licence. Some critics, even in the present day, appear to think that a translator has only to render the letter of his author, without adding or omitting; while others allow the latitude, not merely of consulting the genius of a modern language by synonymous or circuitous expressions, but of running a sort of rivalry with the original: improving the author where he is judged sus-

ceptible of improvement, and modifying his faults, and supplying his deficiencies; where he is judged faulty or deficient. On this subject I shall offer some remarks: both that the reader may be in possession of the principles by which I have endeavoured to regulate my own practice, and that he may be enabled to judge, for himself, whether these principles be, or be not, founded on reason.

"In Denham's preface to his "*Destruction of Troy*," or "*An Essay upon the Second Book of Virgil's Æneid*," is the following paragraph: "I conceive it to be a vulgar error in translating poets, to affect being *fidus interpres*. Det

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that care be with them who deal in matters of fact, or matters of faith, but whosoever aims at it in poetry, as he attempts at what is not required, so shall he never perform what he attempts: for it is not his business alone to translate language into language, but poesie into poesie; and poesie is of so subtle a spirit, that, in pouring out of one language into another, it will all evaporate; and, if a new spirit be not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a caput mortuum: there being certain graces and happinesses peculiar to every language, which give life and energy to the words."

"This, in the general statement, is true; but there is something vague and metaphysical in the idea of poesy abstracted from language: the one is often inherent in the other; and if you transfuse the language, you transfuse the poesy. This indefinite notion of "a new spirit" has, as might have been expected, led to unwarrantable liberties in translation. The true principle, on which a certain discretionary power is vested in a translator, has been overlooked. This principle recognizes the necessity of sustaining the spirit of an author, but by no means presupposes the licence of surpassing it. The freedom, that dilates an author's text for the purpose of opening his meaning, placing his sentiments in a full and clear light, and drawing out his images, consists properly with translation: all beyond this is mere imitation. Taste is a capricious and variable standard: the fit standard of a translator is fidelity. The maxim of Roscommon in his "Essay on translated Verse,"

Your author always will the best advise;
Fall where he lies, and, where he rises, rise,

although controverted by lord Woodhouselee, in his elegant "Essay on the Principles of Translation," must be admitted to rest on the foundation of common sense: unless, in speaking of translation, we change its nature, and retain only its name.

"Much of the notion, that to please is a translator's first object, has arisen from that superciliousness with which men of classical erudition are accustomed to look down on those whom they consider as unlearned. It is however a mistake, that the readers of translations read for amusement only: or that Homer and Juvenal and Sallust are inspected only by unlettered persons. Translations are most in request with persons of cultivated understandings: with literary women, and with men of active inquiring minds, and an appetite for letters; but whose occupations in busy professional life have precluded them from the advantage of studying the classics in the original languages. Such persons do not read merely to amuse their fancy; they read for the purpose of placing themselves on a level, in point of literary taste and information, with finished scholars. To these persons a faithful version of a classic possesses a value, wholly independent of the gratification arising from elegant language, or polished sentiment; and, with respect to them, the translator who improves his author, improves, not to delight, but to mislead.

"The author of the "Essay" has laid down an incontrovertible position, that "the style and manner of writing should be of the same

same character with that of the original:" but, in limiting this by a second, that "the translation should have all the ease of original composition," he has allowed the latter to encroach upon the former; and, in several of his illustrations, both in poetry and prose, has palliated, and even commended, a total departure from the principles of his first rule: so that the prominent characteristics of an author's style are given up without an effort to retain them, on the assumed impossibility of transferring them into a modern language, and on the loose and hazardous grounds of rendering the original pleasing.

"The poetical examples for these observations are chiefly selected from Pope. The English Homer undoubtedly, considered as a poem, with reference to the lucid vigour of the numbers and the vehemence of the passion, must be regarded not only as a decisive proof that the writer possessed the genius of a poet, but as a magnificent and durable monument of the national poetry itself. If, however, the implied contract between the translator and the reader be not imaginary, that a faithful transcript shall be given of the matter and manner of the original, no model more unsafe can well be proposed for the study of a translator than the version of Pope. But the author of the "Essay," so far from pointing out, as worthy of emulation, passages in which the translator of Homer "worships the prints of his steps," for such may occasionally be found, has chosen to challenge admiration for those precise instances in which he deserts his leader. The interests of literature surely require that against this enforcement of a splendid fault as an imitable virtue,

some stand, however feeble, should be made.

"The Essayist remarks that "Homer has been judged by the best critics to fall, at times, beneath himself; and to offend by introducing low images and puerile allusions." Homer certainly did not belong to that artificial school of poetry, which requires one varnished glare of indiscriminate polish, and rejects what is natural on the pretence that it is low. He was of the same school with Shakspeare. But if the validity of this censurè be allowed, in as far as these defects, to use the language of the Essay, "are veiled over, or altogether removed" by Pope, in so far has he departed from his implied pledge, as a translator of Homer. On this subject also there will probably arise a difference of opinion as to the nature and degree of the attempted improvement. The author of the Essay commends Pope for the rejection of a particular circumstance, which is supposed to offend good taste, in the simile of a mountain mist, at the beginning of the third book of the Iliad: "When a man, looking straight before him, can see no further than one might cast a stone." This circumstance, so appropriate to rustic life, so distinct, and so true to nature, is to be discarded as mean; and in place of this measurement of the intensity of the fog, we have a general confusedness of vapour, without the hollow interval of prospect:

While scarce the swains their feeding flocks survey,
Lost and confused amidst the thicken'd day,

"The latter may possibly be in better taste; but the one is evidently painted by an observer of natural phenomena, who had watched the

the effect of a shift among the mountains: the other might have been described by a man who had seen no more of country scenery than the mall in St. James's Park: and when all has been said, the one is of Pope, the other of Homer.

"Of the moonlight scene, in the

eighth book, the Essayist remarks, "how nobly is the picture raised and improved by Mr. Pope!" Of this elevation and improvement the reader will be enabled to judge for himself by comparing with the paraphrase of Pope a more faithful version.

As when, around the clear, bright moon, the stars
Shine in full splendour, and the winds are hush'd;
The groves, the mountain tops, the headland heights
Stand all apparent: not a vapour streaks
The boundless blue; but ether, open'd wide,
All glitters, and the shepherd's heart is cheer'd. COWPER.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light:
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene:
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole:
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
And tip with silver every mountain's head:
Then shine the vales: the rocks in prospect rise:
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies:
The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light. POPE.

"Of this passage, when it has been conceded that the cadence is harmonious, and that the fourth couplet is picturesque, what is there left that can challenge praise? In the first line we are informed, that the moon is the "refulgent lamp of night: sacred, in the second, is a cold make-weight epithet, and adds no sensible image: the solemn scene is general, when all should be local and particular: the simple reality of moonlight is impaired by the metaphor and personification in the words "around her throne:" A flood of glory not only verges on bombast, but conveys nothing distinct: we receive no clear impression of the boundless firmament

opening on the vision by the breaking of the mist overhead; nor of the multitude of twinkling stars that are taken in at once by the scope of sight: and the mountain shepherd, looking up at the moon from among his flocks, with a sudden sensation of cheeriness in his solitude, is displaced by a vulgar company of swains, eyeing the blue vault, and blessing the light, because it is useful: and it is thus that Homer is raised and improved!

"Roscommon has said, perhaps without sufficient regard to the conciseness and precision of the French language,

The sterling bullock of one English line,
Drawn to French wire, would through whole pages shine.

The figure may with more justice be applied to our translators, if an author's characteristic peculiarities are thus to be melted down in the crucible of modern taste: and the varied and prominent originality of the classic agents will in vain be sought in the languid or verbose generalities of what is called free imitation. Such writers please themselves with their own facility, and

forget that, if to combine closeness with a luminous force be a task of arduous attainment, it is not by escaping from it that they can lay a claim to the honours of industry or genius. "Si vous ôtez la difficulté," said Voltaire, speaking erroneously with respect to the metre of Shakspeare, but justly on the general principle, "Si vous ôtez la difficulté vous ôtez le mérite."

ON EPITAPHS.

[From Mr. WORDSWORTH'S Excursion.]

"**A**S soon as nations had learned the use of letters, Epitaphs were inscribed upon monuments; in order that their intention might be more surely and adequately fulfilled. I have derived monuments and epitaphs from two sources of feeling: but these do in fact resolve themselves into one. The invention of epitaphs, Weever, in his discourse of funeral monuments, says rightly, "proceeded from the pre-sage or fore-feeling of immortality, implanted in all men naturally, and is referred to the scholars of Linus the Theban poet, who flourished about the year of the world two thousand seven hundred; who first bewailed this Linus their master, when he was slain, in doleful verses then called of him *Oelina*, afterwards *Epitaphia*, for that they were first sung at burials, after engraved upon the sepulchres."

"And, verily, without the consciousness of a principle of immortality in the human soul, man could never have had awakened in him the desire to live in the remembrance of his fellows; mere love, or the yearning of kind towards kind, could not have produced it. The dog or horse perishes in the field, or in the stall, by the side of his companions, and is incapable of anticipating the sorrow with which his surrounding associates shall bemoan his death, or pine for his loss; he cannot pre-conceive his regret, he can form no thought of it; and therefore cannot possibly have a desire to leave such regret or remembrance behind him. Add to the principle of love, which exists in the inferior animals, the faculty of reason which exists in man alone; will the conjunction of these account for the desire? Doubtless it is

is a necessary consequence of this conjunction: yet not I think as a direct result, but only to be come at through an intermediate thought, viz. that of an intimation or assurance within us, that some part of our nature is imperishable. At least the precedence, in order of birth, of one feeling to the other, is unquestionable. If we look back upon the days of childhood, we shall find that the time is not in remembrance when, with respect to our own individual being, the mind was without this assurance; whereas, the wish to be remembered by our friends or kindred after death, or even in absence, is, as we shall discover, a sensation that does not form itself till the social feelings have been developed, and the reason has connected itself with a wide range of objects. Forlorn, and cut off from communication with the best part of his nature, must that man be, who should derive the sense of immortality, as it exists in the mind of a child, from the same unthinking gaiety or liveliness of animal spirits with which the lamb in the meadow, or any other irrational creature, is endowed; who should ascribe it, in short, to blank ignorance in the child; to an inability arising from the imperfect state of his faculties to come, in any point of his being, into contact with a notion of death; or to an unreflecting acquiescence in what had been instilled into him! Has such an unfold of the mysteries of nature, though he may have forgotten his former self, ever noticed the early, obstinate, and unappeaseable inquisitiveness of children upon the subject of origination? This single fact proves outwardly the monstrousness of those suppositions: for, if we had

no direct external testimony that the minds of very young children meditate feelingly upon death and immortality, these inquiries, which we all know they are perpetually making concerning the whence, do necessarily include correspondent habits of interrogation concerning the whither. Origin and tendency are notions inseparably co-relative. Never did a child stand by the side of a running stream, pondering within himself what power was the feeder of the perpetual current, from what never-wearied sources the body of water was supplied, but he must have been inevitably propelled to follow this question by another: "towards what abyss is it in progress? what receptacle can contain the mighty influx?" And the spirit of the answer must have been, though the word might be Sea or Ocean, accompanied perhaps with an image gathered from a map, or from the real object in nature—these might have been the letter, but the spirit of the answer must have been as inevitably,—a receptacle without bounds or dimensions;—nothing less than infinity. We may, then, be justified in asserting that the sense of immortality, if not a co-existent and twin birth with reason, is among the earliest of her offspring: and we may further assert, that from these conjoined, and under their countenance, the human affections are gradually formed and opened out. This is not the place to enter into the recesses of these investigations; but the subject requires me here to make a plain avowal that, for my own part, it is to me inconceivable, that the sympathies of love towards each other, which grow with our strength, could ever attain any new strength, or even preserve

preserve the old, after we had received from the outward senses the impression of death, and were in the habit of having that impression daily renewed and its accompanying feeling brought home to ourselves, and to those we love; if the same were not counteracted by those communications with our internal being, which are anterior to all these experiences, and with which revelation coincides, and has through that coincidence alone (for otherwise it could not possess it) a power to affect us. I confess, with me the conviction is absolute, that, if the impression and sense of death were not thus counterbalanced, such a hollowness would pervade the whole system of things, such a want of correspondence and consistency, a disproportion so astounding betwixt means and ends, that there could be no repose, no joy. Were we to grow up unfostered by this genial warmth, a frost would chill the spirit, so penetrating and powerful, that there could be no motions of the life of love; and infinitely less could we have any wish to be remembered after we had passed away from a world in which each man had moved about like a shadow.—If, then, in a creature endowed with the faculties of foresight and reason, the social affections could not have unfolded themselves uncountenanced by the faith that man is an immortal being; and if, consequently, neither could the individual dying have had a desire to survive in the remembrance of his fellows, nor on their side could they have felt a wish to preserve for future times vestiges of the departed; it follows, as a final inference, that without the belief in immortality, wherein these several desires originate, neither monu-

ments nor epitaphs, in affectionate or laudatory commemoration of the deceased, could have existed in the world.

“Simonides, it is related, upon landing in a strange country, found the corse of an unknown person, lying by the sea-side; he buried it, and was honoured throughout Greece for the piety of that act: Another ancient philosopher, chancing to fix his eyes upon a dead body, regarded the same with slight, if not with contempt; saying, “see the shell of the flown bird!” But it is not to be supposed that the moral and tender-hearted Simonides was incapable of the lofty movements of thought, to which that other sage gave way at the moment while his soul was intent only upon the indestructible being; nor, on the other hand, that he, in whose sight a lifeless human body was of no more value than the worthless shell from which the living fowl had departed, would not, in a different mood of mind, have been affected by those earthly considerations which had incited the philosophic poet to the performance of that pious duty. And with regard to this latter, we may be assured that, if he had been destitute of the capability of communing with the more exalted thoughts that appertain to human nature, he would have cared no more for the corse of the stranger than for the dead body of a seal or porpoise which might have been cast up by the waves. We respect the corporeal frame of man, not merely because it is the habitation of a rational, but of an immortal soul. Each of these sages was in sympathy with the best feelings of our nature; feelings which, though they seem opposite to each other, have another and a finer connection

nection than that of contrast.—It is a connection formed through the sable progress by which, both in this natural and the moral world, qualities pass insensibly into their contraries, and things revolve upon each other. As, in sailing upon the orb of this planet, a voyage, towards the regions where the sun sets, conducts gradually to the quarter where we have been accustomed to behold it come forth at its rising; and, in like manner, a voyage towards the east, the birth-place in our imagination of the morning, leads finally to the quarter where the sun is last seen when he departs from our eyes; so, the contemplative soul, travelling in the direction of mortality, advances to the country of everlasting life; and, in like manner, may she continue to explore those cheerful tracts, till she is brought back, for her advantage and benefit, to the land of transitory things—of sorrow and of tears.

“On a midway point, therefore, which commands the thoughts and feelings of the two sages whom we have represented in contrast, does the author of that species of composition, the laws of which it is our present purpose to explain, take his stand. Accordingly, recurring to the twofold desire of guarding the remains of the deceased and preserving their memory: it may be said, that a sepulchral monument is a tribute to a man as a human being: and that an epitaph, (in the ordinary meaning attached to the word) includes this general feeling and something more; and is a record to preserve the memory of the dead, as a tribute due to his individual worth, for a satisfaction to the sorrowing hearts of the survivors, and for the common benefit of the

living: which record is to be accomplished, not in a general manner, but, where it can, in close connection with the bodily remains of the deceased: and these, it may be added, among the modern nations of Europe are deposited within, or contiguous to their places of worship. In ancient times, as is well known, it was the custom to bury the dead beyond the walls of towns and cities; and among the Greeks and Romans they were frequently interred by the way-sides.

“I could here pause with pleasure, and invite the reader to indulge with me in contemplation of the advantages which must have attended such a practice. I could ruminate upon the beauty which the monuments, thus placed, must have borrowed from the surrounding images of nature—from the trees, the wild flowers, from a stream running perhaps within sight or hearing, from the beaten road stretching its weary length hard by. Many tender similitudes must these objects have presented to the mind of the traveller, leaning upon one of the tombs, or reposing in the coolness of its shade, whether he had halted from weariness or in compliance with the invitation, “Pause Traveller!” so often found upon the monuments. And to its epitaph also must have been supplied strong appeals to visible appearances or immediate impressions, lively and affecting analogies of life as a journey—death as a sleep overcoming the tired wayfarer—of misfortune as a storm that falls suddenly upon him—of beauty as a flower that passeth away, or of innocent pleasure as one that may be gathered—of virtue that standeth firm as a rock against the beating waves;—of hope “undermined insensibly like

like the poplar by the side of the river that has fed it," or blasted in a moment like a pine-tree by the stroke of lightning upon the mountain top—of admonitions and heart-stirring remembrances, like a refreshing breeze that comes without warning, or the taste of the waters of an unexpected fountain. These, and similar suggestions must have given, formerly, to the language of the senseless stone a voice enforced and endeared by the benignity of that nature, with which it was in unison.—We, in modern times, have lost much of these advantages: and they are but in a small degree counterbalanced to the inhabitants of large towns and cities, by the custom of depositing the dead within, or contiguous to, their places of worship; however splendid or imposing may be the appearances of those edifices, or however interesting or salutary the recollections associated with them. Even were it not true that the tombs lose their monitory virtue when thus obtruded upon the notice of men occupied with the cares of the world, and too often sullied and defiled by those

cares, yet still, when death is in our thoughts, nothing can make amends for the want of the soothing influences of nature, and for the absence of those types of renovation and decay, which the fields and woods offer to the notice of the serious and contemplative mind.

"A village church-yard, lying as it does in the lap of nature, may indeed be most favourably contrasted with that of a town of crowded population; and sepulture therein combines many of the best tendencies which belong to the mode practised by the ancients, with others peculiar to itself. The sensations of pious cheerfulness, which attend the celebration of the sabbath-day in rural places, are profitably chastised by the sight of the graves of kindred and friends, gathered together in that general home towards which the thoughtful yet happy spectators themselves are journeying. Hence a parish church, in the stillness of the country, is a visible centre of a community of the living and the dead; a point to which are habitually referred the nearest concerns of both."

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

ON AN EBBING AND FLOWING STREAM IN BRIDLINGTON HARBOUR.

[By Dr. STORER. From the Philosophical Transactions.]

“THE following account of certain peculiarities attending a spring of fresh water, which was tapped in boring within the harbour of Bridlington quay, Yorkshire, is given from repeated observations made during a residence of some weeks there, in the months of July and August, 1814. The harbour of Bridlington quay is dry at low water, except for a rivulet which traverses its bed: at high water, it has from fifteen to seventeen feet of water.

“Mr. Rennie, civil engineer, was consulted in the year 1811, respecting certain improvements projected in that harbour. At his desire, with a view to ascertain the depth of the stratum of clay in the harbour, the boring, which terminated in forming the well to be described, was begun under the direction of Mr. Milne, collector of the customs for the port. The spot fixed upon is opposite to the termination of a street leading to the harbour, and has about six feet of water, at high water, in ordinary tides.

“After the workmen had bored through twenty-eight feet of very solid clay, and afterwards through

fifteen feet of a cretaceous flinty gravel, of a very concrete texture, the auger was perceived to strike against the solid rock; but as they were not able to make any impression upon it, the work was given up for that tide, without any appearance of water from the first. In an hour or two afterwards, the bore was found filled to the top with fresh water, of the most limpid appearance: it soon flowed over, and was even projected some inches above the summit of the bore, in a stream equal to its calibre. When it was ascertained that the water was of the purest quality and taste, perfectly fit for washing, and every culinary purpose, the bore was properly secured by an elm stock, ten feet long, and perforated with a three inch auger, driven to its full length: a copper tube, well tinned on both sides, of a circumference to admit its being passed through the bore of elm stock, and thirty-two feet in length, was then forced to the bottom of the bore, so as to rest on the rock. The upper part being properly puddled round the elm stock, and the well thus completed, the following singular circumstances

circumstances were observed, and have continued with great uniformity ever since.

"As soon as the surface of the sea water in the harbour, during the flowing tide, has arrived at a level of forty-nine or fifty inches lower than the top of the bore, the water begins to flow from it, in a stream equal to its calibre, the impetus of which is increased as the tide advances, and may be observed to be propelled with much force after the bore is overflowed by the tide. The discharge continues from four to five hours, i. e. till the tide in returning falls to the same level where it began to flow: at this point, it ceases completely till the next flood shall have regained the same level, when the same phenomena recur, in the same succession; and without any variation, but what arises from the different degrees of elevation in the tides. The rule appears to be, that the column of spring water in the bore, is always supported at a height of forty-nine or fifty inches above the level of the tide, at any given time. This at least was the result of every observation I made during several successive weeks, in the months of July and August last; and I am assured by Mr. Milne, on whose ingenuity and habit of accurate observation I can place the firmest reliance, that his habitual experience, for three years past, goes to convince him, that the variations from the rule stated above, are very inconsiderable during the summer and autumnal months; but that in winter, after any unusual fall of rain, he has known the column of fresh water raised eight feet above the level of the tide, and the period of its discharge proportionally prolonged.

"For the use of the town and

shipping, a reservoir of brick-work, capable of containing one thousand gallons, has been constructed within two or three yards, and upon somewhat a higher level than the summit of the bore, and is made to communicate with it by a tube of the same diameter, fitted with a valve, to prevent any reflux into the well. Two waste pipes are placed within a foot of the top of the reservoir, for the regular discharge of the water, and it has also been made to communicate with a pump adjoining, by which the reservoir may be emptied; and as the bore of the well is now closed and secured at the top, it is obvious that the commencement of the flow of water, from the pipes of the reservoir, will happen a few minutes sooner or later at each tide, according to the quantity of water it contained at the time. Such, however, is the known regularity of the discharge from the waste pipes, that at the expected time of the tide several of the inhabitants are always on the spot with their vessels, and are rarely obliged to wait for more than five minutes.

"Such is the state of facts, and it appears to open a subject of curious investigation to those whose habits and practical knowledge qualify them for it. The appearances seem not to admit of any satisfactory explanation, without supposing some mode of subterranean communication, by which the water of the sea, and that of the spring in question, are brought into actual contact, so as to exert a reciprocal action. This supposition receives considerable support from a circumstance which I had no opportunity to observe, but which Mr. Milne has had frequent occasion to notice; and which he describes by remark-

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ing; that after stormy weather, when there is a heavy sea on that coast, the water is discharged, even from the waste pipes of the reservoir, with an evident undulation: which, of course, would be more considerable from the original bore.

"Mr. Milne has framed an hypothesis to satisfy his own mind on this curious subject. He believes the stratum of clay found in the harbour, to extend over the whole bay in front of it, as far as the Smithwick sand, which forms a bar across the opening of the bay, in a direction from Flamborough head towards the Spurn point, and about four miles from the quay in a south-easterly direction. This bank is supported by a reef of rock; and though there are openings, which are well known, and admit vessels of considerable burden at all times of the tide, there is in general but a small draft of water on this bank, when the tide is out. On the outward or east side, towards the ocean, the rock is quite perpendicular, and a great depth of water is immediately behind it. As the copious source of water, which has been tapped in the harbour, lies at such a depth, and under a stratum of clay, there is no reason to think that it can be discharged any where in the bay, till it arrives at the ledge of rock where the clay terminates. Here, among the fissures of the rock, it may find its exit; and this is the more likely, as it is known that the bed of the sea at the back of the Smithwick sand, is at so much a lower level.

"Admitting this supposition to be correct, or nearly so, it seems to follow, that the issue of a body of fresh water through a fissure in rock forming the bed of the sea,

would meet with more or less resistance at different times of the tide; because the two columns of fluid in meeting, would act upon one another in the ratio of the altitude of each, taking into the account the difference of their specific gravity; and thus, if there is any approach to an equilibrium, an operation would result, analogous to the flux and reflux of the tide, near the mouth of rivers.

"This hypothesis is specious, and accounts for the flux and reflux of the water from the bore, as well as for the singular undulation of the discharge in a boisterous state of the sea: but the greater relative altitude to which the column of spring water is elevated after much rain, and the consequent prolonged discharge of it during each tide, seems to militate against its correctness; since, in a case, where by the supposition a balance is nearly established, an additional impetus communicated to the column of spring water, ought to produce the opposite effect, by enabling it to overcome the resistance of the same column of sea water during a longer period of each tide, than under the usual circumstances.

"It is not improbable, that this whole subject might be elucidated, by a more perfect acquaintance with the peculiarities of the springs on this part of the coast, provincially termed gipsies. The water in this district of the east riding of Yorkshire, possesses that limpidness which is usual in cretaceous soils; but for many miles of the Wolds behind Bridlington, very little water is so be seen. There are few rivulets, and these are very low in the summer, and most of them quite dry in autumn. The account to be collected from

from the inhabitants is, that in two or three weeks after the commencement of frost, the springs begin to run copiously; and in many, the water is projected with such impe-

tuosity, as to resemble a jet d'eau; it is then that, in the language of the country, it is said, "the gipsies are up," and the rivulets overflow."

ON THE ACTION OF THE HEART AND ITS RELATION TO
THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.

[From the same.]

"TILL the time of Haller, it seems to have been the general opinion, that the muscles derive their power from the nervous system. He taught, that the power of the muscles depends on their mechanism, that the nervous influence is merely a stimulus which calls it into action, and consequently that those muscles, the heart for example, which act only by the application of one peculiar stimulus, unconnected with the nervous system, are wholly independent of it. This opinion seemed confirmed by its being generally admitted, that the action of the heart continues after it is removed from the body, and that it cannot be influenced by stimulating the brain, or spinal marrow, or the nerves which terminate in it. Haller and his followers maintain, that there are two distinct vital powers, one of the nervous and another of the sanguiferous system.

"The supporters of Haller's doctrine however, found many difficulties to contend with. The evident objections to it are, that the heart is influenced by affections of the mind, and that it is supplied with nerves. Various hypotheses have been framed to get rid of these ob-

jections, some of which imply a considerable modification of the original opinion. Several writers have maintained, that although the heart is independent of the brain and spinal marrow, it may be subject to some peculiar action of its own nerves; others, that the ganglia through which its nerves pass have a power independent of the sensorium commune. Fontana and others have maintained, that the nerves of the heart are absolutely useless; others, that these nerves are distributed on its vessels, and do not enter the substance of the heart. Scarpa, however, has proved, that nerves are distributed to the heart in the same way as to other similar parts. Nothing can show more strikingly the imperfection of our knowledge of this important branch of physiology, than that opinions so different, and so destitute of proof, should be maintained by the best writers upon it.

"An author has lately appeared, who, among other ingenious and important experiments, has made many relating to this subject, and arrived at conclusions which have surprised physiologists, yet apparently so well supported as to have
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obtained their general assent. M. le Gallois maintains, that by the destruction of the whole or cervical part of the spinal marrow, the action of the heart is immediately so debilitated, that it is no longer capable of supporting the circulation; while by the destruction of the brain, on the contrary, its action is unimpaired: from which he infers, that it is from the spinal marrow that the heart derives the principle of its life and of its motions. Those motions of the heart, says M. le Gallois, which remain after the destruction of the spinal marrow, or the interruption of the nervous influence upon the heart in any other way, and which misled Haller and his followers, are motions without force, incapable of supporting the circulation, and analogous to the motions of other irritable parts on the application of a stimulus, which in this case is the arterial blood contained in it.

"The experiments, on which these opinions are founded, he repeated in the presence of a Committee of the National Institute at Paris, which has expressed its conviction of their accuracy. Notwithstanding this high authority, I was led, from some experiments which I made many years ago, in which both the brain and spinal marrow were destroyed by the action of opium and tobacco, to doubt M. le Gallois' conclusions. The reader will judge how far the following experiments tend to invalidate these conclusions, and influence our opinions of the subject to which they relate.

"I cannot here omit to express my thanks to Mr. Hastings, house-surgeon to the Worcester Infirmary, who assisted me in the following experiments. His expertness in dis-

section was often of great use, where it was necessary to be expeditious, and to lose as little blood as possible.

"Exp. 1. A rabbit was deprived of sensation and voluntary power by a stroke on the occiput. When the rabbit is killed in this way, the respiration immediately ceases; but the action of the heart and the circulation continue, and may be supported for a considerable length of time by artificial respiration, as practised first, I believe, by Fontana, and since by Chirac, Mr. Brodie, M. le Gallois, and others. This mode of destroying the sensibility does not influence the result of the experiment, and has the double advantage of preventing the animal's sufferings, and his motions. Its greatest inconvenience is, that if the blow is very severe, considerable vessels are sometimes ruptured, and there is always some rupture of vessels, which of course tends to impair the vigour of the circulation.

"In the present experiment, the circulation was supported by artificial respiration. The spinal marrow was laid bare from the occiput to the beginning of the dorsal vertebræ. The chest was then opened, and the heart found beating regularly, and with considerable force. The spinal marrow, as far as it had been laid bare, was now wholly removed, but without in the least affecting the action of the heart. After this, the artificial respiration being frequently discontinued, we repeatedly saw the action of the heart become languid, and increase on renewing it. The skull was then opened, and the whole of the brain removed, so that no part of the nervous system remained above the dorsal vertebræ, but without any abatement

statement of the action of the heart, which still continued to be more or less powerful, according as we discontinued or renewed artificial respiration. This being for a considerable time discontinued, the ventricles ceased to beat about half an hour after the removal of the brain. On renewing the respiration, however, the action of the ventricles was restored. The respiration was again discontinued and renewed, with the same effects.

“Exp. 2. A rabbit was made insensible by removing part of the skull, and applying opium to the brain. The spine was then opened between the cervical and dorsal vertebræ. We then laid open the thorax, and supported the action of the heart by artificial respiration. The force with which it beat was carefully observed, and the spinal marrow destroyed by running a hot wire up and down the spine, through the opening made in it, by which the action of the heart was not at all affected.

“Exp. 3. In the foregoing experiments, it may be said, there was no direct proof of the continuance of the circulation after the spinal marrow was destroyed or removed. On this account several of the following experiments were made. A rabbit, previously exhausted by dividing the eighth pair of nerves, was deprived of sensation by a blow on the occiput, and the circulation supported by artificial breathing. The carotids were seen beating near to the place where the nerves had been divided. The cervical part of the spinal marrow was then destroyed by a hot wire, after which the carotids were still found beating.

“Exp. 4. In a rabbit rendered insensible by a blow on the occiput, the whole spinal marrow was de-

stroyed by a hot wire, and the breathing artificially supported. One of the carotid arteries was then laid bare. Its beating was evident, and on dividing it, florid blood flowed from it freely.

“I have already had occasion to observe, that it is generally admitted that the action of the heart cannot be influenced by stimuli applied to the nervous system: and it seems almost a contradiction to suppose that it should, when we see that it cannot be influenced by the total destruction of this system. There were many reasons, however, which induced me to try the effect on the heart of stimuli so applied to the brain and spinal marrow, as not to excite any of the muscles of voluntary motion, whose action, either by throwing more blood towards the heart, or in some other way influencing its action, prevents our judging of the effect of the stimulus.

“Exp. 12. A rabbit was deprived of sensation and voluntary motion by a blow on the occiput, the action of the heart supported by artificial respiration, and the brain and cervical part of the spinal marrow laid bare. The thorax was now opened, and the action of the heart, which beat with strength and regularity, observed. Spirit of wine was then applied to the spinal marrow, and a greatly increased action of the heart was the consequence. It was afterwards applied to the brain with the same effect. The increase of motion was immediate and decided in both cases. We could not perceive that it was more in the one case than the other.

“Exp. 13. The foregoing experiment was repeated, with the difference, that the whole of the spinal marrow was laid bare. The motion of

of the heart was nearly, if not quite, as much influenced by the application of the stimulus to the dorsal, as to the cervical portion of the spinal marrow; but it was very little influenced by its application to the lumbar portion.

"Exp. 14. In this experiment, only that part of the brain which occupies the anterior part of the head was laid bare. The rabbit in other respects was prepared in the same way as in the preceding experiments. The spirit of wine applied to this part of the brain, produced as decided an effect on the motion of the heart as in those experiments. The spirit of wine was washed off, and a watery solution, first of opium, then of tobacco, applied, with the effect of an increase, but a much less increase of the heart's action than arose from the spirit of wine. The increased action was greater from the opium, than from the tobacco. The first effect of both was soon succeeded by a more languid action of the heart than that which preceded their application to the brain. This effect was greatest, and came on soonest when the tobacco was used, and we always, for we frequently repeated the experiment, saw an evident increase in the action of the heart, when we washed off the tobacco. We could also perceive this, though in a less degree, when the opium was washed off. Little or none of this debilitating effect was observed when the spirit of wine was used. After its stimulating effect had subsided, the action of the heart only returned to about the same degree as before the application of the stimulus.

"Exp. 15. The foregoing experiment was repeated on an animal of cold blood. Mr. Hastings had found, that immersing the hind legs

of a frog in tincture of opium, in less than a minute, deprives it of sensibility. This does not arise from any action of the opium; a watery solution of opium, we found, however strong, does not produce the effect. It is immediately produced by simple spirit of wine, and arises from the action of the spirit on the nerves of the part to which it is applied, for it takes place quite as readily as in the healthy frog, after a ligature has been thrown round all the vessels attached to the heart. It is remarkable, that if simple spirit of wine is used, the animal expresses severe pain, if tincture of opium, very little. I have already mentioned the reason why it is necessary, in order to judge of the result of this experiment, that the animal should be rendered insensible. (Exp. 11.)

"Having thus deprived a frog of sensibility, we laid bare the brain and spinal marrow, and opened the chest. The heart was found contracting with vigour. Spirit of wine was then applied to the spinal marrow, with an immediate and evident increase of the action of the heart. It was then applied to the brain with the same effect. Watery solutions of opium and tobacco were also applied to both, with precisely the same effect as in the rabbit. The increase of action from the opium and tobacco was much less than from the spirit of wine, and was soon followed by a great diminution of action. The increase of action was least, and the diminution greatest from tobacco. On washing off the opium and tobacco with a wet sponge, the heart immediately beat more strongly. The different parts of this experiment were frequently repeated with the same result. It is remarkable that we could

could affect the motion of the heart by stimuli applied to the brain and spinal marrow, after they had ceased to produce any effect on the muscles of voluntary motion through the medium of the nervous system.

"Exp. 16. This experiment only differed from the last in the cervical part of the spinal marrow and lower part of the brain being removed, and the stimuli applied only to that part of the brain which lies between the eyes of the frog. Spirit of wine, opium, and tobacco, thus applied, affected the motion of the heart quite as much, and precisely in the same way, as when they were applied to the entire brain and spinal marrow. When opium and tobacco were applied to the lower part of the spinal marrow, the motion of the heart appeared to be hardly at all affected by them. It was evidently increased when spirit of wine was applied to the same part.

"We found in the foregoing experiments, that considerable pressure, either on the brain or spinal marrow, produced little or no effect on the action of the heart. Its action could be influenced by stimuli applied to the brain and spinal marrow long after the circulation had ceased.

"The peristaltic motion of the intestines, as far as we could judge from the following experiments, obeys the same laws as the action of the heart.

"Exp. 17. A rabbit was deprived of sensibility by a blow on the occiput. The whole of the spinal marrow was then destroyed by a hot wire. On opening the abdomen, we found the peristaltic motion of the stomach and small and great intestine quite as strong as when the nervous system is entire, as we ascertained by exposing the abdomi-

nal viscera of other rabbits. In another experiment, the spinal marrow was wholly removed, without at all affecting this motion. The removal of the brain, we found, produces as little effect upon it, as that of the spinal marrow. When both were removed at the same time, it remained unaffected. It continues till the intestines become cold, so that when the portions exposed to the air have lost their power, the motion of the parts beneath still remains.

"We endeavoured to ascertain how far this motion is influenced by stimuli applied to the brain and spinal marrow, but from its nature it is in every way so irregular, that no certain result can be obtained. It often appeared to us, that spirit of wine applied to the brain and spinal marrow increased in it.

"The admission of air into the cavity of the abdomen throws the bowels into strong spasmodic action, which alone would obscure any effect that can be supposed to arise from stimulating the brain. To remove this cause of failure, the abdomen was opened under tepid water; but this was found to excite even stronger spasms than the air had done.

"What are the simple results of the foregoing experiments? The first set prove, that the power of the heart is independent of the brain and spinal marrow, for we find that it continues to perform its function after they are destroyed or removed, and that their removal is not attended with any immediate effect on its motions. The second set prove, that the action of the heart may be influenced by agents applied to any considerable portion either of the brain or spinal marrow. It is as readily influenced by

agents applied to the anterior part of the brain, as by those applied to the cervical part of the spinal marrow. This is what we should expect when we trace the various origins of its nerves.

“ If it be said that the results of these experiments imply a contradiction, that we cannot suppose the power of the heart to be wholly independent of the brain and spinal marrow, and yet influenced by stimuli applied to them, the reply is, that such are the facts, of the truth of which any one may easily satisfy himself. Daily occurrences correspond with these facts. We rarely see the action of the heart destroyed by injuries of the brain and spinal marrow, unless they are such as interrupt respiration; yet its action is constantly influenced by affections of the mind.

“ On a closer examination of the phenomena of the nervous system, we shall find other similar difficulties. The experiments of M. le Gallois prove, in the most satisfactory manner, that a principal function of the spinal marrow is to excite the muscles of voluntary motion, and that it can perform this office independently of the brain. It performs it after the brain is wholly removed, and its powers seem not at all immediately impaired by the removal of the brain; yet we constantly see injuries of the brain impairing the functions of the spinal marrow. We may wholly remove the brain, and the animal performs the various motions of its limbs as well as before its removal. Yet an injury of the brain often produces complete hæmiplegia, nay often instantly destroys every function of the system. Of this apparent inconsistency, M. le Gallois justly remarks, that two

facts well ascertained, however inconsistent they may seem, do not overturn each other, but only prove the imperfection of our knowledge.

“ Whichever of the disputed opinions respecting the functions of the nervous system we adopt, the foregoing phenomena seem to imply a contradiction; for an explanation of them, therefore, we must recur to principles different from those hitherto assumed. The following experiments point out still another instance of this apparent contradiction, and seem to suggest the principle on which the whole depends.

“ Exp. 18. By applying strong stimuli to the spinal marrow of a frog, strong and repeated contractions were excited in the muscles of the hind limbs, as long as the stimuli would produce the effect. On examining the state of the muscles of these limbs, I found them wholly deprived of their excitability. Now it is well known, that although all the nerves supplying the limbs of a frog be divided, and cut out close to the place where they enter the muscles, the latter still retain their excitability, which appears to be not at all less than while the nerves are entire. Lest it may be supposed that the nervous influence, which was exhausted in this experiment by stimulating the spinal marrow, still remains in the muscles after the nerves are divided, and thus preserves their excitability, the following experiment was made.

“ Exp. 19. All the nerves supplying one of the hind limbs of a frog were divided, so that it became completely paralytic. The skin was removed from the muscles of the leg, and salt sprinkled upon them, which, being renewed from time to time, excited contractions in them

for

for twelve minutes; at the end of this time they were found no farther capable of being excited. The corresponding muscles of the other limb, in which the nerves were entire, and of which consequently the animal had a perfect command, were then laid bare, and the salt applied to them in the same way. In ten minutes they ceased to produce any contractions, and the animal had lost the command of them. The nerves of this limb were now divided, as those of the other had been, but the excitability of the muscles to which the salt had been applied was gone. Its application excited no contraction in them. It sometimes happens, while the nerves of the limb are entire, that the voluntary efforts of the animal prevent the contractions usually excited by the application of salt. This experiment was repeated in the same manner, and with a similar result. After the experiment, the muscles of the thighs in both limbs were found to contract forcibly on the application of salt. It excited equally strong contractions on both sides.

"It is remarkable, that in this experiment, the excitability of the muscles whose nerves were entire, was soonest exhausted. In the repetition of the experiment, this was the case to a still greater degree, the muscles, whose nerves were entire, losing their excitability in about one half of the time required for exhausting the other.

"From this experiment it is evident, that the nervous influence, so far from having a power of preserving the excitability of the muscles, exhausts it like other stimuli. The excitability therefore is a property of the muscle itself. Yet we have just seen, that it may be wholly de-

stroyed by changes induced on the nervous system. On the same principle we explain the seeming contradiction respecting the action of the heart. We have seen that its power exists as independently of the brain and spinal marrow, as the action of the first muscles to which the salt was applied, whose nerves had been divided; but, while the brain and spinal marrow retain their functions, and the connection of nerves is entire, the heart, as well as the muscles of voluntary motion, may be influenced by agents acting through the nervous system. It is no difficult to account for the latter being more copiously supplied with nerves than the heart, because all the stimuli which affect them, act through their nerves, while the heart is only now and then influenced through its nerves; its usual stimulus being as immediately applied to it, as the salt was to the muscles of the limb in the above experiment, and acting as independently of the nervous system. We do not surely in all this see any difference in the nature of the muscular power of the heart; and that of the muscles of voluntary motion, except their being fitted to obey different stimuli, a difference which we find in the two sides of the heart itself.

"It may here be objected, that in apoplexy the power of the muscles of voluntary motion is lost, while that of the heart is little or not at all impaired. Were such the fact, this objection would be unanswerable; but I have repeatedly examined the state of the muscles of voluntary motion in apoplexy, both in the warm and cold blooded animals, and found their excitability unimpaired. It is not their power, but the stimulus which ex-

cites them, that is lost in apoplexy. In this disease, the heart continues to contract, because its stimulus is still supplied; the muscles of voluntary motion cease to contract, because their stimulus is withdrawn.

"By the foregoing experiments we arrive at the conclusion of Haller, that the heart and other muscles possess an excitability independent of the nervous system; but we are carried a step farther, and taught that they are all equally capable of being stimulated through this system, by which the great objections to Haller's doctrine are removed. We may, I think, trace the subject still farther. It has been shown by direct experiment by M. le Gallois, that the spinal marrow is capable of performing its functions independently of the brain, yet, as has just been observed, the spinal marrow may be influenced through the brain. Thus the excitability of the spinal marrow bears the same relation to the brain, which that of the muscles bears to the spinal marrow and its nerves, and I would add all nerves distributed to muscles, some of which arise from the brain, but seem to bear precisely the same relation to the sensorium with those which arise from the spinal marrow. Even M. le Gallois, although his experiments lead to an opposite conclusion, observes, that the brain seems to act on the spinal marrow as the latter does on the parts it animates. We know the peculiar office of the brain, by observing what functions are lost by its removal, the sensorial functions. The nervous, then, obeys the sensorial system, in the same way in which the muscular obeys the nervous system, but as the muscular system has an existence independent of the nervous,

so has the nervous, independent of the sensorial system.

"What is here said is finely illustrated by reviewing the various classes of animals. In the lowest class we find only the muscular system, which exists without either nervous system or sensorium. In the next class we find the muscular and nervous systems, which exist without sensorium. In the most perfect animals, we find the three vital powers combined, each having an existence not immediately depending on the others, but all so connected, that none can exist long without the others. The nature of this connection is obvious, when we consider that all are supported by the circulation, which depends for its immediate support on the muscular system, and cannot long exist without respiration, and that this depends not on the sensorium, but, as M. le Gallois has satisfactorily proved, on the nervous system, which system is under the immediate influence of the sensorium, directing, but not producing, its various movements; and such is the power of the sensorium over the nervous system, that its affections may, through this system, at once destroy every function of life. Thus joy and other strong passions have killed more speedily than suffocation can, and therefore otherwise than through the destruction of respiration.

"Exp. 20. All that has been said of the vital power of the heart is strikingly confirmed by the following experiments. If the head and spine of a frog be removed, the heart continues to perform its function perfectly for many hours, nor does it seem at all immediately affected by their removal. But we find the effect very different when the

the most sudden and powerful agent is applied to them. If they are destroyed by being cut to pieces, or even by a hot wire, the heart after their destruction beats just as before it. But if either the brain or spinal marrow be instantly crushed, the heart immediately feels the shock.

"The thorax of a large frog was laid open, and the motion of the heart observed, which performed the circulation perfectly, and with great force. The brain was then crushed by the blow of a hammer. The heart immediately performed a few quick and weak contractions. It then lay quite still for about half an hour. After this, its beating returned, but it supported the circulation very imperfectly. In ten minutes its vigour was so far restored that it again performed the circulation with freedom, but with less force than before the destruction of the brain. An instrument was then introduced under the heart, and after ascertaining that this had produced no change on its action, the spinal marrow was crushed by one blow, as the brain had been. The heart again beat quickly and feebly for a few seconds, and then seemed wholly to have lost its power. In about half a minute it again began to beat, and in a few minutes acquired considerable power, and again supported the circulation. It beat more feebly, however, than before the spinal marrow was destroyed. It ceased to beat in about an hour and a half after the brain had been destroyed. In another frog, after the brain and spinal marrow had been wholly removed, the heart beat nine hours, gradually becoming more languid.

"In this experiment we see that the heart not only retains its power long after the brain and spinal mar-

row are removed, but that if they are destroyed in such a way as to impair and almost destroy the action of the heart, it can recover the power of performing its function, after they no longer exist; precisely as a muscle of voluntary motion will by rest recover its excitability, although all its nerves are divided, if its circulation continues.

"M. Bichat (*Recherches Phys. sur la vie et la mort.*) has shown that in a frog the circulation continues in the capillaries after the heart no longer propels the blood.

"Exp. 21. The foregoing experiment cannot be performed in the same way on warm-blooded animals, but it may be performed in a way equally satisfactory. In two rabbits the brain was crushed by a blow. In both the heart immediately beat with an extremely feeble and fluttering motion. The anterior part of the brain only was crushed in another rabbit, with the same result. A strong ligature was thrown round the neck of a fourth rabbit, and at the moment it was tightened, the head was cut off. The bleeding was restrained by the ligature, except from the vessels defended by the bone. General spasms made the body hard for the space of between one and two minutes, so that the beating of the heart could not be felt. At the end of this time, the heart was felt through the side, both by Mr. Hastings and myself, beating regularly, and not more quickly than in health. All the rabbits used in this experiment were of the same age.

"Exp. 22. The following experiment is still more conclusive. The anterior part of the brain of a rabbit was crushed by a blow. The side was rendered hard by spasm for about half a minute. Neither dur-
ing

ing this, nor after it, could I perceive any motion of the heart by applying the hand to the side. The head was then cut off; about three quarters of a minute after the brain had been crushed. No blood spouted out, and very little ran from the vessels. A strong ligature was passed round the neck of another rabbit of the same age. It was suddenly tightened, and the head cut off. In this instance little spasm took place, and the heart was found beating regularly under the finger for about three quarters of a minute. At the end of this time, the ligature was slackened, and the blood spouted out to the distance of three feet, and continued to spout out with great force, till nearly the whole blood was evacuated.

"Exp. 23. From the strength of the spine of a rabbit, and the situation of the neighbouring parts, it is impossible to crush it, without directly influencing the state of the heart by the blow. We opened it between the cervical and dorsal vertebrae, and suddenly forced a steel rod through the cervical part. As in the experiments of M. le Gallois, the action of the heart was immediately debilitated. In the preceding experiments, the reader has seen, we repeatedly, slowly destroyed, or removed entirely, both the cervical and other portions of the spinal marrow, without at all influencing the action of the heart.

"These experiments point out an easy solution of the difficulties mentioned by M. le Gallois in the 119th and following pages of his Treatise. When the whole spinal marrow was destroyed by small portions at a time, comparatively little effect was produced on the heart; but when a considerable part of it was crushed at once, the power of the

heart was so impaired, that circulation ceased. So in other cases, where the injury was inflicted slowly, and where it was inflicted suddenly, the result was found to be different.

"Thus he observes, that if the spinal marrow be divided near the occiput, and a certain part of it immediately destroyed, circulation ceases. If some time intervene between the division and the destruction of precisely the same part, the circulation is not interrupted.

"M. le Gallois's explanation of these facts cannot surely be admitted, and indeed is inconsistent with his own positions. He found, that confining the circulation to a less extent, by throwing ligatures round the large vessels at some distance from the heart, enables this organ to support the circulation under circumstances where it would otherwise have failed. Writers on midwifery have, on the same principle, recommended compressing the arteries of the limbs when the powers of the heart are much weakened by hemorrhagy. From this experiment compared with others, M. le Gallois infers, that when the spinal marrow is destroyed by small portions, the circulation, in the parts corresponding to these portions, being impeded, the effect is similar to that produced by the ligatures. Now, although it were ascertained that the circulation is impeded in any part by destroying the portion of the spinal marrow from which it is supplied with nerves, which I think may easily be shown not to be the case, this explanation would still be in opposition to M. le Gallois' fundamental position: "*Que la quantité, que le contingent de forces, que chaque portion de moëlle fournit à cet organe, égale*" pour

"pour le moins celles dont il auroit strictement besoin pour entretenir la circulation dans les seules parties correspondentes à cette portion." When the ligatures were thrown around the vessels, the heart was deprived of none of its supposed nervous influence. When, on the contrary, portions of the spinal marrow were successively destroyed, as far as this is supposed to confine the circulation, it must also, according to M. le Gallois, occasion a loss of power in the heart. He remarks that till the above explanation occurred to him, he had resolved to abandon this part of the inquiry. "Après bien des efforts inutiles pour porter la lumière dans cette ténébreuse question, je pris le parti de l'abandonner, non sans regret d'y avoir sacrifié un grand nombre d'animaux, et perdu beaucoup de temps." Just before, he observes, "En un mot, j'eus presque autant de résultats différens que d'expériences." This may be easily accounted for, as he was not aware that the rapidity with which any portion of the spinal marrow is destroyed, influences the result. We also see why the sudden destruction of one half of the spinal marrow, after it had been divided, not only brought death to that part of the animal to which it belonged, but to the other also; a fact which seems in direct opposition to M. le Gallois' explanation of that we have just been considering.

"In M. le Gallois' experiments, the spinal marrow was always crushed by a stilet, of precisely the same dimensions with the cavity of the spine. In the foregoing experiments, the spinal marrow was either removed or destroyed by a comparatively small wire moved about in it till all its functions

ceased. The reader will easily understand, from what has been said, why this apparently slight circumstance occasions so essential a difference in the result of the experiments. We have just seen the difference of the result when any portion of the spinal marrow is successively destroyed by parts, or crushed at once, and when the brain is crushed at once or wholly removed.

"We have every reason to believe, from the experiments which have been related, that the peristaltic motion of the bowels obeys the same laws as the action of the heart. It appears from those experiments, that this motion is wholly independent of the nervous system. It continues till the parts become cold after the brain and spinal marrow are removed. I have already mentioned the circumstances which prevented our positively ascertaining, whether it is influenced by stimuli applied to the brain and spinal marrow, but we know that the action of the bowels is frequently influenced by affections of the mind.

"From the whole of the foregoing experiments and observations, it appears,

1. "That the muscles of involuntary motion obey the same laws with those of voluntary motion.

2. "That the apparent difference in the nature of these muscles, arises from their being under the influence of different stimuli.

3. "That they are both capable of being stimulated through the nervous system.

4. "That the power of both is independent of the nervous system.

5. "That what is called the nervous system consists of two parts, whose existence is not immediately

diately dependent on each other; the one performing the sensorial functions, the other conveying impressions to and from the sensorium, and, without bestowing any power on the muscular system, acting as a stimulus to it.

6. "That there is therefore in the most perfect animals a combination of three distinct vital powers, not immediately depending on each other; one of the muscular system, one of the nervous system properly so called, and one of the sensorial system.

7. "That the muscular system, though independent of the nervous system, is so influenced by it, that the power of the former may even

be destroyed through the nervous system.

8. "That both the muscular and nervous systems, though independent of the sensorial system, are so influenced by it, that they may even be destroyed through it.

9. "That although in the less perfect animals we find the muscular life existing alone, and the muscular and nervous existing without the sensorial life; in the more perfect animals they are so connected, that none can exist long without the others.

10. "That nutrition, circulation, and respiration, are the means by which they are so connected."

ON THE REVOLUTIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE ON THE SURFACE OF THE GLOBE.

[From Mr. KERR's Translation of M. Cuvier's Theory of the Earth.]

"WHEN the traveller passes through those fertile plains where gently flowing streams nourish in their course an abundant vegetation, and where the soil, inhabited by a numerous population, adorned with flourishing villages, opulent cities, and superb monuments, is never disturbed except by the ravages of war and the oppression of tyrants, he is not led to suspect that nature also has had her intestine wars, and that the surface of the globe has been much convulsed by successive revolutions and various catastrophes. But his ideas change as soon as he digs into that soil which presented such a peaceful aspect, or ascends the hills

which border the plain; they are expanded, if I may use the expression, in proportion to the expansion of his view; and they begin to embrace the full extent and grandeur of those ancient events to which I have alluded, when he climbs the more elevated chains whose base is skirted by these first hills, or when, by following the beds of the descending torrents, he penetrates into their interior structure, which is thus laid open to his inspection.

"The lowest and most level parts of the earth, when penetrated to a very great depth, exhibit nothing but horizontal strata composed of various substances, and containing almost

almost all of them innumerable marine productions. Similar strata, with the same kind of productions, compose the hills even to a great height. Sometimes the shells are so numerous as to constitute the entire body of the stratum. They are almost every where in such a perfect state of preservation, that even the smallest of them retain their most delicate parts, their sharpest ridges, and their finest and tenderest processes. They are found in elevations far above the level of every part of the ocean, and in places to which the sea could not be conveyed by any existing cause. They are not only inclosed in loose sand, but are often incrustated and penetrated on all sides by the hardest stones. Every part of the earth, every hemisphere, every continent, every island of any size, exhibits the same phenomenon. We are therefore forcibly led to believe not only that the sea has at one period or another covered all our plains, but that it must have remained there for a long time, and in a state of tranquillity; which circumstance was necessary for the formation of deposits so extensive, so thick, in part so solid, and containing exuviae so perfectly preserved.

"The time is past for ignorance to assert that these remains of organized bodies are mere *lusus nature*,—productions generated in the womb of the earth by its own creative powers. A nice and scrupulous comparison of their forms, of their contexture, and frequently even of their composition, cannot detect the slightest difference between these shells and the shells which still inhabit the sea. They have therefore once lived in the sea, and been deposited by it: the sea consequently must have rested in

the places where the deposition has taken place. Hence it is evident that the brain or reservoir containing the sea has undergone some change at least, either in extent, or in situation, or in both. Such is the result of the very first search, and of the most superficial examination.

"The traces of revolutions become still more apparent and decisive when we ascend a little higher, and approach nearer to the foot of the great chains of mountains. There are still found many beds of shells; some of these are even larger and more solid; the shells are quite as numerous and as entirely preserved; but they are not of the same species with those which were found in the less elevated regions. The strata which contain them are not so generally horizontal; they have various degrees of inclination, and are sometimes situated vertically. While in the plains and low hills it was necessary to dig deep in order to detect the succession of the strata, here we perceive them by means of the vallies which time or violence has produced, and which disclose their edges to the eye of the observer. At the bottom of these declivities, huge masses of their debris, are collected, and form round hills, the height of which is augmented by the operation of every thaw and of every storm.

"These inclined or vertical strata, which form the ridges of the secondary mountains, do not rest on the horizontal strata of the hills which are situated at their base, and serve as their first steps; but, on the contrary, are situated underneath them. The latter are placed upon the declivities of the former. When we dig through the horizon-

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tal strata in the neighbourhood of the inclined strata, the inclined strata are invariably found below. Nay, sometimes, when the inclined strata are not too much elevated, their summit is surmounted by horizontal strata. The inclined strata are therefore more ancient than the horizontal strata. And as they must necessarily have been formed in a horizontal position, they have been subsequently shifted into their inclined or vertical position, and that too before the horizontal strata were placed above them.

"Thus the sea, previous to the formation of the horizontal strata, had formed others, which, by some means, have been broken, lifted up, and overturned in a thousand ways. There had therefore been also at least one change in the basin of that sea which preceded ours; it had also experienced at least one revolution; and as several of these inclined strata which it had formed first, are elevated above the level of the horizontal strata which have succeeded and which surround them, this revolution, while it gave them their present inclination, had also caused them to project above the level of the sea, so as to form islands, or at least rocks and inequalities; and this must have happened whether one of their edges was lifted up above the water, or the depression of the opposite edge caused the water to subside. This is the second result, not less obvious, nor less clearly demonstrated, than the first, to every one who will take the trouble of studying carefully the remains by which it is illustrated and proved.

"If we institute a more detailed comparison between the various strata and those remains of animals which they contain, we shall soon

discover still more numerous differences among them indicating a proportionable number of changes in their condition. The sea has not always deposited stony substances of the same kind. It has observed a regular succession as to the nature of its deposits; the more ancient the strata are, so much the more uniform and extensive are they; and the more recent they are, the more limited are they, and the more variation is observed in them at small distances. Thus the great catastrophes which have produced revolutions in the basin of the sea, were preceded, accompanied, and followed by changes in the nature of the fluid and of the substances which it held in solution; and when the surface of the seas came to be divided by islands and projecting ridges, different changes took place in every separate basin.

"Amidst these changes of the general fluid, it must have been almost impossible for the same kind of animals to continue to live:—nor did they do so in fact. Their species, and even their genera, change with the strata; and although the same species occasionally recur at small distances, it is generally the case that the shells of the ancient strata have forms peculiar to themselves; that they gradually disappear, till they are not to be seen at all in the recent strata, still less in the existing seas, in which, indeed, we never discover their corresponding species, and where several even of their genera are not to be found; that, on the contrary, the shells of the recent strata resemble, as it respects the genus, those which still exist in the sea; and that in the last-formed and loosest of these strata there are some species which the eye of the most

most expert naturalist cannot distinguish from those which at present inhabit the ocean.

"In animal nature, therefore, there has been a succession of changes corresponding to those which have taken place in the chemical nature of the fluid; and when the sea last receded from our continent, its inhabitants were not very different from those which it still continues to support.

"Finally, if we examine with greater care these remains of organized bodies, we shall discover, in the midst even of the most ancient secondary strata, other strata that are crowded with animal or vegetable productions, which belong to the land and to fresh water; and amongst the more recent strata, that is, the strata which are nearest the surface, there are some of them in which land animals are buried under heaps of marine productions. Thus the various catastrophes of our planet have not only caused the different parts of our continent to rise by degrees from the basin of the sea, but it has also frequently happened, that lands which had been laid dry have been again covered by the water, in consequence either of these lands sinking down below the level of the sea, or of the sea being raised above the level of the lands. The particular portions of the earth, also which the sea has abandoned by its last retreat, had been laid dry once before, and had at that time produced quadrupeds, birds, plants, and all kinds of terrestrial productions; it had then been inundated by the sea, which has since retired from it, and left it to be occupied by its own proper inhabitants.

"The changes which have taken place in the productions of the

shelly strata, have not, therefore, been entirely owing to a gradual and general retreat of the waters, but to successive irruptions and retreats, the final result of which, however, has been an universal depression of the level of the sea.

"These repeated irruptions and retreats of the sea have neither been slow nor gradual; most of the catastrophes which have occasioned them have been sudden, and this is easily proved, especially with regard to the last of them, the traces of which are most conspicuous. In the northern regions it has left the carcasses of some large quadrupeds which the ice had arrested, and which are preserved even to the present day with their skin, their hair, and their flesh. If they had not been frozen as soon as killed they must quickly have been decomposed by putrefaction. But this eternal frost could not have taken possession of the regions which these animals inhabited except by the same cause which destroyed them; this cause, therefore, must have been as sudden as its effect. The breaking to pieces and overturnings of the strata, which happened in former catastrophes, shew plainly enough that they were sudden and violent like the last; and the heaps of debris and rounded pebbles which are found in various places among the solid strata, demonstrate the vast force of the motions excited in the mass of waters by these overturnings. Life, therefore, has often been disturbed on this earth by terrible events—calamities which, at their commencement have perhaps moved and overturned to a great depth the entire outer crust of the globe, but which, since these first commotions, have uniformly acted at a less

less depth and less generally. Numberless living beings have been the victims of these catastrophes; some have been destroyed by sudden inundations, others have been laid dry in consequence of the bottom of the seas being instantaneously elevated. Their races even have become extinct, and have left no memorial of them except some small fragments which the naturalist can scarcely recognise.

"Such are the conclusions which necessarily result from the objects that we meet with at every step of our enquiry, and which we can always verify by examples drawn from almost every country. Every part of the globe bears the impress of these great and terrible events so distinctly, that they must be visible to all who are qualified to read their history in the remains which they have left behind.

"But what is still more astonishing and not less certain, there have not been always living creatures on the earth, and it is easy for the observer to discover the period at which animal productions began to be deposited.

"As we ascend to higher points of elevation and advance towards the lofty summits of the mountains, the remains of marine animals, that multitude of shell we have spoken of, begin very soon to grow rare, and at length disappear altogether. We arrive at strata of a different nature, which contain no vestige at all of living creatures. Nevertheless their crystallization, and even the nature of their strata, shew that they also have been formed in a fluid; their inclined position and their slopes shew that they also have been moved and overturned; the oblique manner in which they sink under the shelly

strata shews that they have been formed before these; and the height to which their bare and rugged tops are elevated above all the shelly strata, shews that their summits have never again been covered by the sea since they were raised up out of its bosom.

"Such are those primitive or primordial mountains which traverse our continents in various directions, rising above the clouds, separating the basins of the rivers from one another, serving, by means of their eternal snows, as reservoirs for feeding the springs, and forming in some measure the skeleton, or, as it were, the rough frame-work of the earth.

"The sharp peaks and rugged indentations which mark their summits, and strike the eye at a great distance, are so many proofs of the violent manner in which they have been elevated. Their appearance in this respect is very different from that of the rounded mountains and the hills with flat surfaces, whose recently-formed masses have always remained in the situation in which they were quietly deposited by the sea which last covered them.

"These proofs become more obvious as we approach. The vallies have no longer those gently sloping sides, or those alternately salient and reentrant angles opposite to one another, which seem to indicate the beds of ancient streams. They widen and contract without any general rule; their waters sometimes expand into lakes, and sometimes descend in torrents; and here and there the rocks, suddenly approaching from each side, form transverse dikes, over which the waters fall in cataracts. The shattered strata of these vallies expose their edges on one side, and present

sent on the other side large portions of their surface lying obliquely; they do not correspond in height, but those which on one side form the summit of the declivity, often dip so deep on the other as to be altogether concealed.

Yet, amidst all this confusion, some naturalists have thought that they perceived a certain degree of order prevailing, and that among these immense beds of rock, broken and overturned though they be, a regular succession is observed, which is nearly the same in all the different chains of mountains. According to them, the granite which surmounts every other rock, also dips under every other rock; and is the most ancient of any that has yet been discovered in the place assigned it by nature. The central ridges of most of the mountain chains are composed of it; slaty rocks, such as clay slate, granular quartz, (grès,) and mica slate, rest upon its sides and form lateral chains; granular, foliated limestone, or marble, and other calcareous rocks that do not contain shells, rest upon the slate, forming the exterior ranges, and are the last formations by which this ancient uninhabited sea seems to have prepared itself for the production of its beds of shells.

"On all occasions, even in districts that lie at a distance from the great mountain chains, where the more recent strata have been digged through, and the external covering of the earth penetrated to a considerable depth, nearly the same order of stratification has been found as that already described. The crystallized marbles never cover the shelly strata; the granite in mass never rests upon the crystallized

marble, except in a few places where it seems to have been formed of granites of newer epochs. In one word, the foregoing arrangement appears to be general, and must therefore depend upon general causes, which have on all occasions exerted the same influence from one extremity of the earth to the other.

"Hence, it is impossible to deny, that the waters of the sea have formerly, and for a long time, covered these masses of matter which now constitute our highest mountains; and farther, that these waters, during a long time, did not support any living bodies. Thus; it has not been only since the commencement of animal life that these numerous changes and revolutions have taken place in the constitution of the external covering of our globe: for the masses formed previous to that event have suffered changes, as well as those which have been formed since; they have also suffered violent changes in their positions, and a part of these assuredly took place while they existed alone, and before they were covered over by the shelly masses. The proof of this lies in the overturnings, the disruptions, and the fissures which are observable in their strata, as well as in those of more recent formation, which are there even in greater number and better defined.

"But these primitive masses have also suffered other revolutions, posterior to the formation of the secondary strata, and have perhaps given rise to, or at least have partaken of, some portion of the revolutions and changes which these latter strata have experienced. There are actually considerable portions of the primitive strata uncovered,

vered, although placed in lower situations than many of the secondary strata, and we cannot conceive how it should have so happened, unless the primitive strata, in these places, had forced themselves into view, after the formation of those which are secondary. In some countries, we find numerous and prodigiously large blocks of primitive substances scattered over the surface of the secondary strata, and separated by deep vallies from the peaks or ridges whence these blocks must have been derived. It is necessary, therefore, either that these blocks must have been thrown into those

situations by means of eruptions, or that the vallies, which otherwise must have stopped their course, did not exist at the time of their being transported to their present sites.

"Thus we have a collection of facts, a series of epochs anterior to the present time, and of which the successive steps may be ascertained with perfect certainty, although the periods which intervened cannot be determined with any degree of precision. These epochs form so many fixed points, answering as rules for directing our inquiries, respecting this ancient chronology of the earth."

ON THE FABULOUS ANIMALS OF THE ANCIENTS.

[From the same.]

"THE ancients were perfectly acquainted with the elephant, and the history of that quadruped is given more exactly by Aristotle than by Buffon. They were not ignorant even of the differences which distinguish the elephants of Africa from those of Asia.

"They knew the two-horned rhinoceros, which Domitian exhibited in his shews at Rome, and had stamped on his medals, and of which Pausanias has left a very good description. Even the one-horned rhinoceros, although its country be far from Rome, was equally known to the Romans: Pompey shewed them one in the circus, and Strabo has described another which he saw at Alexandria.

"The hippopotamus has not been so well described by the ancients as the two foregoing animals; yet very exact representations of it have been left by the Romans in their monuments relative to Egypt, such as the statue of the Nile, the Prenestine pavement, and a great number of medals. It is known that this animal was frequently shewn to the Romans, having been exhibited in the circus by Scaurus, Augustus, Antoninus, Commodus, Heliogabalus, Philip, and Carinus.

"The two species of camel, the Bactrian and Arabian, were both well known to the ancients, and are very well described and characterised by Aristotle.

"The giraffe, or camelopardalis, was likewise known to the ancients, one

one having been shewn alive in the circus during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, in the year of Rome 708. Ten of them were shewn at once by Gordian III., all of which were slain at the secular games of the emperor Philip.

"When we read with attention the descriptions given of the hippopotamus by Herodotus and Aristotle, which are supposed to have been borrowed from Hecataeus of Miletus, we cannot fail to perceive that these must have been taken from two very different animals; one of which is the true hippopotamus, and the other the gnu, or antelope gnu of Gmelin's edition of the *Systema Naturæ*.

"The aper æthiopicus of Agatharcides, which he describes as having horns, is precisely the Ethiopian hog, or engallo, of Buffon and other modern naturalists, whose enormous tusks deserve the name of horns, almost as much as those of the elephant.

"The bubalus and the nagor are described by Pliny; the gazella by Elian; the oryx by Oppian; and the axis, so early as the time of Ctesias: all of them species of the antelope genus.

"Elian gives a very good description of the bos grunniens, or grunting ox, under the name of the ox, having a tail which serves for a fly-flapper.

"The buffalo was not domesticated by the ancients; but the bos Indicus, or Indian ox of Elian, having horns sufficiently large to contain three amphoræ, was assuredly that variety of the buffalo which is now called the arnee.

"The ancients were acquainted with hornless oxen, and with that African variety of the ox whose horns are only fastened to the skin,

and hang down dangling at the sides of the head. They also knew those oxen of India which could run as swift as horses, and those which are so small as not to exceed the size of a he-goat. Sheep also with broad tails were not unknown to them, and those other Indian sheep which were as large as asses.

"Although the accounts left us by the ancients respecting the urus, or aurochs, the rein-deer, and the elk, are all mingled with fable, they are yet sufficient to prove that these animals were not unknown to them, but that the reports which had reached them had been communicated by ignorant or barbarous people, and had not been corrected by the actual observations of men of learning.

"Even the white bear had been seen in Egypt while under the Ptolemies.

"Lions and panthers were quite common at Rome, where they were presented by hundreds in the games of the circus. Even tygers had been seen there, together with the striped hyena, and the nilotic crocodile. There are still preserved in Rome some ancient mosaic, or tessellated pavements, containing excellent delineations of the rarest of these animals; among which a striped hyena is very perfectly represented in a fragment of mosaic, in the Vatican museum. While I was at Rome, a tessellated pavement, composed of natural stones arranged in the Florentine manner, was discovered in a garden beside the triumphal arch of Galienus, which represented four Bengal tygers in a most admirable manner.

"The museum of the Vatican has the figure of a crocodile in basalt, almost perfectly represented, except that it has one claw too

many

many on the hind feet. Augustus at one time presented thirty-six of these animals to the view of the people.

"It is hardly to be doubted that the hippotigris was the zebra, which is now only found in the southern parts of Africa. Caracalla killed one of these in the circus.

"It might easily be shewn also that almost all the most remarkable species of the simiæ of the old world have been distinctly indicated by ancient writers under the names of pitheci, sphinges, satyri, cephi, cynocephali, or cercopitheci.

"They also knew and have described several very small species of gnawers, especially such of that order as possessed any peculiar conformation or remarkable quality; as we find, for instance, the jerboa represented upon the medals of Cyrene, and indicated under the name of mus bipes, or two-legged rat. But the smaller species are not of much importance in regard to the object before us, and it is quite sufficient for the enquiry in which we are engaged, to have shewn that all the larger species of quadrupeds, which possess any peculiar or remarkable character, and which we know to inhabit Europe, Asia, and Africa, at the present day, were known to the ancients; whence we may fairly conclude, that their silence in respect to the small quadrupeds, and their neglect in distinguishing the species which very nearly resemble each other, as the various species of antelopes and of some other genera, was occasioned by want of attention and ignorance of methodical arrangement, and not by any difficulties proceeding from the climates or

distance of the places which these animals inhabited. We may also conclude with equal certainty, that as eighteen or twenty centuries at the least, with the advantages of circumnavigating Africa, and of penetrating into all the most distant regions of India, have added nothing in this portion of natural history to the information left us by the ancients, it is not at all probable that succeeding ages will add much to the knowledge of our posterity.

"Perhaps some persons may be disposed to employ an opposite train of argument, and to allege that the ancients were not only acquainted with as many large quadrupeds as we are, as has been already shewn, but that they actually described several others which we do not now know; that we are rash in considering the accounts of all such animals as fabulous; that we ought to search for them with the utmost care, before concluding that we have acquired a complete knowledge of the existing animal creation; and, in fine, that among these animals which we presume to be fabulous, we may perhaps discover, when better acquainted with them, the actual originals of the bones of those species which are now unknown. Perhaps some may even conceive that the various monsters, essential ornaments of the history of the heroic ages of almost every nation, are precisely those very species which it was necessary to destroy, in order to allow the establishment of civilized societies. Thus Theseus and Bellerophon must have been more fortunate than all the nations of more modern days, who have only been able to drive back the noxious animals into the deserts and ill-peopled regions,

regions, but have never yet succeeded in exterminating a single species.

“It is easy to reply to the foregoing objection, by examining the descriptions that are left us by the ancients of these unknown animals, and by inquiring into their origins. Now the greater number of these animals have an origin purely mythological, and of this origin the descriptions given of them bear the most unequivocal marks; as in almost all of them, we see merely the different parts of known animals united by an unbridled imagination, and in contradiction to every established law of nature.

“Those which have been invented by the poetical fancy of the Greeks, have at least some grace and elegance in their composition, resembling the fantastic decorations which are still observable on the ruins of some ancient buildings, and which have been multiplied by the fertile genius of Raphael in his paintings. Like these, they unite forms which please the eye by agreeable contours and fanciful combinations, but which are utterly repugnant to nature and reason; being merely the productions of inventive and playful genius, or perhaps meant as emblematical representations of metaphysical or moral propositions, veiled under mystical hieroglyphics, after the oriental manner. Learned men may be permitted to employ their time and ingenuity in attempts to decypher the mystic knowledge concealed under the forms of the sphynx of Thebes, the pegasus of Thessaly, the minotaur of Crete, or the chimera of Epirus; but it would be folly to expect seriously to find such monsters in nature. We might as well endeavour to find the animals

of Daniel; or the beasts of the Apocalypse, in some hitherto unexplored recesses of the globe. Neither can we look for the mythological animals of the Persians, creatures of a still bolder imagination—such as the martichore, or destroyer of men, having a human head on the body of a lion, and the tail of a scorpion; the griffin, or guardian of hidden treasures, half eagle and half lion; or the cartazon, or wild ass, armed with a long horn on its forehead.

“Ctesias, who reports these as actual living animals, has been looked upon by some authors as an inventor of fables; whereas he only attributes real existence to hieroglyphical representations. These strange compositions of fancy have been seen in modern times on the ruins of Persepolis. It is probable that their hidden meanings may never be ascertained; but at all events we are quite certain that they were never intended to be representations of real animals.

“Agatharcides, another fabricator of animals, drew his information in all probability from a similar source. The ancient monuments of Egypt still furnish us with numerous fantastic representations, in which the parts of different kinds of creatures are strangely combined—men with the heads of animals, animals with the heads of men; which have given rise to cynocephali, satyrs, and sphinxes. The custom of exhibiting in the same sculpture, in bas-relief, men of very different heights, of making kings and conquerors gigantic, while their subjects and vassals are represented as only a fourth or fifth part of their size, must have given rise to the fable of the pigmies. In some corner of these monuments, Aga-

tharicides must have discovered his carnivorous bull, whose mouth extending from ear to ear, devoured every other animal that came in his way. But no naturalist scarcely will acknowledge the existence of any such animal, since nature has never joined cloven hoofs and horns with teeth adapted for cutting and devouring animal food.

"There may have been many other figures equally strange with these, either among those monuments of Egypt which have not been able to resist the ravages of time, or in the ancient temples of Ethiopia and Arabia, which have been destroyed by the religious zeal of the Abyssinians and Mahometans. The monuments of India teem with such figures; but the combinations in these are so ridiculously extravagant, that they have never imposed even upon the most credulous. Monsters with an hundred arms, and twenty heads of different kinds, are far too absurd to be believed.

"Nay, the inhabitants of China and Japan have their imaginary animals, which they represent as real, and that too in their religious books. The Mexicans had them. In short, they are to be found among every people whose idolatry has not yet acquired some degree of refinement. But is there any one who could possibly pretend to discover, amidst the realities of animal nature, what are thus so plainly the productions of ignorance and superstition? And yet some travellers, influenced by a desire to make themselves famous, have gone so far as to pretend that they saw these fancied beings; or, deceived by a slight resemblance, into which they were but too careless to inquire, they have iden-

tified these with creatures that actually exist. In their eyes, large baboons, or monkeys, have become cynocephali, and sphinxes, real men with long tails. It is thus that St. Augustin imagined he had seen a satyr.

"Real animals, observed and described with equal inaccuracy, may have given rise to some of these ideal monsters. Thus, we can have no doubt of the existence of the hyena, although the back of this animal be not supported by a single bone, and although it does not change its sex yearly, as alleged by Pliny. Perhaps the carnivorous bull may only have been the two-horned rhinoceros, falsely described. M. de Weltheim considers the auriferous ants of Herodotus as the corsacs of modern naturalists.

"The most famous among these fabulous animals of the ancients was the unicorn. Its real existence has been obstinately asserted even in the present day, or at least proofs of its existence have been eagerly sought for. Three several animals are frequently mentioned by the ancients as having only one horn placed on the middle of the forehead. The oryx of Africa having cloven hoofs, the hair placed reversely to that of other animals, its height equal to that of the bull, or even of the rhinoceros, and said to resemble deer and goats in its form; the Indian ass, having solid hoofs; and the monoceros, properly so called, whose feet are sometimes compared to those of the lion, and sometimes to those of the elephant, and is therefore considered as having divided feet. The horse-unicorn and the bull-unicorn are doubtless both referable to the Indian ass, for even the latter is described as having solid hoofs. We

may therefore be fully assured that these animals have never really existed, as no solitary horns have ever found their way into our collections, excepting those of the rhinoceros and narwal.

"After careful consideration, it is impossible that we should give any credit to rude sketches made by savages upon rocks. Entirely ignorant of perspective, and wishing to represent the outlines of a straight-horned antelope in profile, they could only give the figure one horn, and thus they produced an oryx. The oryxes, too, that are seen on the Egyptian monuments, are nothing more, probably, than productions of the stiff style, imposed on the sculptors of the country, by religious prejudices. Several of their profiles of quadrupeds shew only one fore and one hinder leg, and it is probable that the same rule led them also to represent only one horn. Perhaps their figures may have been copied after individuals that had lost one of their horns by accident, a circumstance that often happens to the chamois and the saiga, species of the antelope genus; and this would be quite sufficient to establish the error. All the ancients, however, have not represented the oryx as having only one horn. Oppian expressly attributes two to this animal, and Ælian mentions one that had four. Finally, if this animal was ruminant and cloven-footed, we are quite certain that its frontal bone must have been divided longitudinally into two, and that it could not possibly, as is very justly remarked by Camper, have had a horn placed upon the suture.

"It may be asked, however, What two horned animal could have given an idea of the oryx, in

the forms in which it has been transmitted down to us, even independent of the notion of a single horn? To this I answer, as already done by Pallas, that it was the straight-horned antelope oryx of Gmelin, improperly named *pasan* by Buffon. This animal inhabits the deserts of Africa, and must frequently approach the confines of Egypt, and appears to be that which is represented in the hieroglyphics. It equals the ox in height, while the shape of its body approaches to that of a stag, and its straight horns present exceedingly formidable weapons, hard almost as iron and sharp-pointed like javelins. Its hair is whitish; it has black spots and streaks on its face, and the hair on its back points forwards. Such is the description given by naturalists; and the fables of the Egyptian priests, which have occasioned the insertion of its figure among their hieroglyphics, do not require to have been founded in nature. Supposing that an individual of this species may have been seen which had lost one of its horns by some accident, it may have been taken as a representative of the entire race; and erroneously adopted by Aristotle to be copied by all his successors. All this is quite possible and even natural, and gives not the smallest evidence for the existence of a single-horned species of antelope.

"In regard to the Indian ass, of the alexipharmic virtues of whose horn the ancients speak, we find the eastern nations of the present day attributing exactly the same properties of counteracting poison to the horn of the rhinoceros. When this horn was first imported into Greece, nothing probably was known respecting the animal to which

which it belonged; and accordingly it was not known to Aristotle. Agatharcides is the first author by whom it is mentioned. In the same manner, ivory was known to the ancients long before the animal from which it is procured; and perhaps some of their travellers may have given to the rhinoceros the name of Indian ass, with as much propriety as the Romans denominated the elephant the bull of *Lucaunia*. Every thing which they relate of the strength, size, and ferocity of their wild ass of India, corresponds sufficiently with the rhinoceros. In succeeding times, when the rhinoceros came to be better known to the naturalists, finding that former authors mentioned a single-horned animal under the name of Indian ass, they concluded, without any examination, that it must be quite a distinct creature, having solid hoofs. We have remaining a detailed description of the Indian ass, written by Ctesias; but, as we have already seen that this must have been taken from the ruins of *Persopolis*, it should go for nothing in the real history of the animal.

“When there afterwards appeared more exact descriptions of an animal having several toes or hoofs on each foot, the ancients conceived it to be a third species of one-horned animals, to which they gave the name of *monoceros*. These double, and even triple references, are more frequent among ancient writers, because most of their works which have come down to us were mere compilations; because even Aristotle himself has often mixed borrowed facts with those which had come under his own observation; and because the habit of critically investigating the authorities

of previous writers, was as little known among ancient naturalists as among their historians.

“From all these reasonings and digressions, it may be fairly concluded, that the large animals of the ancient continent with which we are now acquainted, were known to the ancients; and that all the animals of which the ancients have left descriptions, and which are now unknown, were merely fabulous. It also follows, that the large animals of the three anciently known quarters of the world, were very soon known to the people who frequented their coasts.

“It may also be concluded, that no large species remain to be discovered in America, as there is no good reason that can be assigned why any such should exist in that country with which we are unacquainted, and in fact none has been discovered there during the last hundred and fifty years. The tapir, jaguar, puma, cabiai or capibara, glama, vicunna, red-wolf, buffalo, or American bison, ant-eaters, sloths, and armadillos, are all contained in the works of *Margrave* and *Hernandez*, as well described as in *Buffon* and even better, for *Buffon* has mistaken and confused the natural history of the ant-eaters has mixed the description of the jaguar with that of the red-wolf, and has confounded the American bison with the aurochs, or *urus*, of Poland. *Pennant*, it is true, was the first naturalist who clearly distinguished the musk ox, but it had been long mentioned by travellers. The cloven-footed, or Chilese, horse of *Molina*, has not been described by any of the early Spanish travellers, but its existence is more than doubtful, and the authority of *Molina* is too suspicious to entitle

us to believe that this animal actually exists. The Mufflon of the blue mountains is the only American quadruped of any size hitherto known, of which the discovery is entirely modern; and perhaps it may only have been an argali, that had strayed from eastern Siberia over the ice.

"After all that has been said, it is quite impossible to conceive that the enormous mastodontes and gigantic megatheria, whose bones have been discovered under ground in North and South America, can still exist alive in that quarter of the world. They could not fail to be observed by the hunting tribes, which continually wander in all directions through the wilds of America. Indeed they themselves seem

to be fully aware that these animals no longer exist in their country, as they have invented a fabulous account of their destruction, alleging that they were all killed by the Great Spirit, to prevent them from extirpating the human race. It is quite obvious, that this fable has been invented subsequently to the discovery of the bones; just as the inhabitants of Siberia have contrived one respecting the mammoth, whose bones have been found in that country, alleging that it still lives under ground like the mole: and just as the ancients had their fables about the graves of giants, who were thought to have been buried wherever the bones of elephants happened to be dug up."

ON THE FORMATION OF CORAL ISLANDS.

[From the same.]

"OF all the genera of lithophytes, the madrepore is the most abundant. It occurs most frequently in tropical countries, and decreases in number and variety as we approach the poles. It encircles in prodigious rocks and vast reefs many of the basaltic and other rocky islands in the South Sea and Indian ocean, and by its daily growth adds to their magnitude. The coasts of the islands in the West Indies, also, those of the islands on the east coast of Africa, and the shores and shoals of the Red Sea, are encircled and incrustated with rocks of coral. Several different species of madrepore contri-

bute to form these coral reefs; but by far the most abundant is the muricated madrepore, *madrepora muricata* of Linnæus. These lithophytic animals not only add to the magnitude of land already existing, but, as Cuvier remarks, they form whole islands. Dr. Forster, in his observations made during a voyage round the world, gives the following account of the formation of these coral islands in the South Sea.

"All the low isles seem to me to be a production of the sea, or rather its inhabitants, the polype-like animals forming the lithophytes. These animalcules raise their habitation gradually from a small

small base, always spreading more and more, in proportion as the structure grows higher. The materials are a kind of lime mixed with some animal substance. I have seen these large structures in all stages, and of various extent, Near Turtle Island, we found, at a few miles distance, and to leeward of it, a considerable large circular reef, over which the sea broke every where, and no part of it was above water; it included a large deep lagoon. To the east and north-east of the Society Isles, are a great many isles, which, in some parts, are above water; in others, the elevated parts are connected by reefs, some of which are dry at low-water, and others are constantly under water. The elevated parts consist of a soil formed by a sand of shells and coral rocks, mixed with a light black mould, produced from putrified vegetables, and the dung of sea-fowls; and are commonly covered by cocoa-nut trees and other shrubs, and a few antiscorbutic plants. The lower parts have only a few shrubs, and the above plants; others still lower, are washed by the sea at high-water. All these isles are connected, and include a lagoon in the middle, which is full of the finest fish; and sometimes there is an opening, admitting a boat or canoe in the reef, but I never saw or heard of an opening that would admit a ship.

"The reef, or the first origin of these isles, is formed by the animalcules inhabiting the lithophytes. They raise their habitation within a little of the surface of the sea, which gradually throws shells, weeds, sand, small bits of corals, and other things, on the tops of these coral rocks, and at last fairly raises them above water; where

the above things continue to be accumulated by the sea, till by a bird, or by the sea, a few seeds of plants, that commonly grow on the sea shore, are thrown up, and begin to vegetate; and by their annual decay and reproduction from seeds, create a little mould, yearly accumulated by the mixture with sand, increasing the dry spot on every side; till another sea happens to carry a cocoa-nut higher, which preserves its vegetative power a long time in the sea, and therefore will soon begin to grow on this soil, especially as it thrives equally in all kinds of soil; and thus may all these low isles have become covered with the finest cocoa-nut trees.

"The animalcules forming these reefs, want to shelter their habitation from the impetuosity of the winds, and the power and rage of the ocean; but as, within the tropics, the winds blow commonly from one quarter, they, by instinct, endeavour to stretch only a ledge, within which is a lagoon, which is certainly entirely screened against the power of both: this therefore might account for the method employed by the animalcules in building only narrow ledges of coral rocks, to secure in their middle a calm and sheltered place: and this seems to me to be the most probable cause of the origin of all the tropical low isles, over the whole South Sea."

"That excellent navigator, the late captain Flinders, gives the following interesting account of the formation of Coral Islands, particularly of Half-way Island on the north coast of Terra Australis:

"This little island, or rather the surrounding reef, which is three or four miles long, affords shelter from the south-east winds; and being at a moderate

a moderate day's run from Murray's Isles, it forms a convenient anchorage for the night to a ship passing through Torres' Strait: I named it Half-way Island. It is scarcely more than a mile in circumference, but appears to be increasing both in elevation and extent. At no very distant period of time; it was one of those banks produced by the washing up of sand and broken coral, of which most reefs afford instances, and those of Torres' Strait a great many. These banks are in different stages of progress: some, like this, are become islands, but not yet habitable; some are above high-water mark, but destitute of vegetation; whilst others are overflowed with every returning tide.

"It seems to me, that when the animalcules which form the corals at the bottom of the ocean, cease to live, their structures adhere to each other, by virtue either of the glutinous remains within, or of some property in salt water; and the interstices being gradually filled up with sand and broken pieces of coral washed by the sea, which also adhere, a mass of rock is at length formed. Future races of these animalcules erect their habitations upon the rising bank, and die in their turn to increase, but principally to elevate, this monument of their wondrous labours. The care taken to work perpendicularly in the early stages, would mark a surprising instinct in these diminutive creatures. Their wall of coral for the most part, in situations where the winds are constant, being arrived at the surface, affords a shelter, to leeward of which their infant colonies may be safely sent forth; and to this their instinctive foresight it seems to be owing, that the windward side of a reef exposed

to the open sea, is generally, if not always, the highest part, and rises almost perpendicular, sometimes from the depth of 200, and perhaps many more fathoms. To be constantly covered with water, seems necessary to the existence of the animalcules, for they do not work, except in holes upon the reef, beyond low-water mark; but the coral sand and other broken remnants thrown up by the sea, adhere to the rock, and form a solid mass with it, as high as the common tides reach. That elevation, surpassed the future remnants, being rarely covered, lose their adhesive property; and remaining in a loose state, form what is usually called a key, upon the top of the reef. The new bank is not long, in being visited by sea birds; salt plants take root upon it, and a soil begins to be formed; a cocoa-nut, or the drupe of a pandanus, is thrown on shore; land birds visit it, and deposit the seeds of shrubs and trees; every high tide, and still more every gale, adds something to the bank; the form of an island is gradually assumed; and last of all comes man to take possession.

"Half-way Island is well advanced in the above progressive state; having been many years, probably some ages, above the reach of the highest spring tides, or the wash of the surf in the heaviest gales. I distinguished, however, in the rock which forms its basis, the sand, coral, and shells, formerly thrown up, in a more or less perfect state of cohesion. Small pieces of wood, pumice stone, and other extraneous bodies which chance had mixed with the calcareous substances when the cohesion began, were inclosed in the rock; and in some cases were still separable from

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it without much force. The upper part of the island is a mixture of the same substances in a loose state, with a little vegetable soil; and is covered with the casuarina and a variety of other trees and shrubs,

which give food to parroquets, pigeons, and some other birds; to whose ancestors, it is probable, the island was originally indebted for this vegetation."

DESCRIPTION OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

[From Britton's Cathedral Antiquities.]

"THIS church is remarkable as being the most uniform, regular, and systematic in its arrangement and architecture of any ancient cathedrals in England; and in this respect is also contradistinguished to those on the continent: for whilst all the others consist of dissimilar and often heterogeneous parts and styles, that of Salisbury is almost wholly of one species, and of one era of execution. It appears not only to have been constructed from one original design, but to have remained to the present day, nearly in the state it was left by its builders: at least we do not readily perceive any very discordant additions, or serious and palpable dilapidations. Hence consistency and harmony are its characteristics; and from this cause the architectural antiquary must view it with admiration, and investigate its execution with satisfaction, and even with pleasure. Independently of the style, or class of architecture, and divested of all prepossessions or prejudices in behalf of Grecian, Roman, or other classical examples, as certain edifices are called, the young architect is called on to scrutinize the present

cathedral, for its symmetry, magnitude, and construction. He will do well to analyze his own emotion, after first viewing this noble pile, and endeavour to ascertain the causes of amazement, admiration, or delight, as these may be jointly or separately excited by the object. It is his duty to store his mind with knowledge, to seek for useful information rather from example than from theory: and this cannot be better acquired than from an edifice that has stood the test of eight centuries, is evidently scientific in its design, and bold and original in execution. Such is the church we are now surveying: and therefore I have thought it requisite to represent its general features by perspective views, taken internally and externally; and by plans, sections, and details, to show its anatomy, or members.

"The whole of this cathedral may be said to consist of six distinct and separate portions or members:—1. The church: 2. The tower and spire:—3. The cloister:—4. The north porch: 5. The chapter-house:—and, 6. The chantries and monuments. Each of these has a peculiar and positive character

character and appropriation, and each is contradistinguished to the others by marked forms, and dissimilarity in style and ornament. The church consists internally of a nave, with two lateral ailes; a large transept, with an eastern aile branching off from the tower; a smaller transept, with an aile east of the former; a choir, with lateral ailes; a space east of the choir, and a lady chapel at the east end. On the north side of the church is a large porch, with a room over it; and rising from the intersection of the principal transept with the nave is a lofty tower and spire. South of the church is a square cloister, with a library over half of the eastern side; a chapter-house; a consistory court; and an octangular apartment, called the muniment room.

“Salisbury cathedral is not only peculiar for its uniformity of style, but is also remarkable for its insulated and unencumbered state and situation: for whilst most of the other great churches of England are obscured and almost enveloped with houses, trees, and walls, that of Salisbury is detached from all extraneous and disfiguring objects, and is thus laid open to the inspection of the spectator. It is thus rendered easy of access and of examination from several different points of view; and hence may be studied by the draftsman and architect, from such stations as best display the form and effect of the whole. From this circumstance Salisbury cathedral is popularly regarded as the finest church in England; and from the same cause, it is certainly peculiarly imposing on the eye and imagination of the stranger. It is customary for visitors to approach it from the east, and

having reached the north east angle of the enclosed cemetery, where the whole edifice is commanded at a single glance, the effect is pleasingly sublime; and where it constitutes at once a beautiful and picturesque mass. A series and succession of pediments, pinnacles, buttresses, windows, and bold projections, crowned with the rich tower and lofty spire, are embraced at one view, and fill the eye and mind as a homogeneous whole. The northern front however is generally monotonous in effect, and to be seen to advantage should be visited when the morning sun lights up one side of the tower and the eastern sides of the transepts, as in the print here referred to; or when the summer sun is declining in the west, and throws its golden rays on the northern faces of the transepts, and tips the pinnacles and other projections with sparkling gleams of brightness. At this time also the recesses are dark and solemn, which enhances the grandeur, and augments the magnitude of the edifice. In the twilight of evening, or when the moon is about forty-five degrees above the western horizon, and displays her demi face amidst solemn azure and fleecy vapours, then the effect is still more awful and impressive; the enthusiastic spectator is rivetted to the scene; his mind wanders in reveries of delight; and his enraptured imagination “darts from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,” in rapid and daring flights. Should the deep-toned organ sound at such a moment, and reiterate its solemn music through the ailes, the effect would be infinitely augmented. Considered also with relation to architectural and picturesque effect, other points of view may be selected

lected and examined as fine, beautiful, or grand. The east end, is a singular instance of symmetrical arrangement of parts, and may be said to embrace an association of the beautiful, picturesque, and sublime. From the correspondency and harmony of members the first is produced; whilst the second may be said to reside in the variety of pinnacles, pediments, surface, and parts, with the pyramidal arrangement of the whole; and the magnitude and loftiness of the transepts, and end of the church, with the misty altitude of the spire, certainly produce a sublime effect. The south side of the edifice corresponds in elevation with the north, but is partly obscured by the chapter-house, muniment room, cloister, and library. The wall of the latter, indeed, rising very high, and being flat and unornamented, is injurious to the effect of that side. In picturesque and scenic features however this blemish is partly counteracted, by various clumps, single trees, and shrubs, with which the bishop's garden abounds. The extent of this garden, and its park-like appearance, constitute pleasing contrasts and variety to the other views of the cathedral.

"In the western fronts of their large churches, the ecclesiastical architects generally exerted their powers to produce novelty, variety, elegance, and grandeur. Those of Wells, York, and Peterborough, are interesting examples: each is dissimilar to the other, but each has its peculiar and eminent beauty. That of Salisbury is also generally regarded as very fine; and I am willing to allow that it has some positive, and some relative merits; but the one is to be found in parts, and the other when compared with

many mean or formal facades. Its buttresses, windows, and bold niches are so many elegant features; but the square outline of the whole front, as seen in elevation, is far from being either beautiful, picturesque, or pleasing. This point was chosen for the purpose of showing the true architectural design of the front. The colouring of this elevation, when lighted up by the evening sun, and the deep and sharp shadows beneath the canopies and behind the buttresses, combine to give great richness, and a brilliant effect to the whole. This front consists of five divisions or compartments, of varied decoration, in its perpendicular arrangement; with eight divisions, horizontally, in each of the angular staircase turrets; six in each of the next compartments; and five in the central division. Four large buttresses, ornamented with canopied niches, statues, &c. project from the face; and the lower compartment between these buttresses are filled by porticoes, or porches supported on clustered columns. Each of these porticoes has three open arches crowned with pediments; and the central arch of each has a corresponding opening or door-way to the interior, one to the nave, and another to each aisle. That of the centre is separated into two equal divisions by a clustered column, over which are three niches, originally intended for statues. On the right and left of this door-way, are some blank arches, supported by clustered columns, the capitals of which are sculptured to imitate various foliage. The remaining features of the west front, may be said to consist of a principal central window, divided into three openings, communicating light to the nave; two double windows

windows in the pediment above, opening to the space between the lead roof and arched roof; a single window of two lights, over the lateral porches, and opening to the aisles; two other windows of double lights, communicating to the galleries over the aisles: besides which there is a great number of niches with bold canopies, a few statues, pedestals for others, and a band of lozenge-shaped mouldings, with quatrefoil panels, extending horizontally across two divisions of the front, and returning round the turrets. As the architect could not continue this ornament in a straight line, through the middle compartment, he has raised it over the windows, and thus contrived to fill a space that would otherwise have been blank. The eastern side of the western front, with its ground plan, which also displays a sectional representation of the form and construction of the walls and buttresses, the vaulting of the nave and aisles, the space and timber work between the vault and roofs, with an elevation of the interior west end of the nave and aisles. The accompanying plan shows the walls, a window on the north side with its central mullion and detached columns, the staircases, projection of the buttresses, proportion and situations of the clustered columns of the nave, direction of the groined ribs in the vaults, with the door-way, &c. to the consistory court, from the south aisle.

“The north porch projects from the northern aisle, near the west end; and both in the ground plan and general views, it appears a discordant and extraneous object. It neither assimilates with the elevation, nor is it supported by any corresponding appendage. As a single

architectural object it is however beautiful, both internally and externally; and is in the same style as the western front.

“The tower, rising from the roof, and near the centre of the church, consists of two divisions, and its whole surface is decorated with pilasters, columns, arches, panels, crocketed pediments, foliated pinnacles, and three different and varied bands or parapets. Each angle of this tower is crowned with an octangular turret with a spire having an embattled base, and ornamented with knobs at each angle. Connected with these, and disposed to unite them with the great spire, are four ornamented members, charged with knobs, pinnacles, crockets, and finials. The octangular spire rises from the centre of the tower: four of its sides rest on the walls of the latter, and four on arches raised at the angles. At this place the wall of the tower is five feet in thickness; two of which are occupied by the base of the spire, two by a passage round, and one by the parapet. The wall of this spire gradually diminishes in thickness for about twenty feet above the tower, where it is reduced to nine inches, and is continued of that thickness to the summit. The timber framing within is curiously and ingeniously contrived. Externally the spire is ornamented with ribs at every angle, each of which has two rows of knobs attached to it. The spire is divided into four nearly equal portions, by bands of tracery, panels, &c.; and at the base are four decorated door-ways to the parapet of the tower. The two uppermost divisions, or stories of the tower, and the whole of the spire, are evidently of later erection than the church, or of the lower story of

of the tower; the style of architecture is more enriched; and in the forms and ornaments of the pediments, pinnacles, and open parapets, it resembles the much-admired crosses raised by King Edward I. and other works towards the end of the thirteenth century, specimens of which may be found in "the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.") The spire of the church of Old St. Paul's, London, said to have been constructed in 1221, was five hundred and twenty feet in height; but it consisted mostly, if not wholly, of timber and lead. The height, to the top of the cross of the present dome, is three hundred and seventy feet. (See History and Description of St. Paul's Church, &c. by Edmund Aikin, Architect; with Plans, Elevation, Section, &c. 4to. 1813). The great column of London, called "the Monument," is two hundred and two feet high; just half the altitude of the spire of Salisbury. It seems that the architect of this spire was ambitious of carrying its apex higher than any similar building of stone in England; and though it is not of equal altitude to that of St. Stephen's church at Vienna, or that of Strasburg (that of Strasburg is said to be four hundred and fifty-six feet in height; and that of Vienna four hundred and eighty-five); yet its vast height has rendered it an object of common wonderment, as well as of great curiosity and interest to the architect. From the ground to the highest point it is four hundred and four feet, as ascertained by Colonel Wynham in 1684. Other accounts state it at four hundred, and at four hundred and ten feet; but the colonel appears to have been careful and scientific in his operations; and from the height of the object, and its complicated timber-work and

floors, it is scarcely possible to be specific to two or three inches. In designing this tower and spire, as supplementary to the former work, the architect evinced an original and daring genius: he seems to have spurned at precedent, and boldly determined to raise a lofty edifice in the upper regions, and create a foundation for it far above the earth. To have made plans, designs, or models, for the whole tower and spire, *ab origine*; would not have been difficult or surprising; but to determine on such a thing, after the tower had been built, and its foundation had received its destined load, was an act of enthusiasm bordering on insatiation. Such however are the amazing powers of the human mind, when inspired by genius and governed by science, that apparent impossibilities can be surmounted, and prodigies of art effected. To raise the tower and spire, as now executed, it was necessary to strengthen and sustain the older work with numerous buttresses, iron braces, and other contrivances; for the old wall was light and thin, as more than half of its thickness was occupied by a corridor, or open gallery. It was also perforated by eight door-ways, as many windows, and four staircases at the angles. Price, in his "Observations," says, that "one hundred and twelve additional supports, exclusive of bandages of iron, were introduced into this part of the tower." The windows were filled up, and three hundred and eighty-seven superficial feet of new foundation were formed. At the same time it is presumed, that the arches and counter-arches were raised across the small transept. "All these circumstances together," Price observes, "are enough to frighten any man in his senses,

senses, from pursuing so rash and dangerous an undertaking;" yet the architect prosecuted and completed the arduous task. It has now braved the storms and tempests of more than five centuries, and if carefully superintended may remain double that length of time. That a structure of such altitude and dimensions should have swerved from the perpendicular is not surprising; and we accordingly find that a settlement has taken place at the western side, or rather in the piers or clustered columns under the north-western and south-western angles of the tower. This was discovered soon after the work was completed; and various methods have been employed, at different times, to ascertain the precise extent of the declination and to counteract its danger. By the examination and account of Price, we learn that at the top of the parapet of the tower, the wall declines nine inches to the south, and three and three eighths to the west; whilst at the capstone of the spire, the declination is

twenty-four inches and a half to the south, and sixteen and a quarter to the west.

"Although this spire is an object of popular and scientific curiosity, it cannot be properly regarded as beautiful or elegant, either in itself, or a member of the edifice to which it belongs. A maypole or a poplar tree, a pyramid or a plain single column, can never satisfy the eye of an artist, or be viewed with pleasure by the man of taste. Either may be a beautiful accessory, or be pleasing in association with other forms. The tall thin spire is also far from being an elegant object. Divest it of its ornamental bands, crockets and pinnacles, it will be tasteless and formal, as we may see exemplified in the pitiful obelisk in the centre of Queen Square, Bath; but associate it with proportionate pinnacles, or other appropriate forms, and like the spire of St. Mary's church in Oxford, and that of the south-western tower at Peterborough Cathedral, we are then gratified.

ON THE ENCAUSTIC PAINTING OF THE ANCIENTS.

[By M. CHAPTAL. From the *Annales de Chémie, and the Philosophical Journal*.]

"PLINY distinguishes colours as *colores austeri* and *colores floridi*, i. e. colours of a low value, and brilliant and clear colours: he adds that the latter were furnished to the painter by the person who made them; and he places in this class *minium*, *armenium*, *chryso-*

colle, *indicum*, and *purpurissum*. The *ochres*, *ceruse*, *sandaracque*, and black, are of the former description.

"Synopsis was a red earth with which minium was sophisticated.

"Melinum, according to the characters indicated by Pliny, appears

to

to us to have been a white clay. Nevertheless the ancients also employed in their fresco paintings the paste of lime, as I have ascertained by analysing some colours used by the ancients. These whites produced by lime have been preserved without alteration. The melinum was brought from Melos and Samos; but the latter was too fat, and the painters made but little use of it."

"The ancients also distinguished two kinds of ceruse. That which Pliny called *cerussa cremana* or *usta*, seems to me to be only burnt ochre slaked in vinegar. It was used for painting shadows. The other kind of ceruse, which the Greeks called *psynmythium*, and the Latins *cerussa*, was obtained by the action of vinegar on lead. The ladies used it for the skin; the painters used it also: but Pliny places it in the third rank only among the white colours.

"The black colour or *atramentum* of the ancient painters was successively the ivory black of Apelles, the soot-black produced by the combustion of the resins, the charcoal of wood, and China ink. In order to make writing-ink, gum was added, and a fat substance (*glutinum*) in order to paint on the walls.

"The *purpurissum* held the first rank among the fine colours. It was a lake which was prepared by absorbing the decoction of madder by means of the earth which Pliny calls *creta argentaria*. I presume that this earth, which was brought from England, far from being chalk; was a very white clay, because the chalk would give a vinous lake, and the argil, on the contrary, one of a very fine red. The best *pur-*

purissum is obtained from the first decoction: by increasing the quantity of water, the qualities were of course varied.

"The ancients formed *purpurissum* also by collecting the froth which is formed on the solutions or decoctions of purple.

"The *armenium* was a blue stone, which was long brought from Armenia; but a sand was found in Spain, which rendered this colour more plentiful and cheaper.

"The green earths were also employed as a colouring principle.

"Pliny observed that all the chefs d'œuvre of the ancient painters were composed with four colours; 1st. The white reduced to *melinum* alone; 2d. Ochre; 3d. The red earth or *Pontic sinopis*; 4th. The black *atramentum*.—It was, as he says, with those four colours that Apelles, Melanthus, Nicomachus, composed their chefs d'œuvre: "and, now-a-days," he adds, "that the purple covers our walls, and that India sends us the coloured slime of her rivers, we have more paint and less of true art."

"Hence we find that the ancients employed almost none but natural colours in painting, and these were unalterable in air and water, and as we shall presently show, capable of being preserved without alteration and without degradation. But how does it happen that these very colours, most of which are used in modern paintings, change their hue on our canvass? Wherefore are our paintings incapable of preserving their colour even for a few years, while the pictures of the ancients have not lost their lustre after many centuries? This question, which is very important to the arts, deserves great attention; and I think that
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its solution can be found only in the different ways of painting practised by the ancients and moderns.

"Pliny informs us that there still existed in his day, in a temple of Ardea, a town of Latium, paintings more ancient than the city of Rome; and he expresses his astonishment that the colours had preserved all their freshness, although they were exposed to the air. Some verses underneath these paintings announced that they were the work of one Ludius, a painter of Etolia. He also mentions some works of the same painter, such as an Atalanta and a Helen, which were to be seen at Lanuvium, and which were also in good preservation, although in the ruins of a temple. The same author also speaks of still more ancient paintings which were to be seen at Ceré, a city of Etruria.

"We find, to our admiration, on the wrappings of some Egyptian mummies, and on the monuments of this ancient country of the arts, colours which have not lost much of their lustre. I have seen fragments of ancient paintings brought from Volsena, the ancient capital of the Etruscans; and also from the baths of Titus:—these were in admirable preservation, and they are composed of coloured earths only.

"It remains to inquire, therefore, what was the method used by the ancients in painting, and to compare it with our present processes, before we can decide on the causes of the inalterability of the ancient paintings, and on those of the degradation of modern paintings.

"Vossius informs us that the ancients formed the priming of their pictures with a coat of wax, and that this wax was coloured according to the subject which they

wished to treat: he adds, that after having applied this coating of wax, they heated it and spread it. The painters, as Varro informs us, kept their coloured wax in boxes with compartments.

"Vitruvius describes a process little different from that which we have described. He says that the coating was formed with melted wax, softened with a little oil, and applied with a pencil; it was afterwards made to penetrate the wall by means of a stove heated with charcoal, and with cloths a polish was given to it, as is practised with marble figures; vessels were also coated by this process.

"Pliny speaks of a third modification on this method: it consists in melting wax and applying it with a pencil. These various processes were employed for painting walls, wood, &c.

"Athenæus describes a festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which were carried twenty amphoræ of gold, fifty of silver, and 300 others, which were painted in wax of various colours, "*trecentas vero omnis generis ceræ coloribus pictas.*"

"Wax, therefore, was the vehicle of the colours of the ancients. The drying oils supplied its place, four centuries ago; and it is to John of Bruges that this discovery has been referred, which has been since generally adopted. Now that we know its merits and defects, we must be permitted a few reflections on its just value.

"The drying oils may of course be mixed with great facility with colours, forming with them a very manageable article: the finest and most delicate tints may thus be given: the painting in oil dries quickly, and the work of the artist is never thereby suspended; but on the

the other hand, the drying oils become yellow when they come in contact with the air, and spoil the purest colours; the white becomes yellow; the blues, with the exception of ultra marine which is almost indestructible, become green; the tints hold out irregularly, the transparent tints are obliterated by age. The coats of paint superposed, act in a different way; speedily there is no more harmony in the tones, in the shadings, nor among the various parts. The oil which is dried, progressively and constantly becomes resinous, cracks, scales off, and falls from the canvass in consequence of shrinking. All these defects are inseparable from the use of drying oils; and if the works of some schools have partly escaped these alterations, it is to the use of a small number of unalterable colours that we owe their preservation. Most of the fine pictures of our museums now exhibit nothing to our admiration but correctness of drawing, fine harmony of composition, character and expression in the figures; for the painting, properly speaking, no longer exists, and the authors of some of these fine works would not know their own pictures, if they saw them at present.

"We must therefore adopt some other method of painting, if we are animated with the noble ambition of working for posterity; and we shall hazard a few observations on the use of wax, as a method of preparing canvass, and afterwards serving as a vehicle for colours.

"The ancients prepared the base of their pictures with a coating of coloured or colourless wax, which they made even by applying heat to it: they afterwards painted over it: *Item muris obducebant ceræ lo-*

ricam, in eaque pingebant," says Vossius. It appears that they sometimes used oil to soften the wax; which was attended with the inconvenience of making the latter run when a warm body was brought close to it, with a view to unite and polish the coat. Thus Vitruvius, in speaking of this process, makes use of the words *sudare cogat*; which proves that the oil is detached, and forms an obstacle to the junction of the wax; an inconvenience which I have experienced on repeating the process. Besides, this mixture of wax and oil retains a softness and glueyness too long, which does not admit of the celerity which is wanted in these kinds of works. Pliny says that the wax may be melted by means of heat, and applied with a pencil: but as it hardens in the air with great facility, it will be difficult to form in this way a very compact coating.

"We must therefore invent another method of making wax manageable by the pencil, and which shall procure a prompt desiccation, without taking from its whiteness or consistence. We may find this desideratum, I think, in the employment of the volatile oils, or the colourless essences. It is sufficient in order to melt the wax in a volatile oil to employ it in stripes, as it is when bleached, and to sprinkle it after that with some drops of oil. A slight heat is then sufficient to operate the solution; and we thus obtain a very transparent liquid:—the same result is obtained with a fixed oil. The fixed oils well purified, or the colourless volatile oils, ought to be employed in this operation. This combination may be applied to canvass, wood, or marble, in the liquid state: it then adheres strongly to those bodies, because it penetrates

penetrates them, and forms on their surface a white and slightly transparent coating. But the solution of the wax in the volatile oil is preferable, because, in addition to its being whiter, a heat of 20 or 25 degrees is sufficient to evaporate the oil, and give more consistence to the coating. Care must at the same time be taken not to heat too strongly, lest the wax itself should be evaporated. We may also prime canvas intended for paintings in the following way:—

“When the combination of volatile oil and of wax is fixed, it forms a soft paste which may be easily spread over canvas, wood, and marble. By means of a polished hot iron, the wax is made to penetrate these various substances. The heat then evaporates the volatile oil, and a coating of wax only remains. By priming canvas, in this way we may cover both surfaces, and thus place them out of the reach of air and humidity, which will render their duration almost eternal.

“If it be only wanted to apply one colour upon a base, and to produce what the ancients called a monochrome painting, it is sufficient to mix the colour which we wish to use, with the liquid combination of oil and wax, and to stir until the mixture is hardened. We should then apply the paste to the surface of the body upon which we wish to paint, and make it penetrate by means of an iron slightly heated. Some drops of olive oil spread over the surface will facilitate the operation of polishing which it is important to give to the coat of painting: this slight coat of oil will be afterwards removed by means of a piece of leather or fine linen. By this process the polish of the mar-

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ble statues of the ancients, or of our modern stucco, is given to the painting.

“If it is desired to paint in several colours (which truly constitutes painting), wax can be coloured, and all the different tones requisite can be given to it. But this employ becomes still more difficult, because these waxes can only be applied with a pencil: it is therefore necessary to keep them in a soft state approaching to fluidity, where there is the advantage of artificial heat; or the maintenance of a temperature kept up sufficiently in the workshop. It would be possible, however, by varying the proportions of the oil, to obtain coloured pastes which might be touched and retouched by the pencil, at the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere; only the drying up would then be very slow, and I think that the wax, being brought to a permanent state of fluidity by means of several drops of alkali poured on the melted wax, would form a preferable mixture, because the wax still remains liquid, and as white as milk. It is easy to incorporate on the palette the colours with this milk of wax (*lait de cire*); it gives them a suitable consistency, and they are used with a pencil like those which are prepared with drying oil. M. Bachelier, who suggested this vehicle for colours nearly forty years ago, composed in this way pictures which have not sensibly suffered in point of colouring.

“M. Castellan lately communicated to the Institute a new method of painting, which strongly resembles that of the ancients: he begins by priming his base with a coat of melted wax, taking care previously to heat and dry the stucco and plaster: he spreads the

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wax

wax with a brush, equalizes the surface by passing a gilder's stove over it, or the hot disk which the ancients used; pieces of new cloth and coarse brushes passed over this surface terminate the work of priming. All the modifications requisite for the priming of wood, plaster, and canvas, are detailed in M. Castellan's memoir. He paints on those primings with colours ground with olive oil and not drying oil. The painting is dried by passing the stove over the picture, or by raising the temperature of the workshop to 30° or 40° of heat; or lastly, by exposing the picture to the sun. Painting on canvas requires for its desiccation a heat of 200° or 300° only. M. Castellan glazes his pictures with a transparent varnish which is made by the solution of wax in a colourless volatile oil.

"Several paintings executed by this process have been exposed for several years to all the inclemencies of the air, without being sensibly altered. Even the English lake, which fades so quickly in the sun, has not lost any of its intenseness of colour.

"The process proposed by M. Castellan appears to possess the following advantages.

1. It incorporates, by means of heat, the painting with the base and priming, in such a way that we have only one single body; whereas in painting with drying oil, the coats of priming and of painting are not melted together, but superposed on each other. We may be convinced of this by observing closely the operations resorted to in giving a fresh canvas to an old painting: every coat of paint is

found to be distinct, and adheres more or less closely, according to its thickness and the principles of which it is composed. The picture soon undergoes a great alteration by this process.

"2. In the substance which serves for priming, or preparing the base, as well as in the vehicles for the colours or the varnishing, there is nothing capable of shrinking in course of time, or from progressive desiccation; so that the painting can neither warp nor crack, nor fall off in scales.

"3. The colours being melted in the wax and covered with a coating of the same substance, are completely out of the reach of air and humidity, which are the most powerful destroyers of paintings.

"M. Castellan's process for painting has this advantage over every other hitherto practised for imitating the encaustic painting of the ancients; namely, it does not overturn the customs which obtain in all modern schools for painting: there is in painting a merit so intimately connected with the mode of execution, that a sudden change in this would be repugnant to every painter, whose ideas are more intimately connected than is generally supposed with the mode of expressing them. Several landscapes which have been painted by M. Castellan, and two large portraits by M. Tauney, exhibit no difference from common oil paintings: we perceive in them the same freedom of penciling, the same boldness of touch, clean execution, lightness of colouring, and the same transparency of tone."

ON THE GOLD COAST OF GUINEA.

[By M. DENYS DE MONTFORT. From the *Bibliothèque Physico-économique* and the *Phil. Journ.*]

THE mountains in the interior of Africa contain in their sides great numbers of gold mines: they are very seldom wrought, however, the natives confining themselves almost entirely to collecting the gold-dust which is found upon washing certain earths which may be termed auriferous. In many countries of this vast continent the earth is as it were impregnated with gold; and not only do we meet with it in powder, but in considerable masses. This gold has formed and still forms the object of a very extensive and lucrative commerce: the natives of the interior bring it down to the inhabitants of the coast, and the latter sell it in their turn to the Europeans, who have given it the name of the Gold Coast, where it most abounds. Sometimes the gold-merchants, who are also slave-dealers, treat directly with strangers, but the latter most frequently purchase gold which has already passed from nation to nation, and through several hands. In spite of all the attempts which have been made, and particularly in latter times by the English, to penetrate into the interior of Africa, this interior is still very little known to us, and the city of Tombuctoo,—that city which is said to contain an immense population,—is still problematical, for we have nothing on the subject but

the vague and lying assertions of some Moorish and African merchants. Some of the latter undertake long voyages, which frequently last upwards of a month. Being situated at two or three hundred leagues from the coast, they penetrate as much further into the interior in order to procure gold, slaves, and elephants' teeth, which they deliver to the European vessels or establishments. In short, these people are very mysterious in all their operations, and it is very difficult to obtain from them the slightest intelligence: not only their taciturnity, their reserve and jealousy, are obstacles, but their various languages furnish others, for it requires an interpreter always to make oneself understood. Africa is so divided among tribes without number, that we presume it would not be difficult to reckon more than a thousand different languages, without including the numerous dialects which are derived from them. It is thus that we see arrive from the source of the river of Volta, the mouth of which is situated in $5^{\circ} 55'$ north latitude, people who from tribe to tribe, and from interpreter to interpreter, at length fall in with the great island of Malfi, a kind of religious capital, which, placed in the midst of the river, is still upwards of 60 leagues from the coast, and the inhabitants of which,

almost all brokers, and of course linguists, end by accompanying them to the sea-shore.

"Whether it is in small grains or in dust, the gold of Guinea is extremely pale in colour, although very pure; and it greatly resembles the filings of yellow copper, with which negroes or other cheats mix it fraudulently. When a negro plays this trick, if he is discovered (and this is easily done by aqua-fortis), he is instantly made a slave: a white man comes off a little better. But there is still another fraud which a buyer must be upon his guard against: this is when the gold has not been thoroughly cleaned; and as the sand mixed with it is quartzous, the nitric acid has no effect on it: in this case it requires a keen eye, a glass, or even the crucible if it be at hand. The gold-dust is the only part of this precious metal which the blacks sell to Europeans. The lumps, of which there are some so large that the king of Assianti possesses one requiring four men to lift it, (the negroes call these pieces "image gold,") are held sacred, and when they do not exceed an ounce in weight are bored to make necklaces and bracelets for the arms or legs. They know also how to work and melt them. The principal image or grand deity of Akra is a man's head of solid gold, or perhaps even a naturally formed mass which has assumed that form.

The black merchant is always extremely skilful in this commerce: he knows the price of what he sells with the utmost precision; and that there may be no fraud, he weighs it himself with scales which he always carries with him. Formerly this trade was much more

considerable than it is now:—we shall see the reason presently.

"The negroes have in common with Europeans two ways of procuring gold, digging and washing. The negroes of the coast are washers only, while those who live among the mountains are essentially miners.

"The mountains of Guinea, at least those which we are acquainted with, are in general granitic and schistous; thin masses of granite, as their summits prove, have formed by the lapse of time, and by their detritus the gneiss which forms broad beds on their lower flanks. In the rainy seasons, torrents descend from these mountains, carrying with them stones and gravel, which being torn from the higher rocks present the same elements. These mountains are filled with mines of gold and iron. The first of these metals seems to have been sought for by negroes from time immemorial: as to the latter, they do not know how to use it, and it is not the interest of Europeans to teach them: gold is found in them in a primitive state in narrow stripes, and it is found as usual between two layers of a granite, finer, more compact, and more highly coloured than the rest of the rock: the negroes have not yet thought of working the latter, but it is probable that avarice will compel them to do so, now that the slave-trade is abolished, and that the excess of population is forced to provide for itself: for, notwithstanding the enormous exportation of human beings being stopped, they have still their helots: these are negroes who are slaves either from being taken in war, from being insolvent debtors, from hav-

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ing lost their personal liberty at play, or from their being sold by their parents. As to malefactors and rebels, they are uniformly sold to Europeans.

“ The negroes, therefore, work only the auriferous sands and the gneiss or schistous beds and banks of granite, which constitute the base of their mountains, and which being friable are easily dug into. If they attack the sides, they dig a fosse in the first place from twenty to thirty feet in depth, on an indeterminate breadth, until they begin to be alarmed for the crumbling down of the earth; the gold, as being heavier than quartz, schorl, and feldspar, the constituent principles of primitive granite, has been deeper seated in their common fall: they begin to find it, however, at the depth of three feet: they had no idea of using props of wood until they were taught by Europeans, and nothing in the world could induce them to make a regular pit, or bury themselves under ground. In proportion as they advance in the work, the lumps are put into pouches fixed round their waists, and some miners get very rich, as they only pay the king a fixed and daily allowance. In 1790, the king of Assianti had six hundred slaves at work for him, each of whom engaged to supply him with half an ounce per diem, and some of them had so much good sense as to form a sort of company, and throw into a joint stock the fruits of their labours. The earth thrown up during the digging is laid in heaps on the edges of the fosse, where other miners, their wives and children, receive it in bags and carry it to the nearest river on their heads, for the negro never carries any thing on his back. They wade

into the river up to the middle, and then dexterously dipping in their bags, they wash and shake its contents, so as to make the gold fall to the bottom; they then pour off the sand and earth, and the gold-dust remains.

“ As to the gold-finders on the banks of rivers and the sea-shore, they are less fortunate in their researches, and it is generally women who are thus employed. They conduct themselves precisely like the mountaineers, who in their turn are more fortunate than those on the sea-shore: the latter collect in bags the sand thrown up by a tempest, and act precisely like the former by washing, &c. In general the price of gold is fixed in Africa, and never fluctuates; in Europe it is supposed to yield 25 per cent. profit.

“ But it is not so considerable now as it has been; for several African princes more powerful than others, and anxious to secure a monopoly, have compelled the weaker to renounce all searching for gold. Thus the sovereign of Akim, who has been conquered by the king of Assianti, dares not any longer work his rich mines; they used to furnish upwards of 80 ounces of gold per week to the coast, i. e. nearly 5000 ounces of gold per annum.

“ From what has been said, it is not to be wondered that the English have attached much importance to exploring the interior of Africa; and without admitting all the reports on the subject to be true, it cannot be doubted that the precious metal is very abundant, and that the mines may still be considered as virgin mines, never having been visited by Europeans.

“ In the year 1800 a society was formed in France for exploring Africa,

rica, and it soon consisted of 300 persons : but it received no encouragement from the government, and fell to pieces. For my part, I had quitted it previously, on being appointed in mineralogist to the voyage round the world under Captain Baudin.

"Certainly, if France will consent to abandon for ever the odious slave trade, our august sovereign will have it in his power not only to promote greatly the welfare of his own country, but the peace and tranquillity of Africa. There exists no country in the world so susceptible of general cultivation : we know that certain districts in Africa are fertile in corn, and grain of every kind grows there intermixed with sugar canes lately introduced,

and which protect the grain from hail. The plants of India, America and Australasia, or the fifth portion of the globe, will flourish there in perpetual spring, and the animals of all climates can be easily naturalized. The negroes, whose respect for the whites is extreme, notwithstanding what they have suffered from them, will cheerfully give up their fields to be cultivated by us. Hands, servants, and even slaves will not be wanting; and this will be a true method of preventing these nations from massacring their prisoners of war, as the king of Dahomet does at the present moment. May our feeble voice on this subject reach the ear of royalty !"

ON THE COAL GAS OF COAL MINES.

[By M. J. B. LONGMIRE, in Thomson's Annals of Philosophy.]

"MANY opinions have been entertained respecting the origin of the inflammable air of coal-mines. Some writers attribute its existence in these mines to the agency of iron pyrites: the pyrites, they say, decomposes the water, unites with its oxygen, and becomes sulphate of iron or green vitriol, while its hydrogen is set at liberty in a gaseous state. Other persons assert that the coal is undergoing a slow decomposition, and that the inflammable air and carbonic acid gas are given out by it in consequence. And other persons maintain the opinion that it exhales from

the putrefying animal and vegetable matter in the stagnant water of coal-mines. But before we conclude as to its origin, let us carefully examine its mode of entry into the mine. The carbureted hydrogen gas proceeds from the body of the coal, and generally enters the mine from the pores, sometimes from the seams of distinct concretions, and occasionally from small rents of the coal. A miner extends a common working at the rate of two or three yards every week; and if he is cutting through the gas-yielding parts of the coal, they generally discharge all their gas, or as the miner calls

calls it, "bleed off," as fast as he advances: so that the greatest quantity of the gas always enters a working near its forehead. But, although the gas is exhausted in the most of these workings as fast as they are driven, there are many places where the coal continues to yield gas for several weeks, or months, after workings are driven past them. This gas, besides entering the mine from the coal, sometimes proceeds from small rents in the incumbent strata. In many of the coal formations these rents are small, not numerous, and generally only simply filled with gas; but in some they are large, numerous, and filled with gas, which appears to have been forced into them by a compressing power; for on meeting with them, it issues into the mine with considerable velocity. These gas-yielding rents are frequently met with in the coal-mines round Newcastle-on-the-Tyne; and the gas is often discharged into these mines in such streams, as to be compared, in force and quantity, with the air from powerful blast furnaces; but the quantity of gas discharged, however great at first, continually decreases till the rents cease to yield it.

"The gas-yielding parts of the coal differ considerably in dimensions; they are situated at variable distances from one another; and the quantity of gas varies very much in different parts, as well as in different situations in any one part. Sometimes the gas-yielding parts have the characteristic appearance of the common coal, but occasionally they are softer, in small pieces, or dusty; in some parts iron pyrites is abundant; in others it is not found; water sometimes en-

ters the mine along with the gas, but often the gas comes off alone; but the coal has its characteristic appearance, or is soft, in small pieces, or dusty, in many parts which give out water, but not gas; so that the parts which produce this gas, apparently, are not essentially different to those which do not produce it.

"When the carbureted hydrogen gas leaves the coal alone, it comes off silently; but when accompanied with water, it always makes a noise. When it enters the mine, along with water, from many pores, in small quantities, and at intervals, various sounds are produced, which have some resemblance to those expertly made on the musical glasses, but which are not so loud, though more agreeable. If the gas escape much quicker, the sounds are considerably lower, but not so various as in the first instance: this is a simmering noise, and would be well imitated by the noise from the pipes of a few tea-kettles when boiling gently. But if the gas escape more copiously than in the last instance, it makes a hissing noise, not unlike, but not so loud, as that made by the steam escaping quickly from the safety valve of a steam-engine.

"If the gas is set on fire as it enters a working, when the atmospheric current is traversing the mine, its inflammation is carried on, close to the sides of the coal wall, under different circumstances. Where the gas enters the mine sparingly, but from many pores and seams, to set it on fire, the candle must be moved in every direction along the sides or forehead of a working; then it will inflame the gas issuing from one pore, after it has

has done so with that from another as it moves forwards; and each inflammation will resemble in sound and appearance that which is produced by the firing of two or three grains of gunpowder. When it enters more abundantly after the gas from one pore is fired, the burning gas fires the gas from many pores, during which the flame flies from the first pore in a very varying direction, and in a very fantastic and entertaining manner; for sometimes it runs horizontally for a small distance, then bends obliquely in different directions, then perhaps horizontally, and then obliquely again, till it ceases. During these motions the flame of the gas issuing into the mine from the first pore touched the gas from an adjoining pore, and set it on fire, which did so with the gas from a third pore, and thus the motion of the flame continued; but as the gas issues from every pore at intervals, the portion set on fire at the first pore was consumed before another issued from it, but not before it inflamed the portion of gas then escaping from the second pore, which, though consumed before another portion left that pore, communicated with the gas of a third pore, and so on. In this manner the

flame's flitting motion was produced. When the gas escapes from the pores of the coal in constant streams, or at least in a succession of portions at very small intervals, the flame is stationary at every pore.

“With the help of these remarks, we may make the following conclusions as to the origin of the carbureted hydrogen gas of coal-mines. It is a part of the matter of the coaly strata; but how it is separated we cannot exactly determine. It may be set at liberty by the action of the component parts of the coal on one another; but not in the way of decomposition by fermentation. Or it may consist of an original redundancy of volatile matter which has been kept in by pressure, but which, as soon as hollows are made into the coal, is suffered to escape. The gas, by either mode of formation, may very well exist in the rents above the coal: for as these rents were forming, room was made for the gas to lodge in; and, to account for its degree of compression, we know that it afterwards escapes from the coal with a great force, and, if suffered to fill hollows like these rents, would leave them with a similar velocity.”

PROPOSED METHODS OF PREVENTING THE EXPLOSION OF COAL GAS IN MINES.

[From the same.]

“ **A**T the second meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh for the winter sessions, a paper was read, by Dr. Murray, on a plan for lighting mines so as to guard against explosions from the kindling of fire-damp. It had been before explained to several scientific gentlemen, and announced in the public papers; and an outline of it had been transmitted to Newcastle, where a very favourable opinion had been expressed with regard to it. The leading idea on which it is founded is, that the inflammable gas constituting fire-damp accumulates in the roof of the passages and workings of the mine, mingling with the atmospheric air, and at length forming a mixture, which is exploded by coming in contact with the candles or lamps of the miners; and that this mixture can never accumulate so as to fill the whole space, at least while the mine is worked, for the miner would become affected by breathing the carbureted hydrogen gas, independent of other appearances which would indicate its presence. The simple means of security, therefore, against its explosion, is to bring the air to sustain the flame of the lamp or candle from the floor of the mine; and this is easily done, by burning the lamp within a glass case, having a small aperture at the top to admit of the escape of the heated air and smoke,

of such a size that the current shall always pass outwards, and thus prevent any of the external air from entering by it, and having attached to the under part of it a tube reaching to the floor of the mine to convey the air to the flame. In the fixed lamps this tube may be of iron or copper; and moveable lamps, which the miner can carry in the hand, may be constructed with a flexible tube of prepared leather, varnished, of such a length as to reach to the floor.

“ Besides the security given by this apparatus by bringing the air to support the flame from the floor of the mine, it has other means of security: one in particular, Dr. M. remarked, is the rarefaction of the air within the case; whence, if even any mixture of inflammable air were to enter, there is little or no probability that it would be inflamed. He referred to the experiments of Grotthus, as proving that mixtures of inflammable gases with atmospheric air, or even with oxygen gas cannot be inflamed if they are in a certain degree of rarefaction; and he quoted the observations of Dr. Thomson, that the exploding power of carbureted hydrogen is not considerable, that a certain proportion of it with atmospheric air is necessary to enable it to inflame, and that no mixture of fire-damp with atmospheric air can be made to explode out of the mine. In
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the small quantity, therefore, in which it must be within the lamp, in its small state from the heat, and with a diluted atmosphere, there is no probability whatever that it would be inflamed: and by properly adjusting the size of the aperture, this might even be carried so far that, instead of inflaming, it would weaken or extinguish, the flame; and still more, if ever inflammation or detonation should take place within the lamp, there would be no chance of this being communicated to the air of the mine. If, notwithstanding all these means of security, danger should be dreaded in any particular situation, it might be effectually guarded against by conveying pure air from the bottom of the shaft through an iron tube, which by upright tubes might communicate both with the fixed and moveable lamps. This, however, would probably be seldom necessary.

“The accumulation of the fire-damp, when it occurred, would be indicated by its smell, or by its effect on respiration; and if it ever proceeded to that extent, by its effect in weakening the flame of the lamp; and when suspected, could be easily ascertained by more accurate trials. Its discharge can be effected by opening a more perfect ventilation, or by the application of a steam-engine, or an exhausting machine.

“This method Dr. M. suggested might even be applied with safety so as to light the mines with great economy and advantage by coal gas. The same method admits also of being used with equal effect to guard against choak-damp, the other deleterious gas which occurs in mines and other situations.”

“On the 9th of November the

Society met for the first time after the long vacation. A paper by sir H. Davy on the fire-damp in coal-mines was read. The author had been invited by Dr. Grey to examine the subject, in order to discover, if possible, some method of preventing those explosions which of late years have proved so fatal to the lives of the colliers. He accordingly visited several of the mines, and analyzed the pure gas collected from a blower. He states, as Mr. Longmire had done before him (*Annals of Philosophy*, vi. 172), that this gas is extricated from the crevices of the coals; and he found that when a large piece of coal was broken to pieces under water, inflammable gas was given out. The result of his analysis of the gas was precisely the same with the previous result obtained by Dr. Henry (*Nich. Jour.* xix. 149), that it was pure carbureted hydrogen gas. It required twice its bulk of oxygen gas to consume it, and nearly its own bulk of carbonic acid gas. This is characteristic of carbureted hydrogen, as both Mr. Dalton and myself have ascertained. He found the specific gravity to be 0.639, but his specimen was mixed with common air. I have shown the true specific gravity of this gas to be 0.555 (*Wenerian Memoirs*, i. 508).

“He found it much less combustible than other combustible gases. Iron heated to whiteness does not set it on fire. It requires actual flame. This fact has induced him to propose a lantern made air-tight, with a hole below to admit air, and one above to act as a chimney, as a complete security against the explosion of the fire-damp in coal-mines. He found that when a mixture of common air and carbureted hydrogen gas,

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in such proportions as to explode, is let up into such a lantern, the flame increases, so as nearly to fill the lantern, and then the lamp goes out. He conceives that whenever in a coal-mine the air is mixed with carbureted hydrogen to the exploding point, that such lamps would go out, and no explosion would follow. But such an experiment would be very hazardous. The fact is, that in such a case the gas within the lantern burns, and of course extinguishes the lamp; but in all probability the gaseous combustion would extend itself through the holes in the lantern, which are filled with gas at the exploding point, and set fire to the whole mixture in the mine. This would certainly happen sometimes, if not always; so that the lantern of Davy would furnish no certain security to the miners. The lamp of Dr.

Clanny, if properly improved, is a much safer contrivance, and might be made equally cheap.

"I ascertained that the limits of the explosion of this gas were 12 volumes of air and one of gas, and six volumes of air and one of gas. As far as I could understand Sir H. Davy's experiments, they led nearly to the same result. He succeeded in exploding a mixture of this gas and common air by electricity. I could not succeed in this, not having, it seems, hit upon the exploding proportions, though I tried a great many between the two limits.

"Sir H. Davy constructed likewise lanterns with valves to prevent the escape of gas from the lantern when it explodes. This would certainly render the lantern safe, provided it can be constructed so as to allow the lamp to burn."

ENORMOUS DIAMOND OF THE RAJAH OF MATTAN.

[From the Transactions of the Batavian Society.]

"THE largest diamond hitherto found is in the possession of the Rajah of Mattan, in the island of Borneo, in which island it was found about 80 years ago. It is shaped like an egg, with an indented hollow near the smaller end. It is said to be of the finest water. It weighs 367 carats. Now as 156 carats are equal to 1 oz. troy, it is obvious that this diamond weighs 2 oz. 169.87 gr. troy. Many years ago the Governor of Batavia tried to purchase this diamond. He sent a Mr. Stuvart to the Rajah, who

offered 150,000 dollars, two large war brigs with their guns and ammunition, together with a certain number of great guns, and a quantity of powder and shot. The Rajah, however, refused to deprive his family of so valuable an hereditary possession, to which the Malays attach the miraculous power of curing all kinds of diseases, by means of the water in which it is dipped, and with which they imagine that the fortune of the family is connected."

N&W

NEW MODE OF MANUFACTURING HEMP AND FLAX.

[From Thomson's Annals of Philosophy.]

“**A**BOUT two years ago Mr. Lee took out a patent for obtaining hemp and flax directly from the plants by a new method. He has established a manufactory for the purpose at Old Bow, on the river Lea, near London, where his method, and the result of it, may be seen. I consider Mr. Lee's invention as the greatest improvement ever introduced into the linen business, and as likely to occasion a total change in the whole of our bleach-fields. Hitherto the only way of obtaining hemp and flax has been to steep the plants in water till they begin to rot. They are then exposed for some days to the sun spread out upon the grass, after which the woody part, now become very brittle, is removed by the flax mill, the nature of which is too well known to require any description. By these processes the fibres of the flax are weakened, and a considerable portion of them is altogether destroyed and lost. The flax, too, acquires a greenish yellow colour, and it is well known that a very expensive and tedious bleaching process is necessary to render it white. Mr. Lee neither steeps his flax, nor spreads it on the grass. When the plant is ripe, it is pulled in the usual way. It is then thrashed, by placing it between two grooved wooden beams shod with iron. One of these is fixed; the other is suspended on hinges, and is made to impinge with some force on the fixed beam; the grooves in the one

beam corresponding with flutes in the other. By a mechanical contrivance almost exactly similar, the woody matter is beaten off, and the fibres of flax left. By passing these through hackles, varying progressively in fineness, the flax is very speedily dressed, and rendered proper for the use for which it is intended. The advantages of this process are manifold. The expense of steeping and spreading is saved; a much greater produce of flax is obtained; it is much stronger; the fibres may be divided into much finer fibres, so as to obtain at once, and in any quantity, flax fine enough for the manufacture of lace. But the greatest advantage of all remains yet to be stated. Flax manufactured in this manner requires only to be washed in pure water in order to become white. The colouring matter is not chemically combined with the fibre, and therefore is removed at once by water. It is the steeping of the flax and hemp, which unites the colouring matter with the fibres, and renders the subsequent bleaching process necessary. Thus, by Mr. Lee's process, flax and hemp are obtained in much greater quantity, of much stronger quality, and much finer in the fibre than by the common method, and the necessity of bleaching is altogether superseded. The great importance of such an improvement must be at once obvious to every one.”

NEW PROCESS FOR CURING HERRINGS AND SIMILAR FISHES.

[From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c.]

RESERVOIRS of any required size are to be provided in form of tanners' pits, or backs, or vats, or casks, perfectly water-tight, which should be about one-half filled with brine made with the said salt of the spec. gravity of 1.206, water being 1.000, by dissolving about 28 parts of the salt in 72 parts fresh water.

"The fish, as fresh as possible, are to be gutted or not, and without delay plunged into this fully saturated brine in such quantity as nearly to fill the reservoirs, and after remaining therein quite immersed for five or six days, they will be effectually struck, and so fully impregnated with salt, as to be perfectly fit to be repacked as usual with large grained "solid salt," and exported to the hottest climates.

"Brine is known always to be weakest at the upper part. To remedy this, and in order that the brine be kept up to a uniform saturation, a wooden lattice-work frame, of such size as easily to be let into the inside of the reservoirs, is sunk an inch or two under the surface of the brine, for the purpose of suspending upon it lumps of 1 or 2 lbs. or larger, of "solid salt," which effectually saturate whatever moisture may exude from the fish, and thus the brine will be continued

of the utmost strength, and so long as any part of the lumps remain undissolved. The solidity of the lumps admits of their being applied several times, or whenever the reservoirs are replenished with fish; and the brine, although repeatedly used, does not putrify, nor do the fish, if kept under the surface, ever become rancid.

"All provisions are best preserved by the above method, particularly bacon, which when cured by that process, is not so liable to become rusty, as when done by the usual method of rubbing it with salt, and yet is more effectually cured.

"The solid salt may be procured in any quantity or of any size of Messrs. Londons, at the salt pit, Norwich, Cheshire; Messrs. Smith, Marten, Smith and Co. America Square, London; or Messrs. Whitehouse and Galan, Liverpool.

*** At the examination of Mr. London's pickled mackerel before the Committee, they were of opinion, that the best method of rendering them useful to the lower classes of people, would be by preparing them with potatoes in the following manner:—The raw potatoes to be scraped and boiled, and when nearly boiled sufficiently, one or more of the pickled mackerel to be then laid in the pan upon the
boiling

[318] *New Process for Curing Herrings and similar Fishes.*

boiling potatoes, and the boiling process continued till the mackerel is properly done, when the mackerel and potatoes are to be taken out of the water for use. On this plan, the potatoes will be rendered very palatable by the salt extricated from the boiling mackerel, the mackerel become tender and nutritious, and the mixture form a valuable and cheap diet.

“The sprats will also answer prepared in a similar manner with potatoes.”

P O E T R Y.

AUTUMN.

[FROM MR. W. SCOTT'S LORD OF THE ISLES.]

AUTUMN departs—but still his mantle's fold
 Rests on the groves of noble Somerville,
 Beneath a shroud of russet dropp'd with gold
 Tweed and his tributaries mingle still;
 Hoarser the wind, and deeper sounds the rill,
 Yet lingering notes of sylvan music swell,
 The deep-toned cushat, and the redbreast shrill;
 And yet some tints of summer splendour tell
 When the broad sun sinks down on Ettrick's western fell.

Autumn departs—from Gala's fields no more
 Come rural sounds our kindred banks to cheer;
 Blent with the stream, and gale that wafts it o'er,
 No more the distant reaper's mirth we hear.
 The last blithe shout hath died upon our ear,
 And harvest-home hath hush'd the clanging wain,
 On the waste hill no forms of life appear,
 Save where, sad laggard of the autumnal train,
 Some age-struck wanderer gleans few ears of scatter'd grain.

Deem'st thou these sadden'd scenes have pleasure still,
 Lovest thou through Autumn's fading realms to stray,
 To see the heath-flower wither'd on the hill,
 To listen to the woods' expiring lay,
 To note the red leaf shivering on the spray,
 To mark the last bright tints the mountain stain,
 On the waste fields to trace the gleaner's way,
 And moralize on mortal joy and pain?
 O! if such scenes thou lovest, scorn not the minstrel strain!

No!

No! do not scorn, although its hoarser note
 Scarce with the cushat's homely song can vie,
 Though faint its beauties as the tints remote
 That gleam through mist in autumn's evening sky,
 And few as leaves that tremble, scar and dry,
 When wild November hath his bugle wound;
 Nor mock my toil—a lonely gleaner I,
 Through fields time-wasted, on sad inquest bound,
 Where happier bards of yore have richer harvest found.

So shalt thou list, and haply not unmoved,
 To a wild tale of Albyn's warrior day;
 In distant lands, by the rough West reprov'd,
 Still live some reliques of the ancient lay.
 For, when on Coolin's hills the lights decay,
 With such the Seer of Skye the eve beguiles;
 'Tis known amid the pathless wastes of Reay,
 In Harries known, and in Iona's piles,
 Where rest from mortal coil the Mighty of the Isles.

THE INVOCATION.

[From the same.]

“**W**AKE, Maid of Lorn!” the Minstrels sung.
 Thy rugged halls, Artornish! rung,
 And the dark seas, thy towers that lave,
 Heaved on the beach a softer wave,
 As mid the tuneful choir to keep
 The diapason of the Deep.
 Lull'd were the winds on Inninmore,
 And green Loch-Aline's woodland shore,
 As if wild woods and waves had pleasure
 In listing to the lovely measure.
 And ne'er to symphony more sweet
 Gave mountain echoes answer meet,
 Since, met from mainland and from isle,
 Ross, Arran, Ilay, and Argyle,
 Each minstrel's tributary lay
 Paid homage to the festal day.
 Dull and dishonour'd were the bard,
 Worthless of guerdon and regard,
 Deaf to the hope of minstrel fame,
 Or lady's smiles, his noblest aim,
 Who on that morn's resistless call
 Were silent in Artornish hall.

“Wake,

"Wake, Maid of Lorn!" 'twas thus they sung,
 And yet more proud the descant rung,
 "Wake, Maid of Lorn! high right is ours,
 To charm dull sleep from Beauty's bowers;
 Earth, Ocean, Air, have nought so shy
 But owns the power of minstrelsy.
 In Lettermore the timid deer
 Will pause, the harp's wild chime to hear;
 Rude Heiskar's scal through surges dark
 Will long pursue the minstrel's bark;
 To list his notes, the eagle proud
 Will poise him on Ben-Calliach's cloud;
 Then let not Maiden's ear disdain
 The summons of the minstrel train,
 But, while our harps wild music make,
 Edith of Lorn, awake, awake!

"O wake, while Dawn, with dewy shine,
 Wakes Nature's charms to vie with thine!
 She bids the mottled thrush rejoice
 To mate thy melody of voice;
 The dew that on the violet lies
 Mocks the dark lustre of thine eyes;
 But, Edith, wake, and all we see
 Of sweet and fair shall yield to thee!"—
 "She comes not yet," grey Ferrand cried;
 "Brethren, let softer spell be tried,
 Those notes prolong'd, that soothing theme,
 Which best may mix with Beauty's dream,
 And whisper, with their silvery tone,
 The hope she loves, yet fears to own."—
 He spoke, and on the harp-strings died
 The strains of flattery and of pride;
 More soft, more low, more tender fell
 The lay of love he bade them tell.

"Wake, Maid of Lorn! the moments fly,
 Which yet that maiden-name allow;
 Wake, Maiden, wake! the hour is nigh,
 When Love shall claim a plighted vow.
 By Fear, thy bosom's fluttering guest,
 By Hope, that soon shall fears remove,
 We bid thee break the bonds of rest,
 And wake thee at the call of Love!

"Wake, Edith, wake! in yonder bay
 Lies many a galley gaily mann'd,
 We hear the merry pibrochs play,
 We see the streamers' silken band.

What Chieftain's praise these pibrochs swell,
 What crest is on these banners wove,
 The harp, the minstrel, dare not tell—
 The riddle must be read by Love."

ISLE OF SKYE.

[From the same.]

A WHILE their route they silent made,
 As men who stalk for mountain deer,
 Till the good Bruce to Ronald said,
 " St. Mary ! what a scene is here !
 I've traversed many a mountain-strand,
 Abroad and in my native land,
 And it has been my lot to tread
 Where safety more than pleasure led ;
 Thus, many a waste I've wander'd o'er,
 Clomb many a crag, cross'd many a moor,
 But, by my halidome,
 A scene so rude, so wild as this,
 Yet so sublime in barrenness,
 Ne'er did my wandering footsteps press,
 Where'er I happ'd to roam."—

No marvel thus the Monarch spake ;
 For rarely human eye has known
 A scene so stern as that dread lake,
 With its dark ledge of barren stone.
 Seems that primeval earthquake's sway
 Hath rent a strange and shatter'd way
 Through the rude bosom of the hill,
 And that each naked precipice,
 Sable ravine, and dark abyss,
 Tells of the outrage still.
 The wildest glen, but this, can show
 Some touch of Nature's genial glow ;
 On high Benmore green mosses grow,
 And heath-bells bud in deep Glenaroe,
 And copse on Cruchan-Ben ;
 But here,—above, around, below,
 On mountain or in glen,
 Nor tree, nor shrub, nor plant, nor flower,
 Nor aught of vegetative power,
 The weary eye may ken.

For all is rocks at random thrown,
 Black waves, bare crags, and banks of stone,
 As if were here denied
 The summer sun, the spring's sweet dew,
 That clothe with many a varied hue
 The bleakest mountain-side.

And wilder, forward as they wound,
 Were the proud cliffs and lake profound.
 Huge terraces of granite black
 Afforded rude and cumber'd track;
 For from the mountain hoar,
 Hurl'd headlong in some night of fear,
 When yell'd the wolf and fled the deer,
 Loose crags had toppled o'er;
 And some, chance-poised and balanc'd, lay,
 So that a stripling arm might sway
 A mass no host could raise,
 In Nature's rage at random thrown,
 Yet trembling like the Druid's stone
 On its precarious base.
 The evening mist, with ceaseless change,
 Now clothed the mountains' lofty range,
 Now left their foreheads bare,
 And round the skirts their mantle furl'd,
 Or on the sable waters curl'd,
 Or, on the eddying breezes whirl'd,
 Dispersed in middle air.
 And oft, condensed, at once they lower,
 When, brief and fierce, the mountain shdwer
 Pours like a torrent down,
 And when return the sun's glad beams,
 Whiten'd with foam a thousand streams
 Leap from the mountain's crown.

"This lake," said Bruce, "whose barriers drear
 Are precipices sharp and sheer,
 Yielding no track for goat or deer,
 Save the black shelves we tread:
 How term you its dark waves? and how
 Yon northern mountain's pathless brow,
 And yonder peak of dread,
 That to the evening sun uplifts
 The grisly gulphs and slaty rifts,
 Which seem its shiver'd head?"
 "Coriakin call the dark lake's name,
 Coolin the ridge, as bards proclaim,
 From old Cuchullin, chief of fame.

But bards, familiar in our isles
 Rather with Nature's frowns than smiles,
 Full oft their careless humours please
 By sportive names for scenes like these.
 I would old Torquil were to show
 His Maidens with their breasts of snow,
 Or that my noble Liege were nigh
 To hear his Nurse sing lullaby !
 (The Maids—fall cliffs with breakers white,
 The Nurse—a torrent's roaring might,)
 Or that your eye could see the mood
 Of Corryvreckin's whirlpool rude,
 When dons the Hag her whiten'd hood—
 'Tis thus our islemen's fancy frames,
 For scenes so stern, fantastic names."—

Answer'd the Bruce, " And musing mind
 Might here a graver moral find.
 These mighty cliffs, that heave on high
 Their naked brows to middle sky,
 Indifferent to the sun or snow,
 Where nought can fade, and nought can blow,
 May they not mark a Monarch's fate,—
 Raised high 'mid storms of strife and state,
 Beyond life's lowlier pleasures placed,
 His soul a rock, his heart a waste ?"

DESCRIPTION OF THE HIGHLANDS.

[From the same.]

STRANGER ! if e'er thine ardent step hath traced
 The northern realms of ancient Caledon,
 Where the proud Queen of Wilderness hath placed,
 By lake and cataract, her lonely throne ;
 Sublime but sad delight thy soul hath known,
 Gazing on pathless glen and mountain high,
 Listing where from the cliffs the torrents thrown
 Mingle their echoes with the eagle's cry,
 And with the sounding lake, and with the moaning sky.

Yea ! 'twas sublime, but sad.—The loneliness
 Loaded thy heart, the desert tired thine eye ;
 And strange and awful fears began to press
 Thy bosom with a stern solemnity.

Then hast thou wish'd some woodman's cottage nigh,
 Something that show'd of life though low and mean;
 Glad sight, its curling wreath of smoke to spy,
 Glad sound, its cock's blithe carol would have been,
 Or children whooping wild beneath the willows green.

Such are the scenes, where savage grandeur wakes
 An awful thrill that softens into sighs;
 Such feelings rouse them by dim Rannoch's lakes;
 In dark Glencoe such gloomy raptures rise:
 Or farther, where, beneath the northern skies,
 Chides wild Loch-Eribol his caverns hoar—
 But, be the minstrel judge, they yield the prize
 Of desert dignity to that dread shore,
 That sees grim Coolin rise, and hears Corisken roar.

THE CALL TO ARMS.

[From the same.]

MERRILY, merrily bounds the bark,
 She bounds before the gale,
 The mountain breeze from Ben-na-darch
 Is joyous in her sail!
 With fluttering sound like laughter hoarse,
 The cords and canvass strain,
 The waves, divided by her force,
 In rippling eddies chased her course,
 As if they laugh'd again.
 Not down the breeze more blithely flew,
 Skimming the wave, the light sea-mew,
 Than the gay galley bore
 Her course upon that favouring wind,
 And Coolin's crest has sunk behind,
 And Slapin's cavern'd shore.
 'Twas then that warlike signals wake
 Dunscaith's dark towers and Eisord's lake,
 And soon, from Cavilgarrigh's head,
 Thick wreaths of eddying smoke were spread;
 A summons these of war and wrath
 To the brave clans of Sleat and Strath,
 And, ready at the sight,
 Each warrior to his weapons sprung,
 And targe upon his shoulder flung,
 Impatient for the fight.
 Mac-Kinnons chief, in warfare grey,
 Had charge to muster their array,
 And guide their barks to Brodick-Bay.

Signal of Ronald's high command,
 A beacon gleam'd o'er sea and land,
 From Canna's tower, that, steep and grey,
 Like falcon-nest o'erhangs the bay.
 Seek not the giddy crag to climb,
 To view the turret scathed by time;
 It is a task of doubt and fear
 To aught but goat or mountain-deer.
 But rest thee on the silver beach,
 And let the aged herdsman teach
 His tale of former day;
 His cur's wild clamour he shall chide,
 And for thy seat by ocean's side,
 His varied plaid display;
 Then tell, how with their Chieftain came,
 In ancient times, a foreign dame
 To yonder turret grey.
 Stern was her lord's suspicious mind,
 Who in so rude a jail confined
 So soft and fair a thrall!
 And oft when moon on ocean slept,
 That lovely lady sate and wept
 Upon the castle-wall,
 And turn'd her eye to southern climes,
 And thought perchance of happier times,
 And touch'd her lute by fits, and sung
 Wild ditties in her native tongue.
 And still, when on the cliff and bay
 Placid and pale the moonbeams play,
 And every breeze is mute,
 Upon the lone Hebridean's ear
 Steals a strange pleasure mix'd with fear,
 While from that cliff he seems to hear
 The murmur of a lute,
 And sounds, as of a captive lone,
 That mourns her woes in tongue unknown.—
 Strange is the tale—but all too long
 Already hath it staid the song—
 Yet who may pass them by,
 That crag and tower in ruins grey,
 Nor to their hapless tenant pay
 The tribute of a sigh!

Merrily, merrily, bounds the bark
 O'er the broad ocean driven,
 Her path by Ronin's mountains dark
 The steersman's hand hath given.

And Ronin's mountains dark have sent
 Their hunters to the shore,
 And each his ashen bow unbent,
 And gave his pastime o'er,
 And at the Island Lord's command,
 For hunting spear took warrior's brand.
 On Scooreigg next a warning light
 Summon'd her warriors to the fight;
 A numerous race, ere stern Macleod
 O'er their bleak shores in vengeance strode,
 When all in vain the ocean-cave
 Its refuge to his victims gave.
 The Chief, relentless in his wrath,
 With blazing heath blockades the path;
 In dense and stifling volumes roll'd,
 The vapour fill'd the cavern'd Hold!
 The warrior-threat, the infant's plain,
 The mother's screams, were heard in vain;
 The vengeful Chief maintains his fire,
 Till in the vault a tribe expires!
 The bones which strew that cavern's gloom,
 Too well attest their dismal doom.

Merrily, merrily, goes the bark
 On a breeze from the northward free,
 So shoots through the morning sky the lark,
 Or the swan through the summer sea.
 The shores of Mull on the eastward bay,
 And Ulva dark and Colonsay,
 And all the group of islets gay
 That guard famed Staffa round.
 Then all unknown its columns rose,
 Where dark and undisturb'd repose
 The cormorant had found,
 And the shy seal had quiet home,
 And welter'd in that wond'rous dome,
 Where, as to shame the temples deck'd
 By skill of earthly architect,
 Nature herself, it seem'd, would raise
 A Minister to her Maker's praise!
 Not for a meaner use ascend
 Her columns, or her arches bend;
 Nor of a theme less solemn tells

That mighty surge that ebbs and swells
 And still, between each awful pause,
 From the high vault an answer draws,
 In varied tone prolong'd and high,
 That mocks the organ's melody.

Nor doth its entrance front in vain
 To old Iona's holy fane,
 That Nature's voice might seem to say,
 "Well hast thou done, frail Child of clay!
 Thy humble powers that stately shrine
 Task'd high and hard—but witness mine!"—

Merrily, merrily, goes the bark,
 Before the gale she bounds;
 So darts the dolphin from the shark,
 Or the deer before the bounds.
 They left Loch-Tua on their lee,
 And they waken'd the men of the wild Tírée,
 And the Chief of the sandy Coll;
 They paused not at Columba's isle,
 Though peal'd the bells from the holy pile
 With long and measured toll;
 No time for matin or for mass,
 And the sounds of the holy summons pass
 Away in the billows' roll.
 Lochbuie's fierce and warlike Lord
 Their signal saw, and grasp'd his sword,
 And verdant Ilay call'd her host,
 And the clans of Jura's rugged coast
 Lord Ronald's call obey,
 And Scarba's isle, whose tortured shore
 Still rings to Carrievreken's roar,
 And lonely Colonsay;
 —Scenes sung by him who sings no more!
 His bright and brief career is o'er,
 And mute his tuneful strains;
 Quench'd is his lamp of varied lore,
 That loved the light of song to pour;
 A distant and a deadly shore
 Has Leyden's cold remains!

Ever the breeze blows merrily,
 But the galley ploughs no more the sea.
 Lest, rounding wild Cantire, they meet
 The southern foemen's watchful fleet,
 They held unwonted way;—
 Up Tarbat's western lake they bore,
 Then dragg'd their bark the isthmus o'er,
 As far as Kilmaconnel's shore,
 Upon the eastern bay.
 It was a wond'rous sight to see
 Topmast and pennon glitter free,
 High raised above the greenwood tree,

As on dry land the galley moves,
 By cliff and copse and alder groves.
 Deep import from that selcouth sign,
 Did many a mountain Seer divine,
 For ancient legends told the Gael,
 That when a royal bark should sail
 O'er Kilmaconnel moss,
 Old Albyn should in fight prevail,
 And every foe should faint and quail
 Before her silver Cross.

Now launch'd once more, the inland sea
 They furrow with fair augury,
 And steer for Arran's isle ;
 The sun, ere yet he sunk behind
 Ben-ghoil, " the Mountain of the Wind,"
 Gave his grim peaks a greeting kind,
 And bade Loch-Ranza smile.
 Thither their destined course they drew ;
 It seem'd the isle her monarch knew,
 So brilliant was the landward view,
 The ocean so serene ;
 Each puny wave in diamonds roll'd
 O'er the calm deep, where hues of gold
 With azure strove and green.
 The hill, the vale, the tree, the tower,
 Glow'd with the tints of evening's hour,
 The beach was silver sheen,
 The wind breathed soft as lover's sigh,
 And, oft renew'd, seem'd oft to die,
 With breathless pause between.
 Or who, with speech of war and woes,
 Would wish to break the soft repose
 Of such enchanting scene !

THE METEOR.

[From the Same.]

NOW on the darkening main afloat,
 Ready and mann'd rocks every boat ;
 Beneath their oars the ocean's might
 Was dashed to sparks of glimmering light.
 Faint and more faint, as oft they bore,
 Their armour glanced against the shore,
 And, mingled with the dashing tide,
 Their murmuring voices distant died.—

" God

"God speed them!" said the Priest, as dark
 On distant billows glides each bark;
 "O Heaven! when swords for freedom shine,
 And monarch's right, the cause is thine!
 Edge doubly every patriot blow!
 Beat down the banners of the foe!
 And be it to the Nations known,
 That Victory is from God alone!"—
 As up the hill his path he drew,
 He turn'd his blessings to renew,
 Oft turn'd, till on the darken'd coast
 All traces of their course were lost;
 Then slowly bent to Brodick tower,
 To shelter for the evening hour.

In night the fairy prospects sink,
 Where Cumray's isles with verdant link
 Close the fair entrance of the Clyde;
 The woods of Bute, no more desried,
 Are gone—and on the placid sea
 The rowers ply their task with glee,
 While hands that knightly lances bore
 Impatient aid the labouring oar.
 The half-faced moon shone dim and pale,
 And glanced against the whiten'd sail;
 But on that ruddy beacon-light
 Each steersman kept the helm aright,
 And oft, for such the King's command,
 That all at once might reach the strand,
 From boat to boat loud shout and hail
 Warn'd them to crowd or slacken sail.
 South and by west the armada bore,
 And near at length the Carrick shore.
 As less and less the distance grows,
 High and more high the beacon rose;
 The light, that seem'd a twinkling star,
 Now blazed portentous, fierce, and far,
 Dark-red the heaven above it glow'd,
 Dark-red the sea beneath it flow'd,
 Red rose the rocks on ocean's brim,
 In blood-red light her islets swim;
 Wild scream the dazzled sea-fowl gave,
 Dropp'd from their crags on plashing wave,
 The deer to distant covert drew,
 The black-cock deem'd it day, and crew.
 Like some tall castle given to flame,
 O'er half the land the lustre came.
 "Now, good my Liege, and brother sage,
 What think ye of mine elfin page?"—

"Row

"Row on!" the noble King replied,
 "We'll learn the truth whate'er betide;
 Yet sure the beadsman and the child
 Could ne'er have waked that beacon wild."

While that the boats approach'd the land,
 But Edward's grounded on the sand;
 The eager knight leap'd in the sea
 Waist-deep, and first on shore was he,
 Though every barge's hardy band
 Contended which should gain the land,
 When that strange light, which, seen afar,
 Seem'd steady as the polar star,
 Now, like a prophet's fiery chair,
 Seem'd travelling the realms of air.
 Wide o'er the sky the splendour glows,
 As that potentous meteor rose;
 Helm, axe, and falchion glitter'd bright,
 And in the red and dusky light
 His comrade's face each warrior saw,
 Nor marvell'd it was pale with awe.
 Then high in air the beams were lost,
 And darkness sunk upon the coast.—
 Ronald to Heaven a prayer address'd,
 And Douglas cross'd his dauntless breast;
 "Saint James protect us!" Lennox cried,
 But reckless Edward spoke aside,
 "Deem'st thou, Kirkpatrick, in that flame
 Red Comyn's angry spirit came,
 Or would thy dauntless heart endure
 Once more to make assurance sure?"
 "Hush?" said the Bruce; "we soon shall know,
 If this be sorcerer's empty show,
 Or stratagem of southern foe.
 The moon shines out—upon the sand
 Let every leader rank his band."—

Faintly the moon's pale beams supply
 That ruddy light's unnatural dye;
 The dubious cold reflection lay
 On the wet sands and quiet bay.
 Beneath the rocks King Robert drew
 His scatter'd files to order due,
 Till shield compact and serried spear
 In the cool light shone blue and clear.
 Then down a path that sought the tide,
 That speechless page was seen to glide;
 He knelt him lowly on the sand,
 And gave a scroll to Robert's hand.

"A torch,"

"A torch," the Monarch cried, "What, ho!
 Now shall we Cuthbert's tidings know."—
 But evil knews the letters bare,
 The Clifford's force was strong and ware,
 Augmented, too, that very morn,
 By mountaineers who came with Lorn.
 Long harrow'd by oppressor's hand,
 Courage and faith had fled the land,
 And over Carrick, dark and deep,
 Had sunk dejection's iron sleep.—
 Cuthbert had seen that beacon-flame,
 Unwitting from what source it came.
 Doubtful of perilous event,
 Edward's mute messenger he sent,
 If Bruce deceived should venture o'er,
 To warn him from the fatal shore.

As round the torch the leaders crowd,
 Bruce read these chilling news aloud.
 "What council, nobles, have we now?—
 To ambush us in green-wood bough,
 And take the chance which fate may send
 To bring our enterprise to end,
 Or shall we turn us to the main
 As exiles, and embark again?"—
 Answer'd fierce Edward, "Hap what may,
 In Carrick, Carrick's Lord must stay.
 I would not minstrels told the tale,
 Wild-fire or meteor made us quail."—
 Answer'd the Douglas, "If my liege
 May win yon walls by storm or siege,
 Then were each brave and patriot heart
 Kindled of new for loyal part."—
 Answer'd Lord Ronald, "Not for shame
 Would I that aged Torquil came,
 And found, for all our empty boast,
 Without a blow we fled the coast.
 I will not credit that this land,
 So famed for warlike heart and hand,
 The nurse of Wallace and of Bruce,
 Will long with tyrants hold a truce."—
 "Prove we our fate—the brunt we'll bide!"
 So Boyd and Haye and Lennox cried;
 So said, so vow'd, the leaders all;
 So Bruce resolved: "And in my hall
 Since the bold Southern make their home,
 The hour of payment soon shall come,
 When with a rough and rugged host
 Clifford may reckon to his cost.

Meantime,

Meantime, through well-known bosk and dell,
I'll lead where we may shelter well."

Now ask you whence that wond'rous light,
Whose fairy glow beguiled their sight?—
It ne'er was known—yet grey-hair'd old
A superstitious credence held,
That never did a mortal hand
Wake its broad glare on Carrick strand;
Nay, and that on the self-same night
When Bruce cross'd o'er, still gleams the light.
Yearly it gleams o'er mount and moor,
And glittering wave and crimson'd shore—
But whether beam celestial, lent
By Heaven to aid the King's descent,
Or fire hell-kindled from beneath,
To lure him to defeat and death,
Or were it but some meteor strange,
Of such as oft through midnight range,
Startling the traveller late and lone,
I know not—and it ne'er was known.

THE BATTLE.

[From the same]

IT was a night of lovely June,
High rode in cloudless blue the moon,
Demayet smiled beneath her ray;
Old Stirling's towers arose in light.
And, twin'd in links of silver bright,
Her winding river lay.
Ah, gentle planet! other sight
Shall greet thee, next returning night,
Of broken arms and banners tore,
And marshes dark with human gore,
And piles of slaughter'd men and horse,
And Forth that floats the frequent corse,
And many a wounded wretch to plain
Beneath thy silver light in vain!
But now, from England's host, the cry
Thou hear'st of wassail revelry,
While from the Scottish legions pass
The murmur'd prayer, the early mass!—
Here, numbers had presumption given;
There, bands o'er-match'd sought aid from Heaven.

On Gille's-hill, whose height commands
The battle-field, fair Edith stands,
With serf and page unfit for war,
To eye the conflict from afar.

O! with what doubtful agony
She sees the dawning tint the sky!—
Now on the Ochils gleams the sun,
And glistens now Demayet dun;

Is it the lark that carols shrill,

Is it the bittern's early hum?

No!—distant, but increasing still,

The trumpet's sound swells upon the hill,

With the deep murmur of the drum.

Responsive from the Scottish host,
Pipe-clang and bugle-sound were toss'd,
His breast and brow each soldier cross'd,

And started from the ground;

Arm'd and array'd for instant fight,
Rose archer, spearman, squire and knight,
And in the pomp of battle bright

The dread battalia frown'd.

Now onward, and in open view,
The countless ranks of England drew,
Dark rolling like the ocean-tide,
When the rough west hath chafed his pride,
And his deep roar sends challenge wide
To all that bars his way!

In front the gallant archers trode,
The men-at-arms behind them rode,
And midmost of the phalanx broad

The Monarch held his sway.

Beside him many a war-horse fumes,
Around him waves a sea of plumes,
Where many a knight in battle known,
And some who spurs had first braced on,
And deem'd that fight should see them won

King Edward's hests obey.

De Argentine attends his side,
With stout De Valence, Pembroke's pride,
Selected champions from the train,
To wait upon his bridle-rein.

Upon the Scottish foe he gazed
At once, before his sight amazed,
Sunk banner, spear, and shield;
Each weapon-point is downward sent,
Each warrior to the ground is bent.

"The rebels, Argentine, repent!

For pardon they have kneel'd."—

"Aye!"

"Aye! but they bend to other powers,
 And other pardon sue than ours!
 See where yon bare-foot Abbot stands,
 And blesses them with lifted hands!
 Upon the spot where they have kneel'd,
 These men will die, or win the field."—
 —"Then prove we if they die or win!
 Bid Gloster's Earl the fight begin."—

Earl Gilbert waved his truncheon high,
 Just as the Northern ranks arose,
 Signal for England's archery
 To halt and bend their bows.
 Then stepp'd each yeoman forth a pace,
 Glanced at the intervening space,
 And raised his left hand high;
 To the right ear the cords they bring—
 —At once ten thousand bow-strings ring,
 Ten thousand arrows fly!
 Nor paused on the devoted Scot
 The ceaseless fury of their shot;
 As fiercely and as fast,
 Forth whistling came the grey-goose wing,
 As the wild hail-stones pelt and ring
 Adown December's blast.
 Nor mountain targe of tough bull-hide,
 Nor lowland mail, that storm may bide;
 Woe, woe to Scotland's banner'd pride,
 If the fell shower may last!
 Upon the right, behind the wood,
 Each by his steed dismounted, stood
 The Scottish chivalry;—
 —With foot in stirrup, hand on mane,
 Fierce Edward Bruce can scarce restrain
 His own keen heart, his eager train,
 Until the archers gain'd the plain;
 Then, "Mount, ye gallants free!"
 He cried; and, vaulting from the ground,
 His saddle every horseman found.
 On high their glittering crests they toss,
 As springs the wild-fire from the moss;
 The shield hangs down on every breast,
 Each ready lance is in the rest,
 And loud shouts Edward Bruce,—
 "Forth, Marshal, on the peasant foe!
 We'll tame the terrors of their bow,
 And cut the bow-string loose!"—

Then spurs were dash'd in chargers' flanks,
 They rush'd among the archer ranks.

No spears were there the shock to let,
 No stakes to turn the charge were set,
 And how shall yeoman's armour slight
 Stand the long lance and mace of might ?
 Or what may their short swords avail
 'Gainst barbed horse and shirt of mail ?
 Amid their ranks the chargers sprung,
 High o'er their heads the weapons swung,
 And shriek and groan and vengeful shout
 Give note of triumph and of rout !
 Awhile, with stubborn hardihood,
 Their English hearts the strife make good ;
 Borne down at length on every side,
 Compell'd to flight they scatter wide.—
 Let stags of Sherwood leap for glee,
 And bound the deer of Dallom-Lee !
 The broken bows of Bannock's shore
 Shall in the green-wood ring no more !
 Round Wakefield's merry may-pole now,
 The maids may twine the summer bough,
 May northward look with longing glance,
 For those that wont to lead the dance,
 For the blithe archers look in vain !
 Broken, dispersed, in flight o'erta'en,
 Pierc'd through, trode down, by thousands slain,
 They cumber Bannock's bloody plain.

The King with scorn beheld their flight.
 " Are these," he said, " our yeomen right ?
 Each braggart churl could boast before,
 Twelve Scottish lives his baldric bore !
 Fitter to plunder chase or park,
 Than make a manly foe their mark.—
 Forward, each gentleman and knight !
 Let gentle blood shew generous might,
 And chivalry redeem the fight !"—

To rightward of the wild affray,
 The field shew'd fair and level way ;
 But, in mid-space, the Bruce's care
 Had bored the ground with many a pit,
 With turf and brushwood hidden yet,
 That form'd a ghastly snare.
 Rushing, ten thousand horsemen came,
 With spears in rest, and hearts on flame,
 That panted for the shock !
 With blazing crests and banners spread,
 And trumpet-clang and clamour dread,
 The wide plain thunder'd to their tread,
 As far as Stirling rock,

Down !

Down! down! in headlong overthrow,
 Horseman and horse, the foremost go,
 Wild floundering on the field!
 The first are in destruction's gorge,
 Their followers wildly o'er them urge;—
 The knightly helm and shield,
 The mail, the acton, and the spear,
 Strong hand, high heart, are useless here!
 Loud from the mass confused the cry
 Of dying warriors swells on high,
 And steeds that shriek in agony!
 They came like mountain-torrent red,
 That thunders o'er its rocky bed;
 They broke like that same torrent's wave,
 When swallow'd by a darksome cave.
 Billows on billows burst and boil,
 Maintaining still the stern turmoil,
 And to their wild and tortured groan
 Each adds new terrors of his own!

Too strong in courage and in might
 Was England yet, to yield the fight.
 Her noblest all are here;
 Names that to fear were never known,
 Bold Norfolk's Earl de Brotherton,
 And Oxford's famed De Vere.
 There Gloster plied the bloody sword,
 And Berkley, Grey, and Hereford,
 Bottetourt and Sanzavere,
 Ross, Montague, and Mauley, came,
 And Courtenay's pride, and Percy's fame—
 Names known too well in Scotland's war,
 At Falkirk, Methven, and Dunbar,
 Blazed broader yet in after years,
 At Cressy red and fell Poitiers.
 Pembroke with these, and Argentine,
 Brought up the rearward battle-line.
 With caution o'er the ground they tread,
 Slippery with blood and piled with dead,
 Till hand to hand in battle set,
 The bills with spears and axes met,
 And, closing dark on every side,
 Raged the full contest far and wide.
 Then was the strength of Douglas tried,
 Then proved was Randolph's generous pride,
 And well did Stewart's actions grace
 The sire of Scotland's royal race!

Y

Firmly

Firmly they kept their ground ;
 As firmly England onward press'd,
 And down went many a noble crest,
 And rent was many a valiant breast,
 And Slaughter revell'd round.

Unflinching foot 'gainst foot was set,
 Unceasing blow by blow was met ;
 The groans of those who fell
 Were drown'd amid the shriller clang,
 That from the blades and harness rang,
 And in the battle-yell.
 Yet fast they fell, unheard, forgot,
 Both Southern fierce and hardy Scot ;
 And O ! amid that waste of life,
 What various motives fired the strife !
 The aspiring Noble bled for fame,
 The Patriot for his country's claim ;
 This Knight his youthful strength to prove,
 And that to win his lady's love ;
 Some fought from ruffian thirst of blood,
 From habit some, or hardihood.
 But ruffian stern, and soldier good,
 The noble and the slave,
 From various cause the same wild road
 On the same bloody morning, trode,
 To that dark inn, the Grave !

The tug of strife to flag begins,
 Though neither loses yet nor wins.
 High rides the sun, thick rolls the dust,
 And feebler speeds the blow and thrust.
 Douglas leans on his war-sword now,
 And Randolph wipes his bloody brow ;
 Nor less had toil'd each Southern knight,
 From morn till mid-day in the fight.
 Strong Egremont for air must gasp,
 Beauchamp undoes his visor-clasp,
 And Montague must quit his spear,
 And sinks thy falchion, bold De Vere !
 The blows of Berkley fall less fast,
 And gallant Pembroke's bugle-blast
 Hath lost its lively tone ;
 Sinks, Argentine, thy battle-word,
 And Percy's shout was fainter heard,
 " My merry-men, fight on !"—

Bruce, with the pilot's wary eye,
 The slackening of the storm could spy.

"One effort more, and Scotland's free!
 Lord of the Isles, my trust in thee
 Is firm as Ailsa-rock;
 Rush on with Highland sword and targe,
 I, with my Carrick spearman, charge;
 Now, forward to the shock!"—
 At once the spears were forward thrown,
 Against the sun the broadswords shone;
 The pibroch lent its maddening tone,
 And loud King Robert's voice was known—
 "Carrick, press on—they fail, they fail!
 Press on, brave sons of Innisgail,
 The foe is fainting fast!
 Each strike for parent, child, and wife,
 For Scotland, liberty, and life,—
 The battle cannot last!"—

The fresh and desperate onset bore
 The foes three furlongs back and more,
 Leaving their noblest in their gore.
 Alone, De Argentine
 Yet bears on high his red-cross shield,
 Gathers the reliques of the field,
 Renews the ranks where they have reel'd,
 And still makes good the line.
 Brief strife, but fierce, his efforts raise,
 A bright but momentary blaze.
 Fair Edith heard the Southern shout,
 Beheld them turning from the rout,
 Heard the wild call their trumpets sent,
 In notes 'twixt triumph and lament.
 That rallying force, combined anew,
 Appear'd, in her distracted view,
 To hem the isles-men round;
 "O God! the combat they renew,
 And is no rescue found!
 And ye that look thus tamely on,
 And see your native land o'erthrown,
 O! are your hearts of flesh or stone!"—

The multitude that watch'd afar,
 Rejected from the ranks of war,
 Had not unmoved beheld the fight,
 When strove the Bruce for Scotland's right;
 Each heart had caught the patriot spark,
 Old man and stripling, priest and clerk,
 Bondsman and serf; even female hand
 Stretch'd to the hatchet or the brand;

But, when mute Amadine they heard
 Give to their zeal his signal-word,
 A frenzy fired the throng ;
 " Portents and miracles impeach
 Our sloth—the dumb our duties teach—
 And he that gives the mute his speech,
 Can bid the weak be strong.

To us, as to our lords, are given
 A native earth, a promised heaven ;
 To us, as to our lords, belongs
 The vengeance for our nation's wrongs ;
 The choice, 'twixt death or freedom, warms
 Our breasts as theirs—To arms, to arms !"—
 To arms they flew,—axe, club, or spear,—
 And mimic ensigns high they rear,
 And, like a banner'd host afar,
 Bear down on England's wearied war.

Already scatter'd o'er the plain,
 Reproof, command, and counsel vain,
 The rearward squadrons fled amain,
 Or made but doubtful stay ;—
 But when they mark'd the seeming show
 Of fresh and fierce and marshall'd foe,
 The boldest broke array.

O give their hapless prince his due !
 In vain the royal Edward threw
 His person 'mid the spears,
 Cried " Fight !" to terror and despair,
 Menaced, and wept, and tore his hair,

 And cursed their caitiff fears ;
 Till Pembroke turned his bridle rein,
 And forced him from the fatal plain.

With them rode Argentine, until
 They gained the summit of the hill,
 But quitted there the train :—

" In yonder field a gage I left,—
 I must not live of fame bereft ;

 I needs must turn again.

Speed hence, my Liege, for on your trace
 The fiery Douglas takes the chace,

 I know his banner well.

God send my Sovereign joy and bliss,
 And many a happier field than this !—

 Once more, my Liege, farewell."—

Again he faced the battle-field,—
 Wildly they fly, are slain, or yield.

"Now then," he said, and couch'd his spear,
 "My course is run, the goal is near;
 One effort more, one brave career,
 Must close this race of mine."

Then in his stirrups rising high,
 He shouted loud his battle-cry,

 "Saint James for Argentinel!"

And, of the bold pursuers, four
 The gallant knight from saddle bore;
 But not unharm'd—a lance's point
 Has found his breast-plate's loosen'd joint,

 An axe has razed his crest;

Yet still on Colonsay's fierce lord,
 Who press'd the chace with gory sword,

 He rode with spear in rest,

And through his bloody tartans bored,

 And through his gallant breast.

Nail'd to the earth, the mountaineer

Yet writhed him up against the spear,

 And swung his broad-sword round!

—Stirrup, steel-boot, and cuish gave way,

Beneath that blow's tremendous sway,

 The blood gush'd from the wound;

And the grim Lord of Colonsay

 Hath turn'd him on the ground,

And laugh'd in death-pang, that his blade

The mortal thrust so well repaid.

Now toil'd the Bruce, the battle done,
 To use his conquest boldly won;

And gave command for horse and spear

To press the Southern's scatter'd rear,

Nor let his broken force combine,

—When the war-cry of Argentine

 Fell faintly on his ear;

"Save, save his life," he cried, "O save

The kind, the noble, and the brave!"—

The squadrons round free passage gave,

 The wounded knight drew near.

He raised his red-cross shield no more,

Helm, cuish, and breast-plate stream'd with gore,

Yet, as he saw the King advance,

He strove even then to couch his lance—

 The effort was in vain!

The spur-stroke fail'd to rouse the horse;

Wounded and weary, in mid course

 He stumbled on the plain.

Then

Then foremost was the generous Bruce
To raise his head, his helm to loose :—

“ Lord Earl, the day is thine !

My Sovereign's charge, and adverse fate,
Have made our meeting all too late :

Yet this may Argentine,

As boon from ancient comrade, crave—

A Christian's mass, a soldier's grave.”—

Bruce press'd his dying hand—its grasp
Kindly replied ; but, in his clasp,

It stiffen'd and grew cold—

“ And, O farewell !” the victor cried,

“ Of chivalry the flower and pride,

The arm in battle bold,

The courteous mien, the noble race,

The stainless faith, the manly face !—

Bid Ninian's convent light their shrine,

For late-wake of De Argentine.

O'er better knight on death-bier laid,

Torch never gleam'd nor mass was said !”—

Nor for De Argentine alone,
Through Ninian's church these torches shone,
And rose the death-prayer's awful tone.

That yellow lustre glimmer'd pale,

On broken plate and bloodied mail,

Rent crest and shatter'd coronet,

Of Baron, Earl, and Banneret ;

And the best names that England knew,

Claim'd in the death-prayer dismal due.

Yet mourn not, Land of Fame !

Though ne'er the leopards on thy shield

Retreated from so sad a field,

Since Norman William came.

Oft may thine annals justly boast

Of battles stern by Scotland lost ;

Grudge not her victory,

When for her free-born rights she strove ;

Rights dear to all who freedom love,

To none so dear as thee !

SUMMER MORN.

[From Mr. WORDSWORTH'S RECLUSE.]

TWAS summer, and the sun had mounted high :
 Southward, the landscape indistinctly glared
 Through a pale steam ; but all the northern downs,
 In clearest air ascending, shew'd far off
 A surface dappled o'er with shadows, flung
 From many a brooding cloud ; far as the sight
 Could reach, those many shadows lay in spots
 Determined and unmoved, with steady beams
 Of bright and pleasant sunshine interposed.
 Pleasant to him who on the soft cool moss
 Extends his careless limbs along the front
 Of some huge cave, whose rocky ceiling casts
 A twilight of its own, an ample shade,
 Where the wren warbles ; while the dreaming Man,
 Half conscious of the soothing melody,
 With side-long eye looks out upon the scene,
 By that impending covert made more soft,
 More low and distant ! Other lot was mine ;
 Yet with good hope that soon I should obtain
 As grateful resting-place, and livelier joy.
 Across a bare wide Common I was toiling
 With languid feet, which by the slippery ground
 Were baffled ; nor could my weak arm disperse
 The host of insects gathering round my face,
 And ever with me as I paced along.

YOUNG GENIUS.

[From the same.]

AMONG the hills of Athol he was born :
 There, on a small hereditary Farm,
 An unproductive slip of rugged ground,
 His Father dwelt ; and died in poverty ;
 While He, whose lowly fortune I retrace,
 The youngest of three sons, was yet a babe,
 A little One—unconscious of their loss.
 But ere he had outgrown his infant days
 His widowed Mother, for a second Mate,
 Espoused the Teacher of the Village School ;

Who

Who on her offspring zealously bestowed
 Needful instruction ; not alone in arts
 Which to his humble duties appertained,
 But in the lore of right and wrong, the rule
 Of human kindness, in the peaceful ways
 Of honesty, and holiness severe.
 A virtuous Household though exceeding poor !
 Pure Livers were they all, austere and grave,
 And fearing God ; the very Children taught
 Stern self-respect, a reverence for God's word,
 And an habitual piety, maintained
 With strictness scarcely known on English ground ;

From his sixth year, the Boy of whom I speak,
 In summer, tended cattle on the Hills ;
 But, through the inclement and the perilous days
 Of long-continuing winter, he repaired
 To his step-father's School, that stood alone,
 Sole Building on a mountain's dreary edge,
 Far from the sight of City spire, or sound
 Of Minster clock ! From that bleak Tenement
 He, many an evening to his distant home
 In solitude returning, saw the Hills
 Grow larger in the darkness, all alone
 Beheld the stars come out above his head,
 And travelled through the wood, with no one near
 To whom he might confess the things he saw.
 So the foundations of his mind were laid.
 In such communion, not from terror free,
 While yet a Child, and long before his time,
 He had perceived the presence and the power
 Of greatness ; and deep feelings had impress'd
 Great objects on his mind, with portraiture
 And colour so distinct, that on his mind
 They lay like substances, and almost seemed
 To haunt the bodily sense. He had received
 (Vigorous in native genius as he was)
 A precious gift ; for, as he grew in years,
 With these impressions would he still compare
 All his remembrances, thoughts, shapes, and forms ;
 And, being still unsatisfied with aught
 Of dimmer character, he thence attained
 An active power to fasten images
 Upon his brain ; and on their pictured lines
 Intensely brooded, even till they acquired
 The liveliness of dreams. Nor did he fail,
 While yet a Child, with a Child's eagerness
 Incessantly to turn his ear and eye

On all things which the moving seasons brought
 To feed such appetite : nor this alone
 Appeased his yearning :—in the after day
 Of Boyhood, many an hour in caves forlorn,
 And 'mid the hollow depths of naked crags
 He sate, and even in their fix'd lineaments,
 Or from the power of a peculiar eye,
 Or by creative feeling overborne,
 Or by predominance of thought oppress'd,
 Even in their fix'd and steady lineaments
 He traced an ebbing and a flowing mind,
 Expression ever varying !

Thus informed,
 He had small need of books ; for many a Tale
 Traditionary, round the mountains hung,
 And many a Legend, peopling the dark woods,
 Nourished Imagination in her growth,
 And gave the Mind that apprehensive power
 By which she is made quick to recognize
 The moral properties and scope of things.
 But eagerly he read, and read again,
 Whatever the Minister's old Shelf supplied ;
 The life and death of Martyrs, who sustained,
 With will inflexible, those fearful pangs
 Triumphantly display'd in records left
 Of Persecution, and the Covenant—Times
 Whose echo rings through Scotland to this hour !
 And there by lucky hap had been preserved
 A straggling volume, torn and incomplete,
 That left half-told the preternatural tale,
 Romance of Giants, chronicle of Fiends
 Profuse in garniture of wooden cuts
 Strange and uncouth ; dire faces, figures dire,
 Sharp-knee'd, sharp-elbowed, and lean-ankled too,
 With long and ghostly shanks—forms which once seen
 Could never be forgotten !

In his heart
 Where Fear sate thus, a cherished visitant,
 Was wanting yet, the pure delight of love
 By sound diffused, or by the breathing air,
 Or by the silent looks of happy things,
 Or flowing from the universal face
 Of earth and sky. But he had felt the power
 Of Nature, and already was prepared,
 By his intense conceptions, to receive
 Deeply the lesson deep of love which he,
 Whom nature, by whatever means, has taught
 To feel intensely, cannot but receive.

CONTEMPLATIVE RETIREMENT.

[From the same.]

A HUMMING Bee—a little tinkling rill—
 A pair of Falcons, wheeling on the wing,
 In clamorous agitation, round the crest
 Of a tall rock, their airy Citadel—
 By each and all of these the pensive ear
 Was greeted, in the silence that ensued,
 When through the Cottage-threshold we had passed,
 And, deep within that lonesome Valley, stood
 Once more, beneath the concave of the blue
 And cloudless sky.—Anon! exclaimed our Host,
 Triumphantly dispersing with the taunt
 The shade of discontent which on his brow
 Had gathered.—“Ye have left my Cell,—but see
 How Nature hems you in with friendly arms!
 And by her help ye are my Prisoners still.
 But which way shall I lead you?—how contrive,
 In Spot so parsimoniously endowed,
 That the brief hours, which yet remain, may reap
 Some recompence of knowledge or delight!”
 So saying, round he looked, as if perplexed;
 And, to remove those doubts, my grey-haired Friend
 Said—“Shall we take this pathway for our guide?—
 Upwards it winds, as if, in summer heats,
 Its line had first been fashioned by the flock
 A place of refuge seeking at the root
 Of yon black yew-tree; whose protruded boughs
 Darken the silver bosom of the crag,
 From which it draws its meagre sustenance.
 There in commodious shelter may we rest.
 Or let us trace this Streamlet to its source;
 Feebly it tinkles with an earthy sound,
 And a few steps may bring us to the spot
 Where, haply, crowned with flowerets and green herbs,
 The mountain Infant to the sun comes forth,
 Like human Life from darkness.”—At the word
 We followed where he led:—a sudden turn
 Through a straight passage of encumbered ground,
 Proved that such hope was vain:—for now we stood
 Shut out from prospect of the open Vale,
 And saw the water, that composed this Rill,

Descending,

Descending, disembodied, and diffused
 O'er the smooth surface of an ample Crag,
 Lofty, and steep, and naked as a Tower.
 All further progress here was barred; And who,
 Thought I, if master of a vacant hour,
 Here would not linger, willingly detained?
 Whether to such wild objects he were led
 When copious rains have magnified the stream
 Into a loud and white-robed Waterfall,
 Or introduced at this more quiet time.

Upon a semicircle of turf-clad ground,
 The hidden nook discovered to our view
 A Mass of rock, resembling, as it lay
 Right at the foot of that moist precipice,
 A stranded Ship, with keel upturned,—that rests
 Fearless of winds and waves. Three several Stones
 Stood near, of smaller size, and not unlike
 To monumental pillars: and, from these
 Some little space disjoined, a pair were seen,
 That, with united shoulders bore aloft
 A Fragment, like an Altar, flat and smooth.
 Barren the tablet, yet thereon appeared,
 Conspicuously stationed, one fair Plant,
 A tall and shining Holly, which had found
 A hospitable chink, and stood upright,
 As if inserted by some human hand,
 In mockery, to wither in the sun,
 Or lay its beauty flat before a breeze,
 The first that entered. But no breeze did now
 Find entrance;—high, or low, appeared no trace
 Of motion, save the Water that descended,
 Diffused adown that Barrier of steep rock,
 And softly creeping, like a breath of air,
 Such as is sometimes seen, and hardly seen,
 To brush the still breast of a chrystal Lake.

“Behold a Cabinet for Sages built,
 Which Kings might envy!”—Praise to this effect
 Broke from the happy Old Man's reverend lip;
 Who to the Solitary turned, and said,
 “In sooth, with love's familiar privilege,
 You have decried, in no unseemly terms
 Of modesty, that wealth which is your own.
 Among these Rocks and Stones, methinks, I see
 More than the heedless impress that belongs
 To lonely Nature's casual work: they bear
 A semblance strange of power intelligent,
 And of design not wholly worn away.

Boldest

Boldest of plants that ever faced the wind,
 How gracefully that slender Shrub looks forth
 From its fantastic birth-place ! And I own,
 Some shadowy intimations haunt me here,
 I cannot but incline to a belief
 That in these shows a chronicle survives
 Of purposes akin to those of Man,
 But wrought with mightier arm than now prevails.
 —Voiceless the Stream descends into the gulph
 With timid lapse ;—and lo ! while in this Strait
 I stand—the chasm of sky above my head
 Is heaven's profoundest azure ; no domain
 For fickle, short-lived clouds to occupy,
 Or to pass through, but rather an Abyss
 In which the everlasting Stars abide ;
 And whose soft gloom, and boundless depth, might tempt
 The curious eye to look for them by day.
 —Hail Contemplation ! from the stately towers,
 Reared by the industrious hand of human Art
 To lift thee high above the misty air,
 And turbulence, of murmuring cities vast ;
 From academic groves, that have for thee
 Been planted, hither come and find a Lodge
 To which thou mayest resort for holier peace,—
 From whose calm centre Thou, through height or depth,
 Mayest penetrate, wherever Truth shall lead ;
 Measuring through all degrees, until the scale
 Of time and conscious Nature disappear,
 Lost in unsearchable Eternity !”

CHURCH AND STATE.

[From the same.]

HAIL to the Crown by Freedom shaped—to gird
 An English Sovereign's brow ! and to the Throne
 Whereon he sits ! Whose deep foundations lie
 In veneration and the People's love,
 Whose steps are equity, whose seat is law.
 —Hail to the State of England ! And conjoin
 With this a salutation as devout,
 Made to the spiritual Fabric of her Church ;
 Founded in truth ; by blood of Martyrdom
 Cemented ; by the hands of Wisdom reared
 In beauty of Holiness, with order'd pomp,
 Decent, and unproved. The voice, that greets
 The majesty of both, shall pray for both ;
 That, mutually protected and sustained,

They

They may endure as long as sea surrounds
 This favoured Land, or sunshine warms her soil.
 —And, O, ye swelling hills, and spacious plains !
 Besprent from shore to shore with steeple-towers,
 And spires whose “ silent finger points to Heaven ; ”
 Not wanting, at wide intervals, the bulk
 Of ancient Minster, lifted above the cloud
 Of the dense air, which town or city breeds
 To intercept the sun's glad beams—may ne'er
 That true succession fail of English Hearts,
 That can perceive, not less than heretofore
 Our Ancestors did feelingly perceive,
 What in those holy Structures ye possess
 Of ornamental interest, and the charm
 Of pious sentiment diffused afar,
 And human charity, and social love.
 —Thus never shall the indignities of Time
 Approach their reverend graces, unopposed ;
 Nor shall the elements be free to hurt
 Their fair proportions ; nor the blinder rage
 Of bigot zeal madly to overturn ;
 And, if the desolating hand of war
 Spare them, they shall continue to bestow—
 Upon the thronged abodes of busy Men
 Depraved, and ever prone to fill their minds
 Exclusively with transitory things)
 An air and mien of dignified pursuit ;
 Of sweet civility—on rustic wilds.
 —The Poet, fostering for his native land
 Such hope, entreats that Servants may abound
 Of those pure Altars worthy ; ministers
 Detached from pleasure, to the love of gain
 Superior, insusceptible of pride,
 And by ambition's longings undisturbed ;
 Men, whose delight is where their duty leads
 Or fixes them ; whose least distinguished day
 Shines with some portion of that heavenly lustre
 Which makes the Sabbath lovely in the sight
 Of blessed Angels, pitying human cares.
 —And, as on earth it is the doom of Truth
 To be perpetually attacked by foes
 Open or covert, be that Priesthood still,
 For her defence, replenished with a Band
 Of strenuous Champions, in scholastic arts
 Thoroughly disciplined ; nor (if in course
 Of the revolving World's disturbances
 Cause should recur, which righteous Heaven avert !
 To meet such trial) from their spiritual Sires
 Degenerate ; who constrained to wield the sword

Of disputation, shrunk not, though assailed
 With hostile din, and combating in sight
 Of angry umpires, partial and unjust.
 And did, thereafter, bathe their hands in fire,
 So to declare the conscience satisfied :
 Nor for their bodies would accept release,
 But, blessing God and praising him, bequested,
 With their last breath, from out the smouldering flame,
 The faith which they by diligence had earned,
 And through illuminating grace received,
 For their dear Country-men, and all mankind,
 O high example, constancy divine !

ELLEN.

[From the same.]

THE Vicar paused ; and tow'rd's a seat advanced,
 A long stone-seat, framed in the Church-yard wall ;
 Part under shady sycamore, and part
 Offering a place of rest in pleasant sunshine,
 Even as may suit the comers old or young
 Who seek the House of worship, while the Bells
 Yet ring with all their voices, or before
 The last hath ceased its solitary knoll.
 To this commodious resting-place he led ;
 Where, by his side, we all sate down ; and there
 His office, uninvited, he resumed.

“ As, on a sunny bank, a tender Lamb
 Lurks in safe shelter from the winds of March,
 Screened by its Parent, so that little mound
 Lies guarded by its neighbour ; the small heap
 Speaks for itself ;—an Infant there doth rest,
 The sheltering Hillock is the Mother's grave.
 If mild discourse, and manners that conferred
 A natural dignity on humblest rank ;
 If gladsome spirits, and benignant looks,
 That for a face not beautiful did more
 Than beauty for the fairest face can do ;
 And if religious tenderness of heart,
 Grieving for sin, and penitential tears
 Shed when the clouds had gathered and distained
 The spotless ether/of a maiden life ;
 If these they make a hallowed spot of earth
 More holy in the sight of God or Men ;
 Then, on that mold, a sanctity shall brood,
 Till the stars sicken at the day of doom.

Ab!

Ah ! what a warning for a thoughtless Man,
 Could field or grove, or any spot of earth,
 Shew to the eye an image of the pangs
 Which it hath witnessed, render back an echo
 Of the sad steps by which it hath been trod !
 There, by her innocent Baby's precious grave,
 Yea, doubtless, on the turf that roofs her own,
 The mother oft was seen to stand, or kneel
 In the broad day, a weeping Magdalene.
 Now she is not ; the swelling turf reports
 Of the fresh shower, but of poor Ellen's tears
 Is silent ; nor is any vestige left
 Upon the pathway, of her mournful tread ;
 Nor of that pace with which she once had moved
 In virgin fearlessness, a step that seemed
 Caught from the pressure of elastic turf
 Upon the mountains wet with morning dew,
 In the prime hour of sweetness scents and airs.
 —Serious and thoughtful was her mind ; and yet,
 By reconciliation exquisite and rare,
 The form, port, motions of this Cottage-girl
 Were such as might have quickened and inspired
 A Titian's hand, addressed to picture forth
 Oread or Dryad glancing through the shade
 When first the Hunter's startling horn is heard
 Upon the golden hills. A spreading Elm
 Stands in our Valley, called THE JOYFUL TREE ;
 An Elm distinguished by that festive name,
 From dateless usage which our Peasants hold
 Of giving welcome to the first of May
 By dances round its trunk.—And if the sky
 Permit, like honours, dance and song, are paid
 To the Twelfth Night ; beneath the frosty Stars
 Or the clear Moon. The Queen of these gay sports,
 If not in beauty yet in sprightly air,
 Was hapless Ellen.—No one touched the ground
 So deftly, and the nicest Maiden's locks
 Less gracefully were braided ; — but this praise,
 Methinks, would better suit another place.

She loved,—and fondly deemed herself beloved.
 The road is dim, the current unperceived,
 The weakness painful and most pitiful,
 By which a virtuous Woman, in pure youth,
 May be delivered to distress and shame.
 Such fate was hers.—The last time Ellen danced,
 Among her Equals, round THE JOYFUL TREE,
 She bore a secret burthen ; and full soon
 Was left to tremble for a breaking vow,—

Then,

Then, to bewail a sternly-broken vow,
 Alone, within her widowed Mother's house.
 It was the season sweet, of budding leaves,
 Of days advancing tow'rd's their utmost length,
 And small birds singing to their happy mates.
 Wild is the music of the autumnal wind
 Among the faded woods; but these blithe notes
 Strike the deserted to the heart; I speak
 Of what I know, and what we feel within.
 —Beside the Cottage in which Ellen dwelt
 Stands a tall ash-tree; to whose topmost twig
 A Thrush resorts, and annually chaunts,
 At morn and evening, from that naked perch,
 While all the undergrove is thick with leaves,
 A time beguiling ditty, for delight
 Of his fond partner, silent in the nest.
 —“ Ah why,” said Ellen, sighing to herself,
 “ Why do not words, and kiss, and solemn pledge;
 “ And nature that is kind in Woman's breast,
 “ And reason that in Man is wise and good,
 “ And fear of him who is a righteous Judge,
 “ Why do not these prevail for human life,
 “ To keep two Hearts together, that began
 “ Their spring-time with one love, and that have need
 “ Of mutual pity and forgiveness, sweet
 “ To grant, or be received, while that poor Bird,
 “ —O come and hear him! Thou who hast to me
 “ Been faithless, hear him, though a lowly Creature,
 “ One of God's simple children that yet know not
 “ The universal Parent how he sings
 “ As if he wished, the firmament of Heaven
 “ Should listen, and give back to him the voice
 “ Of his triumphant constancy and love;
 “ The proclamation that he makes, how far
 “ His darkness doth transcend our fickle light!”

Such was the tender passage, not by me
 Repeated without loss of simple phrase,
 Which I perused, even as the words had been
 Committed by forsaken Ellen's hand
 To the blank margin of a Valentine,
 Bedropped with tears. 'Twill please you to be told
 That, studiously withdrawing from the eye
 Of all companionship, the Sufferer yet
 In lonely reading found a meek resource.
 How thankful for the warmth of summer days,
 And their long twilight!—friendly to that stealth
 With which she slipped into the Cottage-barn,
 And found a secret oratory there;

Or, in the garden, pored upon her book
 By the last lingering help of open sky,
 Till the dark night dismissed her to her bed.
 Thus did a waking Fancy sometimes lose
 The unconquerable pang of despised love.

A kindlier passion opened on her soul
 When that poor Child was born. Upon its face
 She looked as on a pure and spotless gift
 Of unexpected promise, where a grief
 Or dread was all that had been thought of—joy
 Far sweeter than bewildered Traveller feels
 Upon a perilous waste, where all night long
 Through darkness he hath toiled and fearful storm,
 When he beholds the first pale speck serene
 Of day-spring—in the gloomy east revealed,
 And greets it with thanksgiving. "Till this hour,"
 Thus in her Mother's hearing Ellen spake,
 "There was a stony region in my heart;
 "But he, at whose command the parched rock
 "Was smitten, and poured forth a quenching stream,
 "Hath softened that obduracy, and made
 "Unlooked-for gladness in the desert place,
 "To save the perishing; and, henceforth, I look
 "Upon the light with cheerfulness, for thee
 "My Infant; and for that good Mother dear,
 "Who bore me,—and hath prayed for me in vain;
 "Yet not in vain, it shall not be in vain."
 She spake, nor was the assurance unfulfilled,
 And if heart-rending thoughts would oft return
 They stayed not long.—The blameless Infant grew;
 The Child whom Ellen and her Mother loved
 They soon were proud of; tended it and nursed,
 A soothing comforter, although forlorn;
 Like a poor singing-bird from distant lands;
 Or a choice shrub, which he, who passes by
 With vacant mind, not seldom may observe
 Fair-flowering in a thinly-peopled house,
 Whose window, somewhat sadly it adorns.
 —Through four months' space the Infant drew its food
 From the maternal breast; then scruples rose;
 Thoughts, which the rich are free from, came and crossed
 The sweet affection. She no more could bear
 By her offence to lay a twofold weight
 On a kind parent willing to forget
 Their slender means, so, to that parent's care
 Trusting her child, she left their common home,
 And with contented spirit undertook
 A Foster-Mother's office.

'Tis, perchance,
 Unknown to you that in these simple Vales
 The natural feeling of equality
 Is by domestic service unimpaired ;
 Yet, though such service be, with us, removed
 From sense of degradation, not the less
 The ungente mind can easily find means
 To impose severe restraints and laws unjust :
 Which hapless Ellen now was doomed to feel.

In selfish blindness, for I will not say
 In naked and deliberate cruelty,
 The Pair, whose Infant she was bound to nurse,
 Forbad her all communion with her own.
 They argued that such meeting would disturb
 The Mother's mind, distract her thoughts, and thus
 Unfit her for her duty—in which dread,
 Week after week, the mandate was enforced.
 —So near !—yet not allowed, upon that sight
 To fix her eyes—alas ! 'twas hard to bear !
 But worse affliction must be borne—far worse ;
 For 'tis Heaven's will—that, after a disease
 Begun and ended within three days' space,
 Her Child should die ; as Ellen now exclaimed,
 Her own—deserted Child !—Once, only once,
 She saw it in that mortal malady :
 And, on the burial day, could scarcely gain
 Permission to attend its obsequies.
 She reached the house—last of the funeral train ;
 And some One, as she entered, having chanced
 To urge unthinkingly their prompt departure,
 “ Nay,” said she, with commanding look, a spirit
 Of anger never seen in her before,
 “ Nay, ye must wait my time ! and down she sate,
 And by the unclosed coffin kept her seat
 Weeping and looking, looking on and weeping
 Upon the last sweet slumber of her Child,
 Until at length her soul was satisfied.

You see the Infant's Grave ;—and to this Spot,
 The Mother, oft as she was sent abroad,
 And whatsoe'er the errand, urged her steps :
 Hither she came ; and here she stood, or knelt
 In the broad day—a rueful Magdalene !
 So call her ; for not only she bewailed
 A Mother's loss, but mourned in bitterness
 Her own transgression ; Penitent sincere ;
 As ever raised to Heaven a streaming eye.

—At length the Parents of the Foster-child
 Noting that in despite of their commands
 She still renewed, and could not but renew,
 Those visitations, ceased to send her forth;
 Or, to the garden's narrow bounds, confined.
 I failed not to remind them that they erred:
 For holy Nature might not thus be crossed,
 Thus wronged in woman's breast: in vain I pleaded:
 But the green stalk of Ellen's life was snapped
 And the flower drooped: as every eye could see,
 It hung its head in mortal languishment.
 —Aided by this appearance I at length
 Prevailed; and from those bonds released, she went
 Home to her mother's house. The youth was fled;
 The rash Betrayer could not face the shame
 Or sorrow which his senseless guilt had caused;
 And little would his presence, or proof given
 Of a relenting soul, have now availed;
 For, like a shadow, he was passed away
 From Ellen's thoughts; had perished to her mind
 For all concerns of fear, or hope, or love,
 Save only those which to their common shame,
 And to his moral being appertained:
 Hope from that quarter would, I know, have brought
 A heavenly comfort: there she recognised
 An unrelaxing bond, a mutual need;
 There, and, as seemed, there only.—She had raised,
 Her fond maternal Heart had built a Nest
 In blindness all too near the river's edge;
 That Work a summer flood with hasty swell
 Had swept away; and now her Spirit longed
 For its last flight to Heaven's security.
 —The bodily frame was wasted day by day;
 Meanwhile, relinquishing all other cares,
 Her mind she strictly tutored to find peace
 And pleasure in endurance. Much she thought,
 And much she read; and brooded feelingly
 Upon her own unworthiness.—To me,
 As to a spiritual comforter and friend,
 Her heart she opened; and no pains were spared
 To mitigate, as gently as I could,
 The sting of self-reproach, with healing words.
 —Meek Saint! through patience glorified on earth!
 In whom, as by her lonely hearth she sate,
 The ghastly face of cold decay put on
 A sun-like beauty, and appeared divine!
 May I not mention—that, within these walls,
 In due observance of her pious wish,

The Congregation joined with me in prayer
 For her Soul's good? Nor was that office vain
 —Much did she suffer: but, if any Friend,
 Beholding her condition, at the sight
 Gave way, to words of pity or complaint,
 She stilled them with a prompt reproof, and said,
 "He who afflicts me knows what I can bear;
 "And, when I fail, and can endure no more,
 "Will mercifully take me to himself."
 So, through the cloud of death, her Spirit passed
 Into that pure and unknown world of love,
 Where injury cannot come: — and here is laid
 The mortal Body by her Infant's side."

BATTLE OF THE GIANTS.

[FROM HÆTOD'S THEOGONY.]

Translated in Mr. Elton's Specimens of the Classic Poets.

ALL on that day stirr'd up th' enormous strife,
 Female and male; Titanic Gods, and sons
 And daughters of old Saturn; and that band
 Of giant brethren, whom from forth th' abyss
 Of darkness under earth deliverer Jove
 Sent up to light: grim forms and strong with force
 Gigantic; arms of hundred-handed gripe
 Burst from their shoulders; fifty heads up-sprang
 Cresting their muscular limbs. They thus opposed
 In dismal conflict 'gainst the Titans stood,
 In all their sinewy hands wielding aloft
 Precipitous rocks. On th' other side alert
 The Titan phalanx closed; then hands of strength
 Join'd prowess and show'd forth the works of war.
 Th' immeasurable sea tremendous dash'd
 With roaring, earth resounded, the broad Heaven
 Groan'd shattering; huge Olympus reel'd throughout
 Down to its rooted base beneath the rush
 Of those Immortals. The dark chasm of hell
 Was shaken with the trembling, with the tramp
 Of hollow footsteps and strong battle-strokes,
 And measureless uproar of wild pursuit.
 So they against each other through the air
 Hurl'd intermix'd their weapons, scattering groans
 Where'er they fell. The voice of armies rose
 With rallying about through the starr'd firmament,

And

And with a mighty war-cry both the hosts
 Encountering closed. Nor longer then did Jove
 Curb down his force, but sudden in his soul
 There grew dilated strength, and it was fill'd
 With his omnipotence; his whole of might
 Broke from him, and the godhead rush'd abroad.
 The vaulted sky, the mount Olympus, flash'd
 With his continual presence, for he pass'd
 Incessant forth and lighten'd where he trod.
 Thrown from his nervous grasp the lightning flew
 Reiterated swift, the whirling flash
 Cast sacred splendour, and the thunderbolt
 Fell. Then on every side the foodful earth
 Roar'd in the burning flame, and far and near
 The trackless depth of forests crash'd with fire.
 Yea, the broad earth burn'd red, the floods of Nile
 Glow'd, and the desert waters of the sea.
 Round and around the Titans' earthy forms
 Roll'd the hot vapour, and on fiery surge
 Stream'd upward swathing in one boundless blaze
 The purer air of Heaven. Keen rush'd the light
 In quivering splendour from the writhen flash;
 Strong though they were, intolerable smote
 Their orbs of sight, and with bedimmed glare
 Scorch'd up their blasted vision. Through the gulf
 Of yawning Chaos the supernal flame
 Spread mingling fire with darkness. But to see
 With human eye, and hear with ear of man,
 Had been as on a time the Heaven and earth
 Met hurtling in mid-air, as nether earth
 Crash'd from the centre, and the wreck of Heaven
 Fell ruining from high. Not less, when Gods
 Grappled with Gods, the shout and clang of arms
 Commingled, and the tumult roar'd from Heaven.
 The whirlwinds were abroad, and hollow arou'd
 A shaking and a gathering dark of dust,
 Crushing the thunders from the clouds of air,
 Hot thunderbolts and flames, the fiery darts
 Of Jove; and in the midst of either host
 They bore upon their blast the cry confused
 Of battle, and the shouting. For the din
 Tumultuous of that sight-appalling strife
 Rose without bound. Stern strength of hardy proof
 Wreak'd there its deeds till weary sank the war,

EQUANIMITY.

[By ARCHILOCHUS. From the Same.]

SPIRIT, thou Spirit, like a troubled sea,
 Ruffled with deep and hard calamity,
 Sustain the shock : a daring heart oppose :
 Stand firm, amidst the charging spears of foes :
 If conquering, vaunt not in vain-glorious show :
 If conquer'd, stoop not, prostrated in woe :
 Moderate, in joy, rejoice ; in sorrow, mourn :
 Muse on man's lot : be thine discreetly borne.

FRAGMENTS OF SAPPHO.

[From the same.]

THE moon hath sunk beneath the sky :
 The Pleiad stars withdraw their light :
 It is the darkling noon of night :
 The hour, the hour hath glided by,
 And yet alone, alone I lie.

Mother! sweet mother! tis in vain ;
 I cannot now the shuttle throw :
 That youth is in my heart and brain ;
 And Venus' lingering fires within me glow.

Did Jove a queen of flowers decree,
 The rose the queen of flowers should be.
 Of flowers the eye ; of plants the gem ;
 The meadow's blush ; earth's diadem :
 Glory of colours on the gaze
 Lightening in its beauty's blaze :
 It breathes of Love : it blooms the gues
 Of Venus' ever fragrant breast :
 In gaudy pomp its petals spread :
 Light foliage trembles round its head ;
 With vermeil blossoms fresh and fair
 It laughs to the voluptuous air.

RETURN OF SPRING.

[By ANACREON. From the same.]

SEE the spring appears in view ;
 The Graces showers of roses strew :
 See how ocean's wave serene
 Smooths its limpid, glassy green :
 With oaring feet the sea-duck swims ;
 The stork on airy journey skims :
 The sun shines out in open day ;
 The shadowy clouds are roll'd away ;
 The cultur'd fields are smiling bright
 In verdant gaiety of light :
 Earth's garden spreads its tender fruits ;
 The juicy olive swelling shoots ;
 The grape, the fount of Bacchus, twines
 In clusters, red with embryo wines :
 Through leaves, through boughs it bursts it way,
 And buds, and ripens on the day.

TO A PAINTER.

[From the same.]

BEST of Painters ! now dispense
 All thy tinted eloquence :
 Master of the roseate art,
 Paint the mistress of my heart :
 Paint her, absent though she be,
 Paint her, as described by me.
 Paint her hair in tresses flowing :
 Black as jet its ringlets glowing :
 If the pallet soar so high,
 Paint their humid fragrancy.
 Let the colour smoothly show
 The gentle prominence of brow ;
 Smooth as ivory let it shine,
 Under locks of glossy twine.
 Now her eyebrows length'ning bend ;
 Neither sever them, nor blend :
 Imperceptible the space
 Of their meeting arches trace :
 Be the picture like the maid ;
 Her dark eye-lids fringed with shade.

Now

Now the real glance inspire ;
 Let it dart a liquid fire :
 Let her eyes reflect the day,
 Like Minerva's, hazel-gray,
 Like those of Venus, swimming bright,
 Brimful of moisture and of light.
 Now her faultless nose design
 In its flowing aquiline :
 Let her cheeks transparent gleam,
 Like to roses, strew'd in cream ;
 Let her lips seduce to bliss,
 Pouting to provoke the kiss.

Now her chin minute express,
 Rounded into prettiness :
 There let all the Graces play ;
 In that dimpled circle stray ;
 Round her bended neck delay :
 Marble pillar, on the sight
 Shedding smooth its slippery white.

For the rest, let drapery swim
 In purplish folds o'er every limb ;
 But, with flimsy texture, show
 The shape, the skin, that partial glow :
 Enough—herself appears ; 'tis done ;
 The picture breathes ; the paint will speak anon.

GOD ALL AND IN ALL.

[By ARATUS. From the same.]

FROM Jove begin my song ; nor even be
 The name unutter'd : all are full of thee ;
 The ways, and haunts of men ; the havens, and the sea.
 On thee our being hangs ; in thee we move ;
 All are thy offspring, and the seed of Jove.
 Benevolent, he warns mankind to good,
 Urges to toil, and prompts the hope of food.
 He shows when best the yielding globe will bear
 The goaded oxen, and the cleaving share.
 He shows what seasons smile, to delve the plain,
 To set the plant, or sow the scatter'd grain.
 'Twas he, that placed those glittering signs on high,
 Those stars, dispers'd throughout the circling sky ;
 From these the seasons and the times appear,
 The labours, and the harvests of the year.
 Hence men to him their thankful homage raise,
 Him, first and last, their theme of joy and praise.

Hail,

Hail, Father! wondrous! whence all blessings spring!
 Thyself the source of every living thing!
 Oh of mellifluous voice! ye Muses, hear!
 And, if my prayer may win your gracious ear,
 Your inspiration, all ye Muses, bring,
 And aid my numbers, while the stars I sing.

PROGNOSTICS OF WEATHER.

[From the same.]

BE this the sign of wind: with rolling sweep
 High swells the sea; long roarings echo deep
 From billow-breaking rocks: shores murmur shrill,
 Though calm from storm, and howls the topmast hill.
 The heron with unsteady motion flies,
 And shoreward hastes, with loud and piercing cries;
 Borne o'er the deep, his flapping pinions sail,
 While air is ruffled by the rising gale.
 The coots, that wing through air serene their way,
 'Gainst coming winds condense their close array.
 The diving cormorants and wild-ducks stand,
 And shake their dripping pinions on the sand:
 And oft, a sudden cloud is seen to spread,
 With length'ning shadow, o'er the mountain's head.
 By downy-blossom'd plants, dishevell'd-strown,
 And hoary thistles' tops, is wind foreshown:
 When, those behind impelling those before,
 On the still sea they slowly float to shore.
 Watch summer thunders break, or lightnings fly,
 Wind threatens from that quarter of the sky;
 And, where the shooting stars, in gloomy night,
 Draw through the heavens a track of snowy light,
 Expect the coming wind: but, if in air
 The meteors cross, shot headlong here and there,
 From various points observe the winds arise,
 And thwarting blasts blow diverse from the skies.
 When lightnings in the North and South appear,
 And East, and West, the mariner should fear
 Torrents of air, and foamings of the main;
 These numerous lightnings flash o'er floods of rain,
 And oft, when showers are threat'ning from on high,
 The clouds, like fleeces, hang beneath the sky:
 Girding heaven's arch, a double rainbow bends,
 Or, round some star, a black'ning haze extends.
 The birds of marsh, or sea, insatiate lave,
 And deeply plunge, with longings for the wave.

Swift

Swift o'er the pool the fluttering swallows rove,
 And beat their breasts the ruffled lake above.
 Hoarse croak the fathers of the reptile brood,
 Of gliding water-snakes the fearful food :
 At break of day, the desert-haunting owl
 Lengthens from far her solitary howl :
 The clamouring crow is perch'd, where high the shore
 With jutting cliff o'erhangs the ocean roar ;
 Or with dipp'd head the river-wave divides,
 Dives whole-immers'd, or cawing skims the tides.
 Nor less the herds for coming rain prepare,
 And sky-ward look, and snuff the showery air.
 On walls the slimy-creeping snails abound,
 And earth-worms trail their length, the entrails of the ground ;
 The cock's young brood ply oft the pluming bill,
 And chirp, as drops from eaves on tinkling drops distil.

LOVE A FUGITIVE.

[By MOSCHUS. From the same.]

VENUS aloud proclaim'd the truant Love :
 " Whoe'er has seen him in the cross-ways rove
 He is my run-away : whoe'er descries,
 And straight informs, may claim a kiss—his prize.
 If, stranger ! thou the fugitive restore,
 Not a bare kiss is thine, but something more.
 The boy has many marks : that thou may'st tell
 His form from twenty others, heed them well :
 Not white his skin, but of a fire-red hue :
 His eyes like flame keen sparkling to the view :
 A mischief-making mind ; words prattling sweet ;
 His thoughts belie, what soft his lips repeat :
 His voice like honey ; but should anger burn,
 Of temper fierce, implacable, and stern :
 Still uttering falsehoods, an impostor sly ;
 A treacherous boy that sports with cruelty :
 Fair curling ringlets cluster round his head ;
 Tiny his hands ; but far his darts are sped :
 E'en to the banks of Acheron they wing
 Their feather'd aim, and strike th' infernal king.
 Naked his body ; cloak'd his secret mind ;
 Wing'd like a bird he hovers round mankind :
 From these to those ; from men to women flies ;
 And perching in their vitals lurking lies.
 Small is his bow, and small the fitted shaft ;
 But far as heaven the winds its passage waft :

Athwart his back a quiver hangs of gold ;
And gall-tipp'd arrows lurk within it hold :
Nay—oft their random wounds are tried on me :
All, all is cruel that in him you see :
And more than all, his tiny torch's glare
Burns up the sun : then seize him, but beware :
Lest with his tears he to thy bosom creep ;
Bring him fast bound ; nor pity though he weep :
And though he laugh in sport, yet drag him stern ;
Or, would he kiss thee ? from his kisses turn ;
There's poison on his lips : or should he say,
" Take here my weapons : " touch them not : away !
His gifts are frauds ; evade his artful aim ;
Ah, all are tinctured with contagious flame.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1815.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism, Application of Ancient Prophecies to Modern Times, Learning and Authority of the Fathers, Sermons, Single Sermons, Polemics.

WE are glad to open the present important department, for the year with a contribution, though a posthumous one, of a prelate and a scholar, whose talents, learning, opinions and productions, will ever be regarded as authoritative in the Church of England; notwithstanding the peculiarities with which they are sometimes interwoven. We allude to "The Book of Psalms; translated from the Hebrew: with notes explanatory and critical. By Samuel Horsley, LL.D. F.R. and A.S. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph." 2 vols. 8vo. After long expectation on the part of the public, this work is at last presented by the Reverend Heueage Horsley, rector of Dundee, son of the writer. For this, however, an ample apology is given: the editor could not get the work printed at Dundee, so as to superintend it himself; and it was twice suspended, while printing at Edinburgh, by the death first of Dr.

Moodie, and afterwards of Dr. Murray, who had successively undertaken to correct the press. The task was a third time commenced, upon the offer of assistance from Dr. Dickson, one of the ministers of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and at length brought to a conclusion.

Still, however, it is greatly imperfect. It is not, as the title would induce us to expect, a translation of the Book of Psalms, but of occasional psalms, consisting of less than half the entire number, and consequently with various intervals, and in some cases of considerable length. Thus we have no translation between Psalms' cxviii. and cxxxvii; nor any after cxi. Upon most of these, however, we have a few critical notes, as though the writer had turned his eye towards them with an intention of making the series complete at his leisure, had his life been sufficiently elongated. We are also much in want of an original preface or introduction;

tion; to supply the place of which the editor has ingeniously prefixed a long extract from a sermon of the Bishop's, on Psalm ii. 1. containing observations on the nature and design of the Book of Psalms in general, and of his own views as to their concealed or allegorical meaning. "A very great, I believe the far greater part are a sort of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between persons sustaining certain characters. In these dialogue-psalms, the persons are frequently the psalmist himself, or the chorus of Priests and Levites, or the leader of the Levitical band, opening the ode with a proem declarative of the subject, and very often closing the whole with a solemn admonition drawn from what the other persons say. The other persons are Jehovah, sometimes as one, sometimes as another of the three persons, Christ in his incarnate state, sometimes before, sometimes after his resurrection; the human soul of Christ as distinguished from the divine essence." Thus far we can fully accede to the opinions of this excellent critic; but we occasionally perceive a tendency to press the mystical interpretation of the Psalms to an extreme; and, upon a few isolated and highly disputable authorities, to allegorize the entire Book from the beginning to the end; and to regard the whole as one uniform and methodical treatise or drama, upon the doctrines and duties of Revelation, without reflecting upon the very different periods in which its various parts were composed, the different purposes for which they were written; and how numerous and diverse in character, the authors who contributed to its aggre-

gate. "There is not a page of this book in which the pious reader will not find *his Saviour*, if he reads with a view of finding him: and it was but a just encomium of it that came from the pen of one of the early fathers, that *it is a complete system of divinity for the use and edification of the Christian Church*;" p. xi. and again p. xvii. "It is not a bad notion of the Book of Psalms, which is given by a considerable though neglected critic: it is a notion which, if kept in view, would conduce much to the right understanding of them, that the whole collection forms a *sort of heroic tragedy*. The redemption of man, and the destruction of Satan is the plot. The persons of the drama are the persons of the Godhead, Christ united to one of them, Satan, Judas, the Apostate Jews, the heathen persecutors, the apostates of latter times; the attendants, believers, unbelievers, angels; the scenes, heaven, earth, hell; the time of the action, from the fall to the final overthrow of the apostate faction, and the general judgment."

Generally speaking, his work is better calculated for the closet than for vulgar use; for critical comparison than for public devotion. Many of the alterations shew the Author's strength and originality of style with great felicity and advantage to the text; but there are others that are too deeply imbued with his propensity to make critical difficulties where no difficulties exist; and his addiction to the occasional employment of terms, which though forcible, are harsh, homely and uncouth, or else unduly scholastic. Thus Psalm x. 4. for "the wicked through the pride of his countenance will not seek after

after God; God is not in all his thoughts." Dr. Horsley gives

The impious, in the swelling of his wrath
will not enquire:

No God, is the whole of his PHILOSOPHY.

The division, and the general sense of the verse is here improved; but the word *philosophy* is somewhat too recondite for the present purpose, though a better expression than Mudge's, who translates it "all his wicked politics." Ps. xi. 1. "In the Lord put I my trust: how say ye to my soul, flee as a bird to your mountain." For this we have the following

With Jehovah I have taken shelter; how
say ye to my soul
"Flee, Sparrows, to your hill."

The translator thus explains it: "your hill, that hill from which you say your help cometh: a sneer. Repair to the boasted hill which may indeed give you the help it gives the sparrow—a shelter against the inclemency of the stormy sky, no defence against our power." The word "to take shelter" is better than "to trust" as more congruous with the general image; but *מָנוּחַ* rather loses than gains, as well in elegance as critical accuracy by the specific term *sparrows* instead of the generic term *bird*. Nor does the plural *sparrows* well apply to the singular *my soul*.

For Ps. xiv, 1. "they have done abominable works," the present version gives us

They are abominable in their FROLICS.

The best version is that of the Psalter, "they are abominable in their doings."

In Ps. xxi. 8. the version is improved generally:

Thine hand shall be successful against all
thine enemies,
Thy right-hand shall be successful against
all that hate thee.

The similarity of construction is justified by a M.S. reading esteemed of high authority by Kennicott, which gives us *לכל שונאך ימנך חסד*.

Ps. xxii, is also improved in various parts: for for "the words of my roaring," in v. 1. we have "the burden of my loud complaint" more circuitous, but more elegant. In v. 2. for "and am not silent," the author offers, "but no relief is given me," i. e. says he, "and am not silenced;" literally "there is no silencing for me;" nothing is done to give me ease. Sensus est, nihil solatii eum sentire, quod ejus animum tranqillet Corceius. That this is the meaning we have no doubt; but it wanders too far from the words for a strict translation. The following is highly worthy of praise. —

3. Yet thou, inhabiting holiness, art *the* theme of Israel's praise.
4. Our fathers placed their trust in thee and were not brought to shame.
7. All who see me insult me with gestures of derision,
They draw aside the lip and shake the head.
8. "He boasted confidently of Jehovah;
let him deliver him,
"Let him save him. Surely he delighteth in him!"
9. Yes; thou hast been my bringer-up from the womb,
My confidence upon my mother's breasts.
10. I was cast upon thy lap from the birth,
From the womb of my mother thou hast been my God.

We do not, however, like yes, in v. 9. and very generally employed by Dr. Horsley in other passages: it is too colloquial: nor do we think *gestures of derision*, v. 7, equal

equal to *scorn*, as in both our established versions. This psalm is supposed to be a prefiguration of the Messiah in the garden.

In Psalm lxxviii. 13. for "though ye have lien among the pots," we have—

When ye dwell between THE RIDGES OF
MILLS.

A very unjustifiable rendering of כִּי־שָׁחִיתִי, though the author labours the construction at much length and with ingenuity. We suppose it to refer to the brick and pottery fields of Egypt, forming a perfect contrast with the ensuing passage.

Ps. lxxxiv. 5. Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee;
They are bent upon climbing the steep
ascents.

6. Passing through the valley of Baca,
they made it a fountain,
The pools which the rain hath filled.

Literally "the steep ascents are in their hearts," i. e. the ascents of the hills on which the city and temple stood. So our author explains it; but the rendering is circuitous and unsatisfactory. The next verse he interprets, "they quench their thirst with the rain-water of the stagnant pools, and are as well satisfied with it as with the pure water of a spring." We feel confident that the real meaning has not been hit. We have not space however for offering our own conjecture, though we shall probably be called so to do in our next. We repeat in closing, that the present work will be of considerable use in the critic's retirement; but is by no means calculated for the multitude.

ישוע בן מרים הוא המשיח
the restoration of Israel. By R. Joseph

Croole, teacher of the Hebrew language in the University of Cambridge, &c. and an answer by Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks. 8vo. 10s.—Our bane and antidote are here before us; but the respective authors shall answer for themselves in their own terms. "The real cause of writing this book," says Rabbi Croole, was from reading a small tract published by the Committee of the *London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews*; and here I shall quote their own words, "If any doubts should yet remain in the mind of any person sincerely enquiring after truth upon the heads discussed in this address; or if any new difficulties should present themselves; it would give pleasure to any member of this Committee, to confer personally with such enquirer on the subject." No. ii. p. 12. In the beginning of this paragraph, continues Mr. Croole, it is said, that they have answered almost every thing, and that a Jew has no more to say for himself. Considering these things, I thought I would search; and try to find if their statement was sufficient for the conviction of a Jew. And after I set to work, I found fresh difficulties, by which it appears to me, that they have yet answered nothing; and, further, I think that those things which I have advanced in this book, it is impossible for the Committee to answer."

The Committee were thus put upon their metal. Mr. Croole, however, does not appear to have *printed* his essay, but merely to have sent it to his opponents, in answer to their challenge for them to dispose of as they might think proper. Whatever *difficulties* the learned Rabbi had laboured under, the

the Committee seem hereby to have been involved in as many. Their challenge was to a *personal conference*: but the Hebrew instructor of the Cambridge University sends them what he supposes, a *written refutation*. To take no notice of it, would be apparently to abandon the fight: yet in order to notice it, they must themselves publish it, for the author seems to refuse; and to fight in the presence of the public, with what is not actually before the public, is to fight with a phantasm, and to obtain a visionary conquest. A copy of the book was, in consequence, sent by the Committee of the London Society to various persons, of whose biblical knowledge they entertained a high opinion; and among the rest to Mr. Scott the respondent before us, with a request that he would answer it." "I understood, says Mr. Scott, that the work was not to be published by the London Society without an answer; but it occurred to me, that if it were not answered, the author might have to say that he had, in some sense, challenged the Committee and the friends of that Society to answer his work, but that they were not able; and therefore that he at length published it himself, as unanswerable; or at least, that the substance of it would in one form or other be circulated." The general result is, that Mr. Scott wrote an answer to the objections of the learned Israelite; and the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, in the volume before us have published both.

There is unquestionably liberality in this conduct, but in our opinion, it is somewhat of a Quixotic character. In our view of the

question, the path to be pursued by the Committee was clear. It was to have repeated their invitation to Mr. Croole of a *personal conference*, which was all they bargained for; and at the same time to have added, that if in preference to this *he* should chuse to go with his objections before the public, they should immediately follow him, and dispatch those objections as effectually as they might be able. But we cannot see, that they were in any way called upon to be the proprietors and venders of Mr. Croole's poison, although they should resolve at the same time to extend their concern, and become proprietors and venders of an ample alexipharmic. If they found the enemy on the field, it was their duty to join in the battle, and drive him from his posts; but it does not appear to us that it behoved them, upon any principle of duty or courage, to furnish the enemy with the means of making his appearance, to pay him for a development of his strength, in order that they might have an opportunity of trying their prowess against him. Mr. Scott himself has his *fears*, that various Christian friends may be of the same opinion; and he endeavours in consequence to defend the expediency of the joint publication. His defence, however, is nothing more than an apology, and a feeble apology too; and had his defence of the Christian religion against the arguments of his opponent been no stronger, we should have trembled for its fate.

We will not, however, do him this injustice. His defence upon this last subject is candid, manly, critical, and satisfactory. We were curious indeed, to see what new
matter

matter could be urged by a learned Jew of the present day, after the volumes upon volumes which have antecedently appeared upon the same subject, and the threadbare state to which it seemed to have been worn. In truth the present is by no means a formidable attack. We have a few new versions of particular passages, a few new explanations of admitted passages to answer the author's purpose; a few feeble attempts at wit; a host of blunders, and a large portion of undisguised and confident blasphemies:—and all these strung together without connexion or order, make up the summary of what Mr. Croole ventures to call *proofs* and *demonstrations*, though we should have hoped, that his residence at Cambridge would have given him a little more insight into the real meaning of these terms. The following we select as a brief sample of his train of reasoning.

The Messiah is to be only a man, Ezek. xxxvii. 24. Jer. xxx. 9. Hos. iii. 5. neither of which texts contain an iota to the point. He must have both father and mother: Num. i. 18. just as irrelative as any of the preceding. He is not to have the power of forgiving sin: "for there is forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared, and no other," Ps. cxxx. 4. In which the phrase "and no other," is foisted in, without any authority whatever. The Messiah is not yet come, attempted to be proved by various texts brought equally from the Old and the New Testament, those from the last being quite as cogent and incontrovertible as those from the first. That Christ was not the Messiah *proved* in like manner from the words of Christ himself. That when Messiah comes

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he will be no Messiah for the Gentiles, whose kingdoms shall be all subverted with terrible havoc and slaughter in the progress of his career as a great and mighty and triumphant warrior and temporal potentate, who shall be called *the conqueror of the world*, fighting at the head of the restored Jews. That the Jews are at this moment scattered abroad, partly indeed as a punishment for the sins of their forefathers, in not hearkening to the voice of the prophets, but chiefly for the purpose of converting the Gentiles, who, at the dispersion of tongues were divided into sixty nine separate nations, the people of Israel forming the seventieth, and who will continue, till the coming of the Messiah, when they will unite themselves to the Jews. That each of these seventy nations was allotted at the aforesaid time of the division of tongues, to one of the seventy angels or holy Sanhedrins, that at that period held a convocation in heaven upon the general affairs of mankind; "For the Lord," says our expositor, p. 65, "said to his Sanhedrin, let us go down, and there confound their language: the seventy families shall be divided by lot; and thus every angel became a guardian angel to that family, which was afterwards a nation. Abraham fell to the lot of God, as it is written, "for the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance." We are further told, p. 85, that every thing is formed for the sake of Israel; not only all other nations, but "that for their sake heaven and earth, sun, moon and stars are created; and if there is *no Israel, no world*." And hence it seems, "Israel is called the sun, Rachel is called the moon; the twelve tribes are called the stars:

2 A

"and

"and if the fathers," continues Mr. Crooll, "are stars, of course the children also must be stars," p. 86. And this we are told was the reason why Moses and the prophets were enabled to exercise a seignory or lordly power over the elements and the heavenly bodies at their pleasure; dividing the sea; commanding fire to come down from heaven; charging the sun that he should no more go down, and the moon that she should not withdraw herself; despatching an order to the stars to fight in their courses against Sisera; and casting down some of the stars to the ground and stamping upon them, p. 86. But the visible creation, it seems, does not constitute the whole of the imperial dominion of the present ragged race of Jews; for the great lords of Houndsditch, and its vicinity, we are further told have colonies also among the regions of spirits, and colonies obedient to their commands. "But still more," exclaimeth our learned rabbi, with a sense of conscious dignity; "still more may be said in behalf of Israel, for *their title is above the angels*: though the angels are spirits, yet they are not called the sons of God: but to Israel it is said, Ye are the children of God. Again, we do not find that Israel ministered unto the angels, but the angels ministered unto Israel." p. 86.

And this deponent further witnesseth, that as the world is divided into *seventy* nations, so there are allotted to the world *seventy* great jubilees, "from the time of the covenant made with Abraham until the coming of the Messiah, and in the end of this number will commence the jubilee of Israel." Immediately after which passage we are let into the secret, by a calculation of extreme nicety, and

conducted with mathematical precision, that "the jubilee of the restoration of Israel *has begun already*, these twenty years back; that is, *just when the revolution began in France*: at that very time the seventy jubilees were at an end. There are yet thirty-six years to the end of the jubilee of Israel; and BEFORE THE END OF THESE THIRTY-SIX YEARS ISRAEL WILL BE RESTORED, AND THE MESSIAH WILL TAKE POSSESSION OF HIS EMPIRE." p. 66.

The shortest and most effectual mode of refuting such mystic and cabalistic effusions under the name of arguments subversive of the truth of Christianity, is to let them speak for themselves: they require no other answer. Mr. Scott however has undertaken the drudgery of replying to them *seriatim*, and in this manner may be said "thrice to slay the slain." From the graver parts of Mr. Crooll's work we may select his explanation of the seventy weeks in Daniel, which he seems to look upon as the most powerful hold the Christian church has upon the Old Testament in favour of the truth of its origin. He first objects to the common rendering of the text "Messiah shall be cut off, *yes not for himself*." The Hebrew for the last section is *ל' נא (ve-en-lo)*; and this our opponent, for very obvious purposes, translates "and not to him," instead of "yet not for himself," that is, continues he, "he shall have no successor." He then proceeds to tell us who this Messiah is of whom it is thus pretended to be asserted that he shall have no successor; and our English readers will be somewhat surprised at finding, that, on the interpretation of the present writer, "the Messiah here alluded to, instead of being our Saviour, is *Agrippa*."

"And

"And this Messiah," says Mr. Crooll, "that was to be cut off was king Agrippa; and so it happened, that in the last week, he and his son Monves were slain by the order of Titus."

In this interpretation of the text the writer has committed so many errors, historical and critical, that a respondent may be almost excused from pursuing him further. He may assert critically that the word Messiah (literally one *anointed*) is applied sometimes to a prophet, sometimes to a high priest, and sometimes to a king. But he ought to have known critically that it is never applied under either of these characters, excepting when the prophet, priest, or king, is specially selected, and metaphorically *anointed* by Jehovah, the God of the Jews, to fulfil some divine commission *in their favour*. And it is in this sense, and in this sense only, that the term Messiah or Anointed is applied to Cyrus, Is. xlv. 1. and consequently Mr. Crooll ought to have known *critically*, that the term could not be applied to Agrippa, to whom no Jew will very readily admit that his nation owes any obligation. The period of the seventy weeks in Daniel, which was to take place between "the going forth of the commandment to restore and rebuild Jerusalem," until the cutting off of Messiah the priest, Dan. ix. 25, 26, is usually referred, as to its commencement, to the decree of Artaxerxes to this effect as given successively to Ezra and to Nehemiah: for the small difference of time between that given to the one and to the other, is scarcely worth settling. But this interpretation will by no means suit the "cutting off" of Mr. Crooll's Messiah, king Agrippa; and hence he prefers to date the com-

mencement of the seventy weeks from the destruction of the first temple, at which time however we hear nothing of the "going forth of any commandment:" and having given this gratuitous construction, he next finds that the term of the seventy weeks, which exactly applies to our Saviour upon the general understanding, does not apply to *upon his own* by a period of "about thirty seven years:" and therefore, adds he, with great triumph, "Jesus could not be the Messiah, but he must mean some other person." Let the predicted Messiah, however, mean whom it may, it is clear that he was to appear before the destruction of the second temple; for, says the prophet, "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, till Shiloh come:" yet the sceptre has departed, and the lawgiver ceased for nearly two thousand years, and it is in vain therefore to look for Shiloh, or another Messiah, any longer. But we have already paid too much attention to this perplexed and self-contradictory attack, for which we must plead its publication under the auspices of a respectable public board. Those who wish for an entire refutation must consult Mr. Scott's reply, which is composed with an equal degree of force and temper.

"An entire new version of the Book of Psalms: in which an attempt is made to accommodate them to the worship of the Christian church, in a variety of measures now in general use. With original prefaces and notes critical and explanatory. By the Rev. William Goode, M. A. rector of St. Andrew, Wardrobe, &c." 2 vols. 8vo. This work escaped our notice in the course of last year. Its object is

both critical and metrical : that of giving a liberal version of the psalms, and of conveying it in rhyme-stanzas. Such, in fact, was the double object of the old version of Sternhold and Hopkins, who wrote between the two translations of the psalter and of the bible. In the *literal* rendering of various passages these earliest rhymesters were highly successful ; but this is all we can say in their favour, for a more wretched attempt at poetry is no where to be found in English literature ; and yet, so differently are we constituted in respect of taste, that there have not been wanting, even in our own day, scholars of high reputation, who have extolled the genius and the learning of these miserable versifiers, above the talents of almost all other translators of the psalms, whether in prose or verse. " It is, says Dr. Horsley, an original translation from the Hebrew text, earlier by many years than the prose translation in the bible ; and of all that are in any degree paraphrastic, as all in verse in some degree must be, it is the best and most exact we have, to put into the hands of the common people. It was a change much for the worse when the pedantry of pretenders to taste in literary composition thrust out this excellent translation from many of our churches, to make room for what still goes by the name of the new version, that of Tate and Brady, which in many places where the old version is just, accurate and dignified, is careless and inadequate, and in the poverty and littleness of its style contemptible." Dr. Horsley was fond of starting new opinions upon old subjects, and he has here marvelously succeeded. Such is not the opinion of the present writer, nor indeed of

one man in ten thousand. There are carelessnesses and prosaic renderings in Tate and Brady, but there are also occasionally great beauties and elegancies, an admirable glow and animation of style. The hundred and thirty-ninth psalm in their version is a noble example of taste and sublimity. There is no version that can stand in competition with it. Perhaps, however, the new version does not in general sufficiently adhere to the letter of the text, and particularly to its prophetic meaning, where such a meaning can be fairly traced out. And it is upon this ground that Mr. Goode builds his chief hopes of success in the version he has now attempted. His great example is bishop Horne, and the present work may therefore be defined a close metrical translation of the psalms upon the spiritualizing system of this elegant scholar and critic. In describing the difference between his own object and that of Dr. Watts, whose merit he freely allows, he recalls to our recollection that the latter in his own language only professed to give " an imitation of the Psalms of David in New Testament language ;" and hence, says Mr. Goode, " it must be acknowledged that we here find more frequently beautiful hymns upon the *subjects* of the psalms, than a regular *version* of the psalms themselves." In pursuing his plan, the merit which he proposes and aspires to is of no very high character, and we have no hesitation in awarding it to him ; he aims at neither great poetical genius, nor originality of invention, but only a clear discernment of the true sense, " and some facility in harmonizing numbers." In a few cases we think the author has pressed a simile occurring

curring in the original a little too far for a literal version, and has introduced ideas not exactly warranted by the text. The fourth verse of the first psalm will afford us an example: the translator thus renders it—

With full supplies to bless his roots
His verdure never dies;
Laden with leaves and timely fruits,
He ripens for the skies.

Abstractedly contemplated, we do not object to the fourth line, but as a translation the passage is somewhat *superfructified*. The passage Ps. lxxviii. 13, "though ye have lien among the pots," is, in our opinion, nearly rightly explained, though not very admirably sustained in the metrical version: the remaining part of the stanza, however, containing the simile of the dove with silver wings, and the snow on Mount Salmon, is rendered with sufficient elegance. The full sense of the passage has not, however, been exactly caught by any of the translators. For *pots* we would read *potsherds*, which the Hebrew term will just as readily admit; and we have then a lively description of a present depth of national abasement, contrasted with a future one of the height of national honour. Among the ancients, and especially the orientals, in all cases of deep affliction, the coarsest dress, as of hair or sackcloth, was worn, and the vilest and most humiliating situation, as a dust or cinder-heap surrounded with *potsherds* and other household refuse, was made choice of to sit in; and such, therefore, was the situation in which the friends of Job are stated to have found him, on their arrival at his tent, ch. ii. 8. The passage is then as follows:

What though ye have lain among the
potsherds:
Behold the wings of the silver-clad dove,
And her feathers irradiate with gold.

"What though, in your self-abasement, ye have defiled yourselves with the refuse of a dust-heap; ye shall have *beauty for ashes*; the chaste whiteness of the silver-clad dove's wings shall be yours, the brilliancy of her gold-spangled feathers."

"Dissertation on the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet of the Apocalypse, in which the number 666 is satisfactorily explained. And also a full illustration of Daniel's Vision of the Ram and the He-Goat. By J. E. Clarke." 8vo. 10s. 6d.

"The Prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Gogue (*Gog*), the last servant of the Church, his invasion of Ros, his discomfiture and *final* fall; examined, and in part illustrated." By Granville Penn, Esq. 8vo. 6s.

"A combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdra, and St. John, showing that all the prophetic writings are formed on one plan. Accompanied by an explanatory chart," &c. 8vo. 12s.

We have connected these publications, as proceeding from a common principle, that of explaining what after all appears thus far to be inexplicable; and perhaps ever will be so, in spite of all the explanation, illustration, and showing

Of men who deeply think or broadly guess,

till the accomplishment of the prophecies referred to shall bring conviction to the mind of every man, by the clear and palpable tissue of the facts themselves. It is not necessary to enter into the strength or weak-

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ness of the arguments advanced in the publications before us. It will be sufficient to observe, that each brings proof of extensive reading, and erudition, and of a more than common aptitude to adapt the mystic language of prophecy to passing events; that each offers a system of its own, and that these systems are in direct opposition to each other; and consequently wage a *bellum ad internecionem*, so that to pursue any one of them any further would be literally "to make war upon the ghosts." Mr. Clarke exhausts his strength and ingenuity chiefly upon the subject of numbers, which he shews by a vast display of learning from the time of Pythagoras (and he might have gone much higher) to the fathers of the Christian church, were very generally connected with a mystical interpretation, and having cleared the way for a new explanation of the celebrated ænigma of 666, by proving that it has never hitherto been unriddled by papist, protestant, or politician, by those who have applied it to the pope, Luther, Calvin, Ludovicus, or Buonaparte, he offers a new interpretation in the terms 'Η Λατινή βασιλεία, "the Latin kingdom." "It has been proved," says he, "that the Beast is *some kingdom*, and the passage in the sixteenth chapter of the Revelation has been produced, in which the very term βασιλεία, or kingdom, is applied to the dominion of the Beast, the kingdom *therefore can be no other* than 'Η Λατινή βασιλεία, "the Latin kingdom." The following are the numerals he gives us: H 8, Λ 30, α 1, τ 300, ι 10, ν 50, ς 8, Β 2, α 1, σ 200, ι 10, λ 30, ε 5, ι 10, α 1 = 666. Now the Latin kingdom was, properly speaking, a *Pagan* kingdom; for it was

not long after the establishment of Christianity that the Latin tongue ceased to be the vernacular dialect. Unfortunately, therefore, for this system, it seems clearly predicted that the millennium was to commence upon the fall of the Beast, or as it is here called the Latin kingdom. Every one, however, knows and feels sufficiently that the millennium has not commenced yet; and hence our author is reduced to a shift, and compelled to consult his ingenuity, which supplies him with the extraordinary position, that the Latin kingdom here referred to is not the Latin kingdom properly so called, (in which the Latin language was the vernacular tongue, and the established religion, except during the decline of this kingdom, was Paganism,) but the kingdom which may be said to have succeeded this, compounded of the above decline, its dissolution into minor kingdoms, characterised by the use of various mixt and barbarous dialects, in which Christianity succeeded to Paganism, and the Latin language was still retained in the church service, and public documents and decrees. This kingdom our author represents as still continuing; it is the kingdom of the Beast or of Papacy; and the millennium will commence on its downfall.

There is, however, another obstacle in the way of Mr. Clarke's success; and that is, that both the other learned writers whose works we have connected with his, are perfectly sure that the Beast in the Revelation does not import a kingdom, but a leader or commander; and this leader or commander not a Latin but a Corsican; that, in short, it is no other, and can be no other than Buonaparte. Mr. Penn conceives

conceives this extraordinary character to figure away in various parts of scripture, and under various titles and designations; he is the Beast, the great conqueror, the man of sin, the antichrist of the Apocalypse, and the Gog or king of Magog of Ezekiel; in proof of which last assertion, he gravely proceeds to show that Gog, or as he spells it, and will have it that it ought to be spelt, *Gogue*, is a genuine French name, and that some ten or twelve centuries ago there was a Monsieur Gogue, Gogon, or Gog, who was a man of some celebrity in France, and had a complimentary poem addressed to him (*ad ipsum Gogonem*) by Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers. From all which, and various other arguments of equal weight, it clearly follows that the Corsican Buonaparte is typified in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, under the French name Gog, or rather *Gogue*. All which being established, and many an impregnable impediment bravely surmounted in the course of the establishment, Mr. Penn next proceeds to prove, with equal satisfaction, who are primarily intended by the Jerusalem or "Israel of God," who are to triumph over the mighty Gog, the Beast, Antichrist, or man of sin, and shows us in like manner from the Hebrew of Ezekiel, that these are and can be no other than the wild and barbarous hordes of Russia, Moscovy, and Siberia; the Cossacks, Calmucks, Tcherkessians of the border of the Caucasus, or the banks of the Tobolsu; for Tobolsk, says he, is the Tubul, or Thobel, and Russ or Russia, the Ros or Rosh (רוש) of the Hebrew scriptures. And hence we have an undeniable proof that the defeat of Bonaparte by the Russians was distinctly fore-

told by the prophet Ezekiel, since the Russians, who have for many centuries shared the common character of Christians, have of late laid peculiar claim to the title of the "Israel of God." "The land of Russia, says Mr. Penn, acquired this favoured and *predicted* character in common with other Christian nations, about the middle of the ninth century, at which time it was first converted to the Christian faith. Its title to this *high distinction* may appear in the address of the *Holy Synod* of Moscow, published upon the first entrance of the invader." p. 118.

In spite, however, of all the learning and logic (and there is no lack of either) which are displayed in support of this ingenious opinion, still we find a difficulty in yielding to it, since we are somewhat positively assured by Mr. Frere, the third of the distinguished writers, whose works we are noticing conjointly, that the real "Israelitish nation" of the ancient prophets, or the "Saints" of St. John in the Revelation, are not the different and barbarous tribes of Russia, but *exclusively* "the Protestant British nation;" while the Sea of Glass in the Apocalypse is a direct picture of the tranquil state which this nation has possessed for the last thirty years, "not liable to be agitated by the spirit of violence and discord." So again, in his list of explanations, "the Israelitish nation, which alone was chosen from all other nations to the knowledge of God, during the times of the three first great empires, is made to represent that favoured Protestant nation, *which has alone in these latter days been so selected*, and chosen to the knowledge of his name from amongst the nations of the divided Roman empire." The eyes of Mr. Frere, however,

however, are keen enough to discern both in the book of Daniel, and in the apocryphal (perhaps fabulous) book of Esdras, much more than this; for he traces in these books the chief features of the history of "the emperor Napoleon," as he is courteously called, of the Abbé Sieyès, General Beaulieu, General Wurmser, Sir Sidney Smith, old Ghezzar Pacha, the repulse of the French army at St. John d'Acre, and the whole of the battle of the Nile: the last, as he tells us, being perspicuously prefigured in the two following verses: "At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former (as when he beat the Austrians under General Beaulieu), or as the latter (when for a second time he conquered Italy); for the ships of Chittim (England) shall come against him, therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the *Holy Covenant*." From national, and perhaps from personal regard, we feel rather inclined to adhere to this than to either of the preceding interpretations; and it is peculiarly in favour of Mr. Frère, that before Buonaparte's first submission, he predicted not only that his person would be spared, but that he would reascend from his humiliation. Thus far he predicted aright; but the termination of the second contest has completely falsified all the rest, and proved that this hypothesis, however desirable to our feelings, is as baseless as all that have gone before it; for on his restoration to power, Mr. Frère foretells, from the scriptures, that he would become emperor of Rome, overthrow the Ottoman empire, triumph over Judæa, Egypt, and a great part of Africa, and return rapidly and

greatly enraged, to oppose the united powers of Russia and Persia; and that finally in the battle of Armageddon, which would shortly afterwards ensue, his immense army would be cut to pieces, with a slaughter far more cruel and extensive than that of his retreat from Moscow, and himself and all his family perish in the general ruins. The ground is still open therefore for other adventurous scholars to try their strength.

We pass on to a work of more importance. "*Reliquiæ Sacræ; sive autorum fere jam perditorum secundi tertiiq; seculi fragmenta quæ supersunt. Ad codices MSS. recensuit, notisque illustravit Martinus Josephus Routh, S. T. P. &c. Sacred Relics; or the Remaining Fragments of the writers of the second and third century, now nearly lost; compared with the MSS. codices, and illustrated with notes. By Professor Martin Joseph Routh, Master of St. Magdalen's College, Oxford. Vol. I. and II.*" This work, when completed by the addition of two more volumes, will prove a valuable augmentation to our stock of ecclesiastical knowledge. The learned compiler seems to have taken his first hint from Græbe's *Specilegium*, but he has greatly improved upon his prototype. It is intended to furnish us with a complete collection of the scattered fragments of the fathers who flourished in the second and third centuries, and whose works have perished with the exception of the short extracts preserved in the works of succeeding writers; and we shall hence be put into possession, as far as we now can be, in a bird's eye view, of the sentiments and opinions of those who were personally acquainted with and taught

taught by the apostles and evangelists, or who received information from those who were thus instructed, as to the doctrines which have so long divided the Christian Church. The undertaking is worthy of the University from whose press it has issued, and of the judgment, piety and classical talents of the learned professor, whose name it bears, and who has devoted to it the leisure hours of five-and-twenty years. We wish it every success.

"*Succisivæ operæ* : or selections from antient writers, sacred and profane : with translations and notes. By the reverend H. Meen, B. D." 8vo. 5s. Mr. Meen has hitherto been chiefly known to the literary world, by "remarks on the Cassandra of Lycophron." In the volume before us, he blends sacred with prophane criticism; and his observations on various texts, both of the Old and New Testament, are worthy of consultation, though we can by no means say of implicit adoption. In his remark on St. Mark, chap. ix. 49, he seems to be right in his rendering of the first period, but wrong in that of the second.

"An essay on the character and practical writings of St. Paul: by Hannab More," 2 vols. 8vo. This work is limited to what it professes in the title. It does not treat otherwise than incidentally upon the *history* of the apostle, and has little concern, therefore, with the book of the Acts; but confines itself exclusively to his character and practical writings; and it has, hence, no interference whatever with the *Horæ Paulinæ* of Dr. Paley. It is divided into the following chapters. 1. Introductory remarks on the morality of paganism, shewing the necessity of the Christian revela-

tion. II. On the historical writers of the New Testament. III. On the epistolary writers of the New Testament, particularly St. Paul. IV. St. Paul's faith, a practical principle. V. Morality of St. Paul. VI. His disinterestedness. VII. His prudence in his conduct towards the Jews. VIII. His judgment in his intercourse with the Pagans. IX. On the general principle of St. Paul's writings. X. On his style and genius. XI. His tenderness of heart. XII. His heavenly mindedness. XIII. General view of the qualities of St. Paul. XIV. St. Paul on the love of money. XV. On the genius of Christianity as seen in St. Paul. XVI. His respect for constituted authorities. XVII. His attention to inferior concerns. XVIII. St. Paul on the resurrection. XIX. St. Paul on prayer, thanksgiving, and religious joy. XX. St. Paul an example to familiar life. XXI. On the superior advantages of the present period, for the attainment of knowledge, religion and happiness. XXII. Cursory enquiry into some of the causes which impede general improvement. We have here the same rich and glowing fancy, the same elegance of diction, the same originality of remark, that characterize the other writings of this celebrated and valuable author; and we have also the same plenitude of description, and recurrence of antithesis, both which last we could frequently spare, as the idea on which it is exercised is occasionally worn out by the multiform changes that are rung upon it. We are not surprised, however, that this work should already have reached a third edition; for it is entitled to its success.

In noticing the sermons of the year,

year, we shall commence with those of the Bampton Lecture. "An Inquiry into the General principles of Scripture Interpretation, in eight sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1814, at the Lecture founded by the rev. John Bampton, D. D. canon of Salisbury. By William Van Mildert, D. D. regius professor of divinity," &c. 8vo. The learned lecturer makes a very correct distinction between Scripture-criticism, and Scripture *interpretation*; and in the labours before us, adheres almost exclusively to the second subject. His chief inquiries (for we can only advert to the more prominent) are directed, 1. To the nature of the guidance which should regulate us in our interpretation: whether we should betake ourselves to "the person of some visible head of the Church, from whom there shall be no appeal;" as contended for by the Papists; whether, as contended for by various sects, "every doctrine of holy writ must bend to the decision of human reason, as the supreme judge in matters of faith;" or whether, with a multifarious order of expositors, we should allow supreme sway to a supposed inward light, or immediate communication with the Holy Spirit, supplementary to Scripture, and infallible, as well as irresistible in its operations." In opposition to all these, he defends with great force, and acumen the ground of interpretation assumed by our established Church; and acutely examines into the degree of deference which is due to the primitive fathers. 2. He examines into what may be supposed to constitute such "a judicious distribution or arrangement of the subject matter of holy writ," as may enable the reader to

judge of the respective purposes of its component parts, and their connexion with the general design. 3. He afterwards points his attention to the figurative and mystical interpretation of Scripture; and allows a far more liberal use of this delicate department of exposition, than is conceded by the Lady Margaret Professor of the Sister University. Upon the whole, the credit of the Bampton Lectureship has by no means suffered in the hands of Dr. Van Mildert: the points to which he has directed the attention of the students, if not new, are important; and if his studies be not animated with the warm eloquence of a White, or invigorated with the logical strength of a Laurence, they still discover a clear head, and an honest heart, and a conscientious desire to fulfil the duties of the elevated post to which he has been so judiciously called.

"Sermons, chiefly on particular occasions, by Archibald Allison, L. I. B. Prebendary of Sarum, &c. and senior minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Cowgate, Edinburgh," 8vo. 12s. We have hitherto been acquainted with Mr. Allison as a writer of genuine taste, classical imagery, sentimental description, and correct style: and we recognize him in the same character still: his sermons are beautiful moral pictures on the perfections of the Deity; the impressive variety of the seasons; the vicissitude of human pursuits; the wisdom and omnipotence of Providence; the ultimate victory of religion, virtue, and mortal order, and the tremendous downfall of guilt, however high, triumphant, audacious and uncontrolled; and into these beautiful pictures, we have, not unfrequently,

frequently, enwoven a few elegant sketches of the practical duties which should result from such considerations. But here we end, or nearly so. We have little or nothing that peculiarly characterises Christianity: its distinctive doctrines are sparingly introduced, and when introduced lightly touched upon, and rapidly closed, as though the preacher were afraid of being chargeable with having unpolitely or inharmoniously blended his compositions with subjects which do not naturally belong to them.

"Discourses on subjects chiefly practical. By David Paterson, minister of the associate congregation in Alnwick." 12mo. If the preceding volumes perpetually remind us of the elegant "Essays on Taste," the present still more forcibly carries us back to the Scottish school of common sense, the metaphysical dogmas to which it has given rise, and the philosophy of the human mind, as developed in the writings of its founders and chief professors. In this school Mr. Paterson professes himself to have been initiated: yet his philosophical theology is by no means communicated in very philosophical or very classical language. It is loose and gadding, unpruned and luxurious—a sort of random or rampant poetry without numbers, full of wild flowers that are glaring without elegance, and which taste would pluck up rather than cultivate. Here also we have to remark, as in the preceding article, that the course of argument is little embued with the peculiar characters of revealed religion; and that it is nearly as applicatory to the Meridian of Pagan Rome as of Christianized Britain.

"A charge delivered to the

clergy of the diocese of London, at the primary visitation of that diocese in the year 1814. By William Lord Bishop of London." We have here a correct specimen of the proper materials for a sermon in subject-matter, style and spirit: great earnestness for the purity and prosperity of the Church of Christ; chaste imagery, exact argument, elegant language; and a glow of unfeigned charity for real Christians of all persuasions, intermixed with animated exhortations to hold fast the truth as those to whom the charge was addressed, have received it, and stand pledged to support it. The right reverend and learned prelate is duly sensible of the danger to which the established church is at the present hour exposed; but we do not think he takes the most probable means of averting it. There is we admit at this moment, a stream flowing through the country, with a broad and rapid current that threatens to carry every thing before it. It is in vain to resist it or dam it up: the only mode of security is to take it (for it may yet be taken) into our own control; to direct its course, delve for it proper channels, and convert the overwhelming flood into diverging streams of general utility and fructification.

"A sermon preached in the parish church of Lancaster, on Thursday August 25th, A. D. 1814, at the primary visitation of the right reverend George Henry, Lord Bishop of Chester, and published at the request of his Lordship and the clergy. By Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL. D. F. S. A.," &c. This is another discourse, which adds high credit to the pulpit of our national church. The author clearly, and argumentatively enters into,

into, and unfolds the meaning and tendency of the genuine doctrines of Calvinism; from the text, "Sirs, ye are brethren: why do ye wrong one to another?" The spirit and proper charity of which we have seldom seen more practically inculcated than in this excellent address. After adverting to various disputed creeds, and controverted dogmas of different churches, the preacher proceeds as follows: "The gospel of Christ happily depends neither on the one nor the other; it stands aloof from all artificial systems, independent and alone: for without entering upon these controverted points, it is possible to preach the great doctrine of salvation through Jesus Christ, and by faith in his blood, to warn the sinner to flee from the wrath to come, and to build up God's people in their holy faith, without one word of election or reprobation, or irresistible grace. And let me add, that if such forbearance be *possible*, it is also *prudent*, for though we may ourselves be able (though it be not very probable) to state these doctrines with all the clearness of Calvin, or to confute them with all the calmness and temper of Limborch, we shall assuredly be able to infuse a very small portion of those qualities into our hearers: whereas we shall indubitably raise in our congregation a spirit, which it will be very difficult to exercise: a spirit of strife and confusion, of unskilful disputation and pharisaical pride; in the rear of which we may perchance descry, as ascending from the lowest abyss of hell, "the demon of assurance," the fruits of which upon earth are most surely to be found in the records of our courts of justice, in

the cells of the condemned, and at our places of execution."

"Christ the light of the world. A sermon preached in the Gaelic chapel, Hatton Garden, before the corresponding Board of the Society in Scotland, for propagating Christian knowledge in the Highlands and Islands. By the reverend Daniel Dewan, of the College Church of Aberdeen." Highly called for, by what we are sorry to find is the neglected state of Christianity, in the districts to which the sermon refers; where, over extensive tracts, there is often not a single school for education, not a church, nor a pastor; and where, in other tracts, where pastors exist, the range of parochial duty extends sixty miles in length, and parochial visits neither are, nor can be more than two or three in a year. This sermon is also a good specimen of pulpit oratory.

Of the other single sermons that have reached us for the current year, we have been chiefly pleased with Mr. Wilson's, preached at St. Bride's, "before the Church Missionary Society, for Africa and the East;" Mr. Dealtry's, preached at St. Ann's, Soho, before the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews: and among the Dissenters, with Dr. P. Smith's on "the reasons of the Protestant Religion," delivered at a monthly association of Protestant Dissenting Ministers; Mr. W. Hull's, on "the doctrine of atonement," preached at Beccles, to the members of the Norfolk and Suffolk Associations: and Mr. Jay's, "on the importance of an Evangelical Ministry," preached at Salisbury, on the settlement, as pastor, of the reverend A. Teddman. We may also mention in

terms

terms of the highest commendation, the Bishop of London's sermon, preached at Whitehall, in depositing the colours taken at the glorious battle of Waterloo: and lament that we have not space for giving extracts from it.

Among the chief controversies of the day, we regret to notice that founded on an idea, that "the National Church is in danger." We cannot at present enter into the question. The chief publications on both sides are Mr. Nor-

ris's "Practical Exposition of the tendency and proceedings of the Bible Society;" Mr. Dealtry's "Review of Mr. Norris's Attack:" "Letter to the right reverend the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, on his recent charge to his Clergy:" by a clerical member of the Bible Society: and "the Church in danger, &c. with the probable means of averting that danger, in a letter to the right honourable Lord Liverpool. By the reverend Richard Yates, B. D. and F. R. S."

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising the Transactions of Societies for Natural Knowledge, Geology, Mineralogy, Botany and Agriculture; Chemistry, Medicine, Anatomy, Physiology, Metaphysics, Mathematics.

WE shall commence the present chapter with a brief notice of the "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society;" which we have hitherto transferred to chapter IV. in order to connect the work with other journals of learned societies upon different subjects; but which, as its general scope is limited to physical and mathematical studies, seems rather to demand a place in the chapter before us. Hitherto, however, we have only received the first part of the annual volume. It comprizes nine articles, as follows:

I. "Additional observations on the optical properties and structure of heated glass, and unannealed glass-drops. By David Brewster, LL.D. F.R.S. Edin. &c. In a letter addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. &c. &c." II. "Experiments on the depolarization of light as exhibited by various mineral, animal and vegetable bodies, with a reference of the phænomena to the general principles of polarization." By the same. V. "On the effects of simple pressure in producing that species of crystallization, which forms two oppositely polarised images, and exhibits the comple-

mentary colours by polarized light." By the same. IX. "On the laws which regulate the polarization of light by reflection from transparent bodies." By the same. It will hence be seen, that the Royal Society is eminently indebted to this zealous philosopher and indefatigable writer. Though not a fellow of the establishment, he has contributed nearly half the articles in the part before us, and more than half its matter. Possibly this may be a subject of surprize to some of our readers, and of regret to others; but the topic pursued is new and interesting; much additional light is thrown upon it in a variety of ways, and now that the world has lost M. Malus, it seems entirely, and, in some degree, unaccountably left to Dr. Brewster, as the sole gleaner in the wide field before him. Amongst the most singular results of the first paper may be mentioned, the production of a new species of crystallization by the agency of heat alone. When light is transmitted perpendicularly through a plate of glass, the glass exercises no more action upon it than if it were a mass of water. When the glass, however, is heated, the particles not only expand, but assume

a new

a new arrangement, till at a certain temperature the crystallization is complete. As the temperature diminishes the particles approach each other, and gradually recover their former arrangement. The crystallization which is thus produced in drops of melted glass, is rendered permanent by a sudden immersion of the drops in water, which arrests the particles in that particular position that constitutes the crystalline state of the body. Hence it follows, that the particles of glass, when separated to a distance by the expansive energy of heat, assume a crystalline arrangement; and, unless they are fixed in this state, by a sudden diminution of temperature, the crystallization is gradually destroyed by the approximation of the particles which takes place during the operation of slow cooling. The experiments on the depolarization of light in art, III. are very numerous, and extend to upwards of a hundred animal, vegetable, and mineral substances; from all which Dr. Brewster thinks himself warranted in laying down a theory of depolarization, which he explains under seven heads, such being the number of modes in which he has discovered that light may be depolarized by bodies. This theory, however, requires still further examination and support. Article V. exhibits the effects of simple pressure upon soft animal substances, as isinglass, jelly, beeswax, which vary considerably according to the substance employed. The last is a very long, and very elaborate paper, in which the author endeavours to point out the anomalies which occur in this new branch of science, and to determine the general laws which regulate the depolarization of light. We

trust we shall soon find some other philosophers co-operating with him in this brilliant career. M. Biot seems to have caught the mantle of M. Malus, in the French Royal Institute; but we have thus far no name announced of a similar character in the Transactions of the Royal Society.

II. "Description of a new instrument for performing mechanically the involution and evolution of numbers. By P. Roget, M.D." We cannot abridge this paper, nor explain it without a copy of the accompanying plates. IV. "On an ebbing and flowing stream discovered by boring in the harbour of Bridlington. By John Storer. M.D."

VI. "Experiments made with a view to ascertain the principle on which the action of the heart depends, and the relation which subsists between that organ, and the nervous system. By A. P. W. Philip, physician in Worcester." Both these have been copied in whole, or in part, in the preceding division of *Selections*; to which, therefore, we refer the reader. VII.

"Experiments to ascertain the influence of the spinal marrow on the action of the heart in fishes." These experiments have a close connection with those of Dr. Philip: they rather controvert than support the doctrine of M. Gallois, that the action of the heart is dependant upon the spinal marrow; but they show that the muscles of various kinds of fishes, and particularly of the carp, are capable of being thrown into powerful action, many hours (at least four) after the brain and heart are removed; in one instance the fish, supposed to have been dead, upon being put into hot water four hours after decapitation; and the loss of its heart, leaped out
of

of the vessel with a degree of vigour equal to the struggles of a living fish. VIII. Some experiments and observations on the colours used in painting by the ancients. By Sir Humphry Davy, LL. D. F. R. S. The works of the great Greek masters are unfortunately entirely lost. Greece was plundered of them, by the successful and successive invasions of Sylla, Scipio, Mummius, and other Roman chieftains, who packed up and transported pictures, sculptures, and other monuments of fine art, from the Peloponnesus to Rome: many of them were damaged or destroyed in their passage, most of the rest have since fallen a sacrifice to ignorance or carelessness; and none of them were ever so fortunate, like the spoiliations of Buonaparte, to find their way back again to their native countries. It is rather from Roman paintings, therefore, than from Greek, that the information contained in the paper before us is derived, or at the utmost from paintings made at Rome, though perhaps occasionally by Greek artists. From a chymical analysis of small portions of colouring materials, scraped off from the walls still remaining, amidst the ruins of Pompeii and the palace of Titus, or from fragments of stucco, and coloured vases, Sir Humphry has determined, in a considerable degree, the bases of the chief pigments of the ancients, especially the red, blue, green, purple, black, brown, and white colours. From the examinations before us, it appears that the ancients employed nearly the same colours, and the same variety of colours as those made use of by the great Italian masters, at the period of the revival of the arts in Italy; the

former having however an advantage over the latter in two colours, now no longer known, the Vestorian or Egyptian azure, and the Tyrian or marine purple. The azure, red, and yellow ochres, and the blacks, are the colours which seem to have sustained the least change in the ancient fresco paintings, and often to have sustained no change at all. The greens are less bright than those of modern times, especially Schoole's green, which is an arsenite of copper: and the moderns possess also a more brilliant yellow than the ancients in the patent yellow, and the chromate of lead, both which are supposed to be quite unalterable. The sulphate of baryte offers, moreover, a white superior to any possessed by the Greeks or Romans. In their varnishes the ancients were not fortunate; and hence one cause of the destruction of many of their best paintings. These should have been sought for amongst the transparent combinations of the earths with water, or the crystalline transparent compounds unalterable in the atmosphere. Of this last kind, it is probable, that the artificial hydrate of alumina will furnish us with an example; and perhaps the solution of boracic acid, or of sulphur in alcohol; these combinations are at least worthy of trial.

“Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society, Vol. II. Part I. For the years 1811, 1812, 1813. With nineteen engravings.” Svo. 12s. The first volume of these Memoirs was published at Edinburgh in 1811, and will be found noticed in our Retrospect of 1812. The Society, it will be seen, moves with a slow, but we may add a steady pace: and the articles in the

the part before us, by no means discredit those which we have reviewed already. We are sorry that we can do little more than announce their titles. I. Outlines of the mineralogy of the Orchil Hills. By Charles Mackenzie, esq. F. L. S., &c. II. Geological account of the southern district of Sterlingshire, commonly called the Campsie Hills, with a few remarks relative to the two prevailing theories as to geology, and some examples given illustrative of these remarks. By Lieut. Col. Imrie, F. R. S. Edinb. III. Chemical analysis of a species of Magnetic iron-ore from Greenland. By Thomas Thompson, M. D. F. R. S. L. and E. IV. Description of a Sword-fish found in the Frith of Forth in June 1811. By William Elford Leach, esq. F. L. S., &c. V. Some observations on the genus *Squalus* of Linné, with descriptions and outline-figures of two British species. By the same. VI. Essay on sponges, with descriptions of all the species that have been discovered on the coast of Great Britain. By George Montagu, esq. F. L. S., &c. VII. Mineralogical description of Tinto. By Dr. Macknight. VIII. Short account of the rocks which occur in the neighbourhood of Dundee. By the reverend John Fleming. IX. Observations on the mineralogy of the neighbourhood of St. Andrews in Fife. By the same. X. Meteorological observations on a Greenland voyage, in the ship *Resolution* of Whitby, in 1811. By William Scoresby, Jun. XI. A Meteorological Journal kept during a Greenland voyage 1812. By the same. XII. Analyse du Spath perlé (Chaux carbonitré ferrique perlée d'Hany). By W. Hesinger, esq. Stockholm. XIII. Outlines of the Mineralogy 1815.

of the Pentland Hills. By professor Jameson. XIV. On conglomerated, or brecciated rocks. By the same. XV. On Porphyry. By the same. XVI. Mineralogical observations and speculations. By the same. XVII. Observations on the Natural History of the *Colymbus Immer*. By Dr. Arthur Edmonston. XVIII. Contributions to the British Fauna. By the Reverend John Fleming, F. R. S. E. XIX. Description and analysis of a new species of lead-ore from India. By Thomas Thomson, M. D., &c. XX. Notice respecting the structure of the cells in the combs of bees and wasps. By Dr. Barclay. The reader will perceive, that the Society has aimed at a sufficient variety of subjects: The most valuable articles, as it appears to us, are Mr. Montagu's paper on the sponges, which leaves the question in some degree doubtful, in what department of living beings these curious formations ought to be arranged; and the several contributions of the president, Mr. Jameson, especially his mineralogical observations and speculations; in some parts of which, however, we perceive a boldness of conjecture which surpasses what we have hitherto seen in this writer's publications, and which not a little oversteps the modesty of nature, especially in his conjecturing the globe to be a chemical polyëdron, whose strata are nothing more than its folia. He supposes glance-coal and black-coal to be chemical deposits; brown coal to be a vegetable remain.

“An account of the Basalts of Saxony with observations on the origin of Basalt in general. By J. F. Danbuisson, member of the National Institute, and one of the principal engineers to the Board of Mines

Mines in France. Translated with notes, by P. Neill, F. R. S. E. and F. L. S. Secretary to the Wernerian Natural History Society." 8vo. 9s. M. Danbuisson is a stout champion for the aqueous origin of basalts in general, and especially of those which constitute the immediate subject of his survey: and his arguments are forcible, and clearly expressed. He admits, however, that basaltic mountains may sometimes be met with, which bear evident marks of igneous fusion in their structure, and such he seems to acknowledge are those of Auvergne, which, till he had accurately examined them, he supposed to be of the nature of basalts in general. He conceives all these however to be proper basalts operated upon, rather than produced by volcanic ignition, such as may perhaps be called basaltic lavas. The basaltic mountains of Saxony belong to the Erzgebürge, or metalliferous chain, which running a hundred and twenty miles from north-east to south-west, separates Bohemia from the electorate of Saxony; terminating, on the one hand, in Franconia, where its base unites with that of the Fuchtelgebürge, and, on the other, in the great and deep valley of the Elbe. It rises to 3,600 feet above the level of the sea, and has a very rapid declivity towards Bohemia, but a very gradual descent towards Saxony. The present work is illustrated by a map of the Erzgebürge from Petri; and the translator has done justice to his original.

"A Delineation of the Strata of England and Wales, with part of Scotland; exhibiting the collieries and mines, the marshes and fens originally overflowed by the sea, and the varieties of soil ac-

cording to the variations in the Substrata, illustrated by the most descriptive names. By William Smith, engineer and mineral surveyor, 16 sheets.

"A Memoir to the Map and Delineation of the Strata, &c." 4to. pp. 51. This work does great credit to the patient assiduity and comprehensive genius of its enlightened author, whose name and talents in his profession have been long known to us. It is in fact the first regular attempt which has ever been made, to lay down the under-face of an entire country, so as to exhibit, in one general view, what it consists of at some hundreds of yards below the surface; and cannot be otherwise than of very high importance to agriculturists, geologists, miners and colliers, stonemasons, statuaries and builders of every kind. Mr. Smith observes, that he has been employed upon the present subject for twenty-four years, and this, too, with "intense application;" and that the chances were thought much against his ever completing it on a map of the greater part of our island, large enough to show the general course and width of each stratum of the soil and minerals, with a section of their proportions, dip, and direction, in the colours most proper to make them striking and just representations of nature. "The map also contains the relative altitude of the hills, which seem proportioned to the nature of the rocks of which they are formed: the highways, the streams, rivers, canals and rail-ways, upon a larger scale and more correctly, than any map before published; also the situation of collieries and mines." The strata, we may fairly add, are beautifully delineated; and as the colours

Colours by which they are distinguished, are as nearly as may be of the precise hue of the strata themselves, the uninitiated in oryctology may derive great pleasure and instruction by a survey of them. To this remark we meet with but one exception, and that is in the case of chalk, or lime-stone, which is coloured green instead of white, in order to avoid interfering with the blank spaces of the general ground. Distinct marks are also made use of to represent the existence of canals, tunnels, rail, and other roads, collieries, lead, copper, and tin-mines, as well as salt and alum-works. The Memoir, which in itself is highly interesting, serves as a complete key for explaining these marks, as well as the nature of the rocks indicated by the different colours. Mr. Smith is, in a considerable degree, a self-taught geologist: the great Book of Nature is that to which he has confined himself almost exclusively; this he has read attentively, and with an intelligent mind; and it is curious and highly instructive, to observe how far his remarks coincide with the doctrines of Werner, Cuvier, and other distinguished theorists, and how far they occasionally deviate from them. His idea of the origin of springs, is in a great degree original; and his scheme for determining the nature of a stratum, by its fossil remains, or *vice versa*, the nature of the fossil remains contained in a stratum, by the peculiarity of the stratum itself, is not less so. We cannot conclude without wishing him every success in an undertaking so truly interesting and national.

"A Manual of Mineralogy, by Arthur Aikin, Secretary to the Geological Society." 8vo. 7s. A

useful pocket-companion, containing the substance of a course of lectures, delivered before the members of the Geological Society. The author gives a new division of the subject, under the four following classes. I. Non-metallic combustible minerals. II. Native metals, and metalliferous salts. III. Earthy minerals. IV. Saline minerals. This method is proposed from an imagined insufficiency in these respects of both Werner and Haüy. From its simplicity it generalizes too largely; but the descriptions are neat and accurate, and the language precise, perspicuous, and free from much of the pedantry and barbarous technology of many mineralogists.

"General View of the Agriculture of the East-Riding of Yorkshire, published by order of the Board of Agriculture. By H. E. Strickland of Righton, esq." 8vo. 12s. The author has been an attentive examiner, and is consequently a useful reporter. The common arrangement is here followed; and we are presented with the geographical state and circumstances of the district; its relative situation; extent; divisions; climate; soil; minerals; and waters. On the subject of minerals, this Riding appears to be peculiarly barren; we have no metallic veins of any kind; no coal, sand-stone, flag-stone, or lime-stone fit for building; no slate; though it possesses in some parts pure marl and gypsum. The large proprietors seem unfortunately to be abandoning their proper homes. Not long ago the Riding contained a hundred and twenty-four mansions or manorial houses, occupied by their proprietors; in 1810, these were reduced to seventy-four; and at the period

period before us, consist of not more than forty-one. Mr. Strickland justly thinks, that the fashion for enclosing has run into a ruinous mania; and points out many parts enclosed, which can never perhaps pay the expense of the first cost. The poor's-rates, as every where else, are scandalously enormous; the cultivation of live-stock is encouraged with great spirit, and seems to repay better than tillage.

"Practical Observations on the Dry-rot in Timber, &c. By Ralph Dodd, civil-engineer." 8vo. 5s. The author is not qualified to write well on any subject; and he has here unfortunately undertaken to handle a subject he knows but little of. The dry-rot in shipping he tells us, "is a *perfect fungus of various species*, the same as on shore in private houses, mansions, public buildings, &c. in many of which it is at this moment making an alarming progress, and *some of it* from microscopic observations, beautiful in its growth, like a well-planted wood, sending its extended fibrous roots into the timber, and acting on it, like a number of hydraulic pumps or leeches on the human frame.—In the examination of the Royal Charlotte Yacht, I found her badly affected with the dry-rot, but of the *polypetalous species*." It is not necessary to pursue Mr. Dodd's descriptive powers any further.

Chemical Essays, principally relating to the arts and manufactures of the British Dominions. By Samuel Parkes, F. L. S. 5 vols. small 12mo. 2l. 2s. Much of the best information of the present day is collected, and neatly arranged in these little volumes. We have little of speculative opinions, or elementary principles; the author

enters at once into the sphere of active employment, and explains to us the application, rather than the rudimental nature of chemical substances. He treats, therefore, in succession, on the utility of chemistry to the arts and manufactures: on temperature: specific gravity: calico-printing: barytes: carbon: sulphuric acid: citric acid: fixed alkalies: earthen-ware and porcelain: glass: bleaching: water: sal ammoniac: edge-tools: concluding with an appendix which occupies the whole of the fifth volume, and consists of additional notes, corrections, or further illustrations. It is difficult to say what ought to be the limits of a work, which thus selects a small portion, a few detached fragments, from the colossal study of chemistry, with a view of rendering it subservient to the arts of common life. Were we disposed to be fastidious, we could easily point out omissions, which, in our opinion, ought to have been supplied, and descriptions which might have been curtailed to make room for them. But after all, selection must be a matter of taste and of peculiar propensity to one branch of chemistry rather than another. We conclude therefore with recommending the present work generally, and can honestly praise the neat designing and execution of the plates by which the work is illustrated.

In advancing to the science of medicine, it is impossible not to perceive, that by far the greater share of both public and professional attention, has been given to the important, but distressing subject of insanity: partly in consequence of the removal of the old establishment of Bethlem Hospital, from its most inconvenient situation in Moorfields,

Moorfields to a far more eligible spot of ground in St. George's Fields, partly owing to a variety of new plans and modes of treatment which have been offered to the public, but principally in consequence of a full and circumstantial examination into the management of several of our most extensive public institutions for lunatic persons, which has taken place in Parliament, and the very unexpected, and we cannot avoid adding, disgraceful neglect and barbarity which it has exposed. The chief works that have occurred to us upon this subject, are the following:

"Description of the Retreat, an institution near York, for insane persons of the Society of Friends; containing an account of its origin and progress, the modes of treatment, and a statement of cures." By Samuel Tuke."

"A History of the York Lunatic Asylum: with an appendix, containing minutes of the evidence on the cases of a case lately inquired into by a committee, &c. Addressed to W. Wilberforce, Esq. one of the contributors to Lapton's Fund."

"Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums; including instructions to the architects who offered plans for the Wakefield Asylum, and a sketch of the most approved design. By Samuel Tuke."

"Report, together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix of papers, from the committee appointed to consider of provision being made for the better regulation of mad-houses in England. (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 11th July 1815). Each subject of evidence arranged under its distinct head. By J. B. Sharpe,

Member of the Royal College of Surgeons." 8vo.

"Essay on the Prevention and Cure of Insanity: with observations on the rules for the detection of pretenders to Madness. By George Nesse Hill, Medical Surgeon, &c." 8vo, 12s.

We lament that the limits to which we are compelled in a summary of the literature for the year, will not allow us to expatiate as largely as we could wish upon a subject so closely connected with the interest of domestic and public life. The few observations for which we may be able to find space we shall direct, in the first place, to the different modes of treatment which the unhappy persons above alluded to have experienced in different establishments; and in the second place to the nature of the disease itself; its distinctive character, and ever-shifting varieties. That the care of houses for insane persons demands the most vigilant eye of the legislature, is a position that has been admitted and acted upon for a long period; and it was hence that the existing law for their regulation was passed in the fourteenth year of the king, which puts the whole of them under the superintendence of a committee appointed by the London College of Physicians. This law, however, appears to be extremely imperfect; it is inadequate to protect persons from being sent into these miserable abodes of imprisonment and cruelty, as they have too often proved, who have no disease that should demand such a sentence; but particularly to afford kindness, protection, and above all, proper communication with proper persons, even when the state of the mind evidently shews insanity, and the situation of the patient renders it

it necessary that he should become an inmate of a mad-house. The very imperfect report presented to the House of Commons implies the whole of this in its very commencement. "Your committee, deeply sensible of the importance of the matter referred to their consideration, have applied themselves with great earnestness to the performance of the duty imposed on them by the House. Your committee cannot hesitate to suggest, with the utmost confidence, from the evidence they now offer to the House, that some new provision of law is indispensably necessary for ensuring better care being taken of insane persons, both in England and Ireland, than they have hitherto experienced, the number of whom appear very considerable, as the inquiries of the committee have convinced them that there are not in the country a set of beings more immediately requiring the protection of the legislature than the persons in this state, a very large proportion of whom are entirely neglected by their relations and friends. If the treatment of those in the middling or in the lower classes of life, shut up as *insane*, in hospitals, private mad-houses, or parish work-houses, is looked at, your committee are persuaded that a case cannot be found where the necessity for a remedy is more urgent." Of the different establishments examined, those to which by far the chief misconduct is ascribed are, the Lunatic Asylum at York, and Bethlem Hospital in London; the carelessness, and unnecessary severity exhibited at both which cannot fail to make every man shudder who glances at the accounts given in the report. With respect to the first, Mr. Higgins, supported by collateral testimony of

unquestionable character, gave evidence among other things as follows: "Having suspicion in my mind that there were some parts of that Asylum which had not been seen, I went early in the morning, determined to examine every place. After ordering a great number of doors to be opened, I came to one which was in a retired situation, in the kitchen apartments, and which was almost hid by the opening of a door in the passage. I ordered this door to be opened: the keepers *hesitated*, and said the apartment belonged to the women, and *they had not the key*. I ordered them to get the key, but *it was said to be mislaid*, and not be found at the moment. Upon this I grew angry, and told them I insisted upon its being found, and if they would not find it I would find a key at the kitchen fire-side, namely the poker: upon that the key was immediately brought. When the door was opened I went into the passage, and I found four cells, I think, of about eight feet square, in a very horrid and filthy situation: the straw appeared to be almost saturated with urine and excrement; there was some bedding laid upon the straw in one cell, in the others only loose straw. A man (a keeper) was in the passage doing something, but what I do not know. The walls were daubed with excrement, the air-holes, of which there was one in each cell, were partly filled with it. I asked the keeper if these cells were inhabited by the patients, and was told they were at night. I then desired him to take me up stairs, and show me the place of the women who came out of those cells that morning. I then went up stairs, and he showed me into a room, which I caused him to measure,

sure, and the size of which he told me was twelve feet by seven feet ten inches, and in which there were thirteen women who, he told me, had all come out of those cells that morning. I became very sick, and could not remain longer in the room. I vomited. Whilst I was standing at the door of the cells waiting for a key, a young woman ran past me, amongst the men servants, decently dressed. I asked who she was, and was told by Atkinson that she was a female patient of respectable connections." We are next told, that the governors, on visiting these cells, confessed that they were totally unknown to them, and that they had never been shown to them. The whole was under the immediate care of a Dr. Hunter, who, from offering his medical assistance at first gratuitously, had insinuated himself into the favour of the governors, had gradually possessed himself of the entire superintendence, was allowed a salary of 200*l.* per annum, and at length converted the entire establishment into an instrument of the most mercenary character for his own use, and was allowed to pay himself out of the weekly sums paid by the patients; that under his control passages in the order-book were obliterated on various occasions; that he was either allowed, or without allowance, took fees of the more creditable patients; that the patients, on discharge, were often defrauded of the best part of the clothes they brought with them into the hospital; and that female patients were frequently debauched and left the house pregnant, sometimes by male patients, and, at least in one instance, by the head keeper Backhouse, who afterwards resigned his situation to open a private mad-

house for his own benefit, and was on that occasion complimented by the governors with a piece of plate, in token of his exemplary conduct. It should be added, however, that there is no reason for believing that any other governor than Hunter, the physician to the establishment, was acquainted with Backhouse's infamy in debauching one of his patients, and this too a young woman of exceedingly good character before she entered the asylum, and who at the time of giving his evidence, Mr. Higgins observed was a woman of exceeding good character then, and had been living some years in a respectable family.

The mismanagement of which the parliamentary report convicts the superintendants of Bethlem Hospital, is of a somewhat different character. Here the grossness of neglect does not appear to have been carried quite so far, but the means of severity and cruelty much farther. The straight waistcoat, a harmless mode of coercion, and in the concurrent opinion of the officers of every other establishment of the same kind, private or public, who were examined upon the subject, perfectly competent, when made of sufficient strength, for the most violent and refractory maniac, is here singularly banished as an old fashioned and inadequate security, and unfortunately exchanged for a mode of treatment in extreme cases, which has scarcely ever been exercised upon criminals, or supposed criminals, in the rudest periods of barbarous life, or under the vindictive thralldom of superstitious tyranny. Chains, handcuffs, footlocks, iron bars, iron rings, and disgusting nakedness, seem here to be the chief, and almost the only discipline trusted to for the recovery of

of reason, a system, however, which we should rather think more calculated than any other to drive away reason from those who are in the firmest possession of it. One of the chief witnesses respecting this institution was Mr. Wakefield, who appears to be a gentleman of great discernment and humanity, and whose sole motive in visiting this abode of cruelty and wretchedness seems to have been that of pure benevolence; and from his evidence we shall chiefly take a few extracts. Admission is extremely and unnecessarily difficult. No visitor can be admitted unless accompanied by a governor; and for a list of the governors the clerk has hitherto been allowed to charge the exorbitant fee of one guinea. Mr. Wakefield, therefore, went in company with Mr. Alderman Cox, whom he had prevailed upon, in the character of a governor, to accompany him. Mr. Alderman Cox most assuredly appears to have been no party, or rather no *active* and *assenting* party, to the gross misconduct of the establishment, for his feelings were so completely overpowered before he had seen one half the house, that he was obliged to retire. "At this visit, says the witness, attended by the steward of the hospital, and likewise by a female keeper, we proceeded to visit the women's galleries: one of the side-rooms contained about ten patients, *chained by one arm or leg to the wall, the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall, or to sit down on it. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket only: the blanket-gown is formed something like a dressing gown, with nothing to fasten it in front: this constitutes the whole covering: the*

feet were even naked. One female in this side-room, thus chained, was an object remarkably striking: she mentioned her maiden and marriage names, and stated that she had been a teacher of languages: the keepers described her as a very accomplished lady, mistress of many languages, and corroborated her account of herself. The committee can hardly imagine a human being in a more degraded and brutalizing situation than that in which I found this female, who held a coherent conversation with us, was of course fully sensible of the mental and bodily condition of those wretched beings, who, equally without clothing, were closely chained to the same wall with herself. She entreated to be allowed pencil and paper for the purpose of amusing herself with drawing, which were given to her by one of the gentlemen with me. Many of these unfortunate women were locked up in their cells, *naked and chained on straw*, with only one blanket for a covering."

The appearance of the side-room in the men's wing was, if possible, still more disgusting: "their nakedness and mode of confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel." The following is Mr. Wakefield's statement of a case that made a very deep impression on the minds of the committee, and perhaps chiefly excited to the present inquiry. "In one of the cells on the lower gallery we saw William Norris: he stated himself to be fifty-five years of age, and that he had been confined *about fourteen years*; that in consequence of attempting to defend himself from what he conceived the improper treatment of his keeper, he was fastened by a
 loop

long chain, which passing through a partition, enabled the keeper, by going into the next cell, to draw him close to the wall at pleasure; that to prevent this, Norris muffled the chain with straw, so as to hinder it from passing through the wall; that he afterwards was confined in the manner we saw him; namely, a stout iron ring was rivetted round his neck, from which a short chain passed to a ring made to slide upwards or downwards on an upright massive iron bar, more than six feet high, inserted into the wall. Round his body a strong iron bar, about two inches wide, was rivetted; on each side the bar was a circular projection, which being fashioned to and enclosing each of his arms, pinioned them close to his sides. This waist-bar was secured by two similar bars, which, passing over his shoulders, were rivetted to the waist-bar both before and behind. The iron ring round his neck was connected to the bars on his shoulders by a double link. From each of these bars another short chain passed to the ring on the upright iron bar. We were informed that he was enabled to raise himself so as to stand against the wall, on the pillow of his bed in the trough-bed in which he lay; but it is impossible for him to advance from the wall in which the iron bar is soldered, on account of the shortness of his chains, which were only twelve inches long. It was, I conceive, equally out of his power to repose in any other position than on his back, the projections which on each side of the waist-bar enclosed his arms, rendering it impossible for him to lie on his side, even if the length of the chains from his neck and shoulders would permit it. His right leg was

chained to the trough, *in which he had remained thus encaged and chained more than twelve years.* To prove the unnecessary restraint inflicted on this unfortunate man, he informed us that he had for some years been able to withdraw his arms from the manacles which encompassed them. He read a great deal of books of all kinds, history, lives, or any thing that the keepers could get him; the newspapers every day, and conversed perfectly coherent on the passing topics and events of the war, in which he felt particular interest. On each day that we saw him he di-coursed coolly, and gave rational and deliberate answers to the different questions put to him. The whole of this statement relative to William Norris was confirmed by the keepers." Such is the system of oppression devised by a public and benevolent establishment to restore an unfortunate fellow countryman and fellow being, not from criminality to virtue, but from alienation of mind to the possession of reason!

It is difficult to account for this monstrous course of carelessness and cruelty. The medical officers throw it upon the committee; the committee seem disposed to retort the charge; yet the former, though they will not allow that they *advised* the savage contrivance for torturing Norris, admit that they never remonstrated against it, and rather palliate than justify it, by observing that Norris was peculiarly powerful and vindictive: to all which it may, however, be sufficient for us to add the following testimony of Mr. Warburton, who keeps private madhouses to a greater extent than any other man in the kingdom, as given before the committee, and confirmed by every other

other witness of similar experience. "I never saw a man so bad yet, that could not be held by a strait waistcoat. We must make it proportionably strong. The most violent pauper-lunatic *never requires confinement beyond a leg-lock and manacles*: and I never yet saw a lunatic that, at certain times, under the guidance of a keeper, might not be allowed some liberty to walk about." The historian of the "Retreat at York" very justly observes, that all such severity tends to exasperate the disease and excite resentment. "May we not hence," adds he, "most clearly perceive why furious mania is almost a stranger in the Retreat? Why all the patients *wear clothes*, and are generally induced to adopt orderly habits?"

As a public institution for exemplifying the advantage of medical treatment, or discipline, which, for the benefit both of the individuals and the public, Bethlem Hospital ought to be, like the *Asyle de Bicêtre* at Paris, nothing can be more absurd. A medical system is indeed pursued, but of a character never heard of before, and which is only worthy of being patronized by those to whom alone it is entrusted by the medical officers or the constitution of the establishment (for we do not know which), we mean the nurses and keepers of the hospital. Under their sanction and guidance the *modus medendi* consists of *periodical* bathings, bleedings, vomitings, and purgings! The purgative process commences about the middle of May. It is a *catholicon*, and admits of no exception. *Every* patient is first bled twice; next receives six emetics, one per week; and after that a purgative dose once every week till the term of Michaelmas. We have

already observed that the establishment supports medical officers: these consist of a physician and a surgeon, out of delicacy to whom we have not even glanced at the extraordinary nature of their evidence. It may possibly be supposed by the public that it is the express duty, and habitual employment of these gentlemen to classify the patients entrusted to them, to watch the varieties of insanity as they arise, and to ascertain the effect of particular medicines or modes of treatment; and we should the rather be induced to suppose this, because, from the respective stations they occupy, they hold themselves out as peculiarly gifted to be advised with concerning maniacal patients, and are consulted to a very great extent and emolument accordingly. It will not therefore be without surprise, that the reader will learn from the report before us, that Bethlem Hospital is not regarded by themselves as a school for maniacal practice or experiment, but merely as a receptacle by way of safe custody; that they do not regard it as a branch of their duty to attend or prescribe for maniacal symptoms; that the course of medicine we have already noticed is advised, commenced, continued, and withheld, under the sage discretion of the keepers, and that the only cases in which the advice of these regular practitioners is resorted to or granted, is where the poor patient, from accidental circumstances, is labouring under some other disease than madness, as pulmonary consumption, diarrhoea, or dropsy!

Mr. Hill, the author of the last of the treatises we have conjoined above, is of a very different opinion from the medical officers of Bethlem Hospital. Medicine is with him

It is an almost certain cure for mania, whatever appearance it assumes. Under favourable treatment he ventures to expect that "ninety patients out of every hundred may most assuredly be recovered." Yet, to speak the truth, the system in which he so strenuously confides does not essentially vary from that pursued under the learned care of the nurses in the Bethlem Hospital. Emetics frequently repeated form his sheet anchor; and to the more common routine of practice, he adds cold applications to the head, and internally the use of camphor and fox-glove, and especially a mild and humane discipline. There is, however, so much of the palpable obscure in this writer's ideas, and consequently in his style, that we cannot always decipher him, nor on every occasion approve when we can do so. He considers insanity as only a single species of disease, without giving himself trouble to point out what genus it belongs to. This species, he tells us, possesses but two forms, or, as he should have called them, two varieties; and these forms or varieties he afterwards calls families; "two families of disease, says he, comprehend the whole." Now a family is about as distinct from a variety, as a species is from a genus. These two persons, or families, or varieties, however, he denominates mania, and melancholia, and distinguishes them by the titles of sthenic, and asthenic. Now mania, and melancholia, are the common divisions of insanity; but to call mania asthenic insanity, and melancholia sthenic, is to divert these terms from their common use, and to introduce a novelty attended with no benefit, and necessarily productive of confusion. Dr.

Crichton indeed characterises mania by raving or incoherent clamour and violence, and melancholia by dejection or despondency; yet these do not answer to the terms sthenic and asthenic; but, with the exception of Crichton, all nosologists whatever seem to distinguish mania by the character of general madness, or that extending to all objects or trains of ideas, and melancholy by partial madness, or that limited to a single object or train of ideas, and consequently each may be either sthenic or asthenic, gay, mischievous, or gloomy. Another of our author's dogmas is, that "insanity has always corporeal disease for its foundation;" and certainly, if the mind be, as he states, a "part of physical organization," his dogma is sufficiently correct, for the body and the mind are then only parts of the same essence; but if, as he afterwards opines, the mind is not material, as the terms part of and physical organization clearly indicate, but immaterial, then he lays down as an axiom what is no where proved in any page of his book. We are not quite certain, however, after all, what he means by the mind, for he divides the human *ens* into three principles, body, mind, and soul, and leaves us in some doubt which of the three, and how many, are material, and which and how many destitute of matter. Our author next asserts that insanity is not an hereditary disease; to make good which assertion, however, he is obliged to add "in the vulgar sense of the word, as commonly used," archly importing, no doubt, that there may be a "vulgar sense to a word as uncommonly used." Now the "vulgar sense of the word hereditary, as commonly used," imports lineal predisposition

disposition and greater facility of production. In the vocabulary of our author it seems to import, on the contrary, constant and necessary reproduction: an import which will not be given to it by any person besides himself, and which will consequently leave the arena open to him without a single combatant. There are nevertheless a few scintillations of good sense as well as original and quaint combinations of ideas, and we only regret that we cannot more easily deplete them from the murky atmosphere by which they are so perpetually beclouded.

Pulmonary consumption has of late occupied the pen of many writers; and we have hence received copies of the following publications:

"Observations on the distinguishing symptoms of three different species of Pulmonary Consumption, the catarrhal, the apothematous, and the tuberculous: with some remarks on the remedies and regimen best fitted for the prevention, removal, or alleviation of each species. By Andrew Duncan, *sen. M. D. &c.*" 8vo. 6s.

"Observations on Pulmonary Consumption. By H. H. Southey, M. D." 8vo. 7s.

"Letters addressed to his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on Consumption; containing remarks on the efficacy of equable and artificial temperature, in the treatment of that disease, &c. By Thomas Sutton, M. D. &c." 8vo.

The division of the disease by Dr. Duncan into three species, is correct and useful; but we think his definition somewhat too loose. "By phthisis pulmonaris," says he, "is to be understood that affection in which a general wasting or consumption of the body arises from a disease of the lungs." Nothing is here stated con-

cerning the character of the disease, as it exists in the lungs themselves, which constitutes its immediate seat. Like Dr. Cullen, the author regards hectic fever as a mere symptom, and not an idiopathic affection; regarding it as in every instance, "the consequence of ill-conditioned pus being absorbed by the valvular lymphatics, and thus introduced into the mass of blood." This is not the common opinion of the present day, and the assertion demands other support than is here given to it. For the most part, however, the description of the disease is clear, correct, and full; and the treatment laid down judicious, and founded upon a long discriminative experience.—As a useful sedative he strongly recommends the inspissated juice of the lettuce-plant, for the preparation of which he has given a useful formula, and which he denominates *lactucarium*. He conceives it to possess much of the benefit of opium without its mischievous or troublesome effects. Dr. Southey approves of the division of the disease as laid down by Dr. Duncan; and expatiates to a considerable length on the origin of the disease, and the places most rarely or most frequently subject to it. Generally speaking, he regards it as a strumous affection, or issuing from a strumous idiosyncrasy, chiefly brought into action by whatever tends to produce debility, and especially by cold, chilly moisture, and meagre diet; and consequently best counteracted or subdued by a generous regimen; by woollens and warmth, high temperature, and an animal diet. We cannot collect much from his medical topography. Our own country he seems to regard as most obnoxious to pulmonary consumption; and next to this, Germany, especially Vienna,

Vienna, France, and the south of Europe: yet the south of Europe, "the south or south-east coast of Spain, and above all Valencia," are the spots he selects as the best residence for pulmonary patients. In like manner he represents *Russia* and *Egypt* as the countries chiefly exempt from this deceitful analogy—countries which contain scarcely a single point of analogy. We are somewhat surprised at his denying it to be contagious: and feel confident that 20 years hence he will entertain a different opinion. It has fallen to our own lot to witness so many instances of wives who have speedily fallen a sacrifice to this disease, after having assiduously nursed their husbands—of husbands after having long and fondly attended upon their wives—and of nurses (especially when about the same age) who have long waited upon and associated with either, that we have no more doubt than Dr. Heberden had, ~~and~~ ^{that} we are ready to admit that contagion is not so frequent or active as in many other diseases. To his general principles of the origin of pulmonary consumption we cordially assent; as we do also to his proposed means of prevention, and with a few slight exceptions to his curative process. The object of Dr. Sutton's publication is to expose the inutility of the plan lately recommended by Dr. Buxton, of an artificial temperature. We cannot allow the objections here advanced; at the same time the difficulties of accomplishing such a plan with a requisite approach to perfection, are in our opinion so numerous and complicated, as to make it a subject rather of desire than of rational expectation.

"A Practical Essay on the Diseases of the Vessels and Glands of the

Absorbent System: being the substance of observations which obtained the prize for 1812, offered by the Royal college of Surgeons in London, &c. By William Goodlad." 8vo. 7s. 6d. A neat and perspicuous dissertation on the anatomy of the absorbent system; the chemical properties of chyle and lymph; the diseases of the absorbent vessels, and diseases of the absorbent glands; each of which subjects forms a distinct chapter; the whole terminating with a list of surgical cases, illustrated by useful remarks.

"A statement of the early symptoms which lead to the disease termed Water on the Brain, &c. In a letter to Martin Wall, Esq. M. D. Clinical Professor at Oxford, &c. By G. D. Yeates, M. D. of Trinity College, Oxford, &c." A warm advocate for one of the most fashionable systems of the day, which ascribes the whole host of diseases to morbid action of the digestive organs, and converts the stomach into the box of Pandora, where all distempers congregate in a latent shape, and from which every one issues in its turn. Dr. Yeates refers to this common seat of malady, the subject of the present epistolary incubation. We cannot thus deal in universals: in a great variety of cases the author will be found right, and his mode of treatment will prove most judicious and salutary; but as his hypothesis stands at present he must be content with being right in the main.

"Facts and Observations relative to the Fever commonly called *Periperal*. By John Armstrong, M. D." 8vo. 8s. 6d. There is much boldness both in the theory and mode of practice here laid open. According to the first, all fevers are the result of local inflammation; simple peritonitis

tonitis and puerperal fever are mere varieties of the same febrile species, and consequently both are in a high degree inflammatory. It follows that both are to be attacked, and equally so, with an active antiphlogistic regimen; with copious bleeding and very active purging. The venesection should give twenty ounces or more blood drawn from a large orifice; the purging should be excited by from twenty to thirty grains of calomel in combination with sulphat of magnesia. In the epidemic puerperal fever of 1813, this mode of operation, we are told, seldom failed of success, if effected during the first stage of the disease.

"Facts and Observations on Liver Complaints, and Bilious Disorders in general; and on such derangements of *these organs*, as influence the biliary secretion, &c. By John Faithburn, formerly Surgeon in the East India Company's service."—If there be little that is new in this volume there is at least nothing that is strikingly exceptionable. The author's division of the diseases on which he writes, into, 1st, Those, produced by a simple derangement of the hepatic function; and, 2d, those occasioned by an actual change in the organization of the gland, is perspicuous and useful. He might, however, have given a better account of the chemical properties of the bile, if he had consulted Berzelius, whom, unquestionably, he ought to have consulted; and he falls into the common and fashionable error of referring almost all diseases, either primarily or secondarily, to morbid affections of the liver.

"Part of the Introductory Lectures for the year 1815, exhibiting some of Mr. Hunter's opinions respecting diseases. Delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons in

London. By John Abernethy, F. R. S. &c." 8vo. 2s. An elegant and scientific tribute from a physiologist of high talent and genius to a physiologist of similar endowments and earlier celebrity. We rejoice in these generous effusions, and have much pleasure in contrasting them with the jealous and selfish efforts of too many writers, who, instead of liberally laying open to the public the sources to which they are indebted for the best part of their attainments, throw a shade over the masters to whom they are chiefly indebted, or openly detract from their merit.

"The Physiognomical System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; founded on an Anatomical and Physiological Examination of the Nervous System in general, and of the Brain in particular, &c. By J. G. Spurzheim, M. D." 8vo, illustrated with nineteen plates. As we shall have occasion to notice this system in reviewing Dr. Gall's larger work of "*Anatomie et Physiologie du Système Nerveux, &c.*" in our retrospect of Foreign Literature, we shall do nothing more at present than copy the title of this volume, and refer the reader to the latter article, which will be found in its proper position.

"Outlines of Natural Philosophy; being heads of Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh, by John Playfair, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University, &c." 2 vols. 8vo. 1rs. 6d. This work does credit to the celebrated school for whose use it is chiefly intended, and to the celebrated author whose name it bears. We have seldom seen a more compendious miscellany; or, in other words, more useful and appropriate matter selected, arranged, and compressed in so small a space. The first

first volume treats of Dynamics, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Aerostatics, and Pneumatics, and was published, we believe, two or three years ago: the second volume is devoted exclusively to astronomy; and although we have no intimation upon the subject, for the work is unintroduced by an advertisement, preface, or other proem, we apprehend a third volume still remains to be published, since thus far we have no notice whatever taken of optics or the branches of science immediately connected with it. We can neither epitomize nor find space to copy at any length; but we cannot conclude without extracting the following passage from the second volume, which displays a foresight and conception as bold as it will probably prove to be correct. "If we consider how many different laws seem to regulate the other phenomena of the material world, as in the action of impulse, cohesion, elasticity, chemical affinity, crystallization, heat, light, magnetism, electricity, galvanism, the existence of a principle more general than any of these, and connecting all of them with gravitation, appears highly probable. This discovery of this great principle may be an honour reserved for a future age, and science may again have to record names which are to stand on the same level with those of Newton and La Place. About such ultimate attainments it were unwise to be sanguine, and unphilosophical to despair."

"Geometria Legitima; or an elementary system of theoretical Geometry, adapted for the general use of beginners in the mathematical sciences; in eight books, including the doctrine of Ratios, &c. By Francis Reynard, Master of the Ma-

thematical School, Reading," 8vo. 10s. 6d.

"The Elements of Plane Geometry: containing the first six books of Euclid, from the text of Dr. Simson, &c. To which are added book vii. including several important propositions which are not in Euclid; and book viii. consisting of practical Geometry; also book ix. of Planes; and book x. of the Geometry of Solids. By Thomas Keith," 8vo. 12s. The first distinguished by a glittering, bombast, and turgid diction, full of wild and incongruous ideas, half prose, half poetry; and which is perpetually in need of a strait waistcoat. The second a modest, plain, and useful publication, with numerous well selected problems, clearly arranged, and satisfactorily demonstrated.

"An easy Introduction to the Mathematics: in which the theory and practice are laid down and familiarly explained. To each subject are prefixed a brief popular history of its rise and progress; concise memoirs of noted mathematical authors, ancient and modern; and some account of their works. The whole forming an easy system of elementary instruction in the leading branches of the mathematics, designed to furnish students with the means of considerable proficiency without the necessity of verbal assistance, &c. By Charles Butler." 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. A valuable work, and admirably adapted to the improvement of those for whom it is expressly designed.

"Practical Observations on Telescopes," 12mo. The author of this little volume is said to be Dr. Kitchenner; and we have no hesitation in saying that it is a useful and desirable present to the public.

"A Treatise on the Construction of

of Maps: in which the principles of the Projections of the Sphere are demonstrated, and their various political relations to mathematical geography deduced and explained; systematically arranged, and scientifically illustrated from 20 plates of diagrams. With an appendix and copious notes. By Alex Jamieson," 8vo. 9s. The author has drawn from correct and approved sources; and has produced a work highly creditable to himself, and widely called for in the republic of letters and of schools. He builds upon sound scientific principles; and fairly explains them as he proceeds.

"A practical treatise on finding the Latitude and Longitude at Sea; with tables designed to facilitate the calculations. -Translated from the French of M. de Rosset, by Thomas Myers, A. M. of the Royal Military

Academy, Woolwich. To which are subjoined, an extensive series of practical examples, an introduction to the tables, and some additional tables by the Translator," 8vo. 16s. M. de Rosset is well known as an active and scientific Member of the French Board of Longitude; his work gives completion to M. Biot's *Astronomie Physique*, and is worthy of the praise which M. Biot has thus bestowed on it: "It will be found," says he, "to contain all the methods of calculation requisite at sea: and, what is not less valuable, it gives these methods under the most simple and commodious forms that can be employed in their application." As a translator, Mr. Myers has executed his work with fidelity, and has, in various instances, enriched the original by illustrations and tables of his own.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

*Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Military Surveys, Politics,
Political Jurisprudence.*

"THE Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa in 1805; by Mungo Park; together with other Documents, official and private, relative to the same Expedition. To which is prefixed an account of the Life of Mr. Park," 4to. As we have copied at some length from this volume in a preceding department of our Register for the current year, it will not be necessary for us to dwell upon its peculiar objects or merits, which our readers may estimate for themselves from the extracts now referred to. It communicates to the public, under the sanction of the African Institution, a brief journal of Mr. Park's second journey to the same obscure quarter of the globe. His first, performed under the same direction and patronage, has long been detailed to the world. That terminated in 1797; and the present, proposed to him upon a somewhat larger scale, by the English government, in 1804, was commenced January 30, 1805, for the purpose of tracing out the source and termination of the Niger. As adequate means for the purpose he was to be allowed a detachment of soldiers from the garrison at Goree, a competent store of merchandize, 1815.

and a few seamen and carpenters to construct vessels for the navigation of the Niger. He received the local rank of Captain in the King's service, and under him were commissioned his brother-in-law Mr. Anderson a surgeon, and Mr. George Scott a draughtsman. The character of Park appears to have been admirably qualified for the purpose: full of confidence and enthusiasm in the cause he had undertaken; he was ever cool and deliberative in devising the means of accomplishing it; modest in his demeanour, cheerful and kind-hearted to his associates; steady in the midst of difficulties, and intrepid in dangers and misadventures. Unfortunately he was detained too late a season at home, and the natural ardour of his heart would not allow him to loiter at Goree or on the Gambia till the rainy season was over. This was the first evil: and it was the precursor of every other, and the rock on which apparently the whole expedition split. Five-and-thirty soldiers, headed by a lieutenant, volunteered into his service from the garrison of Goree; "the most dashing men," says he, "I ever saw; and if they preserve their health, we may keep ourselves

ourselves perfectly secure from any hostile attempts on the part of the natives." Unfortunately Mr. Park was obliged to persevere through the season of inclemency, and they did not preserve their health. They fell around him with a fatal rapidity, and when he had reached the wished-for point, and was ready to embark on the Nile, he found himself deprived of the whole circle of his companions, with the exception of Lieutenant Martin and three soldiers, one of whom was in a state of mental derangement. He had even lost his bosom-counsellor, and brother-in-law Mr. Anderson, which seems most deeply to have affected him: and in this perilous and almost lonely situation "he was about to embark," as his biographer observes, "on a vast and unknown river, which might possibly terminate in some great lake or inland sea, at an immense distance from the coast; but which he hoped and believed would conduct him to the shores of the Atlantic, after a course of considerably more than three thousand miles, through the midst of savage nations, and probably, also, after a long succession of rapids, lakes, and cataracts." This voyage, one of the most formidable ever attempted, was to be undertaken in a crazy and ill-appointed vessel, manned by a few negroes, and four Europeans.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the expedition failed, how much soever we may lament the fate of its magnanimous leader. We see nothing indeed in the nature of the disaster to deter us from other attempts, though much to excite our caution as to the time and manner in which they may be undertaken. The opposition of the

natives, broken down as they are into separate, and slender tribes, an undisciplined rabble, actuated by no other principle of resistance than that of pilfering or obtaining presents, affords no serious obstacle to success: while we have abundant proofs that the heart of the natives is by no means closed to the moral virtues, or the feelings of friendship or benevolence. It may be sufficient at present to advert to the touching example of kindness and hospitality evinced by the excellent Karfa Taura, a negro of Kamalia, who received Mr. Park into his house when in a dangerous illness, during his first expedition, nursed him with tenderness for upwards of a month, till his health was recovered, and who, at the time of the second expedition having heard that a white man was travelling through the country, whose description resembled Mr. Park's, took a journey of six days to meet him, and with much rejoicing joined the caravan at Bambakoo. To this, moreover, we ought to add the apparent fidelity and attachment of honest Issaco, whose journal we introduced in another department of the volume. Of Amadi Fatuma, whose narrative we have also given, we cannot speak with equal decision; for it is possible that he may have basely betrayed his employer, and consequently been the cause of his death. His account is loose, and depends chiefly upon collateral circumstances for even its general truth. It is this laxity of statement that leaves many persons still in hopes that Mr. Park may not have fallen as Amadi relates him to have done, and, this, too, not from his own evidence, but from the declaration of the slave who affirmed himself to be the only individual that escaped. The general

mal aggregate however of the circumstantial evidence compels us fully to accredit Mr. Park's having perished, and about the time and place asserted, though the detail of the history may in a few points be erroneous. The editor of the present volume is entitled to great praise: for out of very scanty materials he has contrived to build up a highly interesting work.

"Travels in South Africa; undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society. By John Campbell, Minister of Kingsland Chapel," 8vo. 12s. The benevolent communion of the *Unitas Fratrum* has laboured hard, almost ever since its foundation to establish Christian seminaries, and diffuse a knowledge of Christian principles through every part of the pagan world. The romantic cliffs of the Caucasus have been scaled by their intrepid perseverance, and the arctic snows of the Eskimaux and Laplanders have felt the pressure of their footsteps; and in the work before us we again behold them, as indeed we have often done before, and with great pleasure, striving to infuse order and energy, and a sense of moral right and Christian piety into the sluggish frames and dormant faculties of the Hottentots, Caffres, and Boshemans of the South of Africa. Ever since 1798 they have been aided in this benevolent career by the exertions of the London Missionary Society, who in different stations, have maintained a certain number of persons, selected and sent abroad to promote and extend the common object. The great Missionary Patriarch in this quarter of the world is well known to have been Dr. Van der Kemp, an active, benevolent, and exemplary Dutch physician, whose labours ap-

pear to have been attended with a success so desirable and upon so broad a scale, that the English government at Cape Town has duly appreciated their importance, and has on every occasion proffered the benefit of its support and patronage. On the death of this excellent man the Missionary Society became desirous of making a minute inquiry into the actual state of its establishments in this quarter; Mr. Campbell was selected as a sort of travelling professor for this purpose; and the narrative before us is the result of his personal visit and investigation. He sailed from England June 24, 1812, and arrived at the Cape on the ensuing 24th of October. The following passage, which we copy from the introductory advertisement, gives a brief outline of the range of his perambulations:—"After obtaining from his Excellency Sir John Craddock letters of introduction to the several Landrosts through whose districts he had occasion to pass, as well as all needful information from the Colonial Secretary Henry Alexander, Esq. respecting the former communications of the Missionaries with the government of the Cape, Mr. Campbell proceeded to Bethelsdorp, about five hundred miles west of the Cape; from thence northward to Graaf Reynet, then to Griqua town, and from thence to Lattakop, a populous city scarcely known to Europeans. He afterwards visited several tribes of people, some of whom had never before seen a white man; several of their chiefs expressed a readiness to receive Christian instructors. Mr. Campbell then returned to Griqua town, and thence travelled southward, parallel with the west coast of Africa, till, after a laborious, and perilous

perilous journey of nine months, he reached Cape town in health and safety." The writer seems to be an active, cheerful, benevolent, and simple-hearted man: qualified, we have no doubt, for the object for which he was selected, but not thoroughly capacised for bringing home any very satisfactory account of the geology, geography, natural or political history of the very discrepant regions, and tribes he has explored. "There is not that difference between the appearance of one country and another which people who remain all their days at home are ready to imagine. Cultivation and population, and the absence of these *are the opposites*. As to the difference of trees, flowers, &c. *it is but little*: for in a week, foreign trees and flowers are as *familiar* to the eye, as the furze and broom-bushes are to Englishmen." In other words, the more familiar we become with the plants of different climates (for every climate has plants as well as animals peculiar to itself), and the better acquainted with their differences, the less capable we are of distinguishing those differences! But Mr. Campbell was not deputed by the Linnean Society to draw up the Fauna, nor by the Geological Society to give the oryctology of Southern Africa. True to the character with which he was invested, his mind appears on all occasions to evince a devotional turn, though his modes of developing it are sometimes of an extraordinary kind. He now and then expresses his surprise that the wild and vast solitudes of Africa should not be thronged with a numerous population; but checks himself by resolving the mystery into the inscrutable wisdom of the Creator; though he

would probably have thought it somewhat more mysterious if he had found numerous populations inhabiting *solitary deserts* of any kind. On another occasion he exclaims, "the immense variety of flowers, and flowering shrubs and trees, in Africa, *is truly wonderful*; they proclaim the handy works of the Lord; and he must have *some particular reason* for affording such a display of his wisdom and power to the inhabitants of Africa." Shortly afterwards, however, we are told that there are no *inhabitants* to be witnesses of such a display; and that all this magnificence and pomp of the vegetable world is doomed to flourish and fade unseen, and

—waste their sweetness on the desert air.

In completely crossing the country of the Boshmans the party, we are told, in a route of nearly two hundred miles, "*did not meet with one human being*, except a single family on the first day of their entering on this country." "It fills the mind with regret (it is thus Mr. Campbell apostrophises) to see so large and beautiful a portion of God's earth so destitute of population, and to think of its producing year after year provender to support millions of cattle, whilst only a few wild beasts roam over it; many of the ways of God seem inscrutable; and the permission of this seems to be one of them." We have no doubt, however, of much present, and far more future benefit being produced to the wild and wandering, and we may add indolent and harmless hordes of Africans, by the praiseworthy exertions of the Missionary Society. The character here given of the Hottentots is, that they are "healthy, cheerful, and happy;" capable of bearing with equal ease the

the extremes of an oppressive sun, drenching heavy rains, and dewy nights without shelter of any kind ; and that they are very desirous of becoming christianized. The zealous but discreet, and hence successful efforts of the Moravian Missionaries upon this last subject are worthy of all gratulation. Our author's visit to their settlement at Genadendal, or Bavian's Kloof, just fell in with their impressive anniversary of the close of one year and opening of the ensuing. He found their chapel capacious enough for more than a thousand persons, and on this occasion every part of it was filled with Hottentots. They sang well, and with becoming solemnity, and listened with attention to an address from one of the Missionaries. This meeting was concluded about nine in the evening : and on account of its being the last evening in the year they assembled again at half past eleven. After singing and receiving an address from the senior Missionary, the *twelfth* hour struck, when all went down on their knees, and joined in a solemn address to God. When they had sung a hymn, all retired to rest. Thus during the meeting one year ended, and another commenced. In the warmth, perhaps the ambitious enthusiasm of the Hottentot heart, there seems, however, to be a desire of becoming not only disciples, but catechumens, and even preachers themselves, which, if not duly checked before a system of adequate instruction can be effected, may be productive of all the evils which result and cannot but result from ignorance, zeal, and superstition in a state of combination. In one place we are told of a party with which our traveller had mixed himself, and which was proceeding in a waggon

driven by a Hottentot whose name was Cupido. By way of amusement some of them sang hymns, and others alternately "joined in prayer," or listened to an address from the honest waggon-driver ; for Cupido, it seems, was not only the temporal guide of his cattle, but a spiritual guide and pastor in his district. Of the nature of the theology which is here taught, and the feelings and practice which are communicated, we may derive some idea from the following passage of a sermon delivered to his less enlightened brethren, by Borsaa, another eminent Hottentot preacher and cattle-driver to the expedition. "Before the Missionaries," says he, "came to us, we were as ignorant of every thing as you are now. I thought that I was the same as a beast, and that when I died there would be an end of me ; but after hearing them, I found I had a soul that must be happy or miserable for ever. Then I became afraid to die. I was afraid to take a gun into my hand lest it should kill me, or to meet a serpent lest it should bite me. I was afraid then to go to the hills to hunt lions or elephants lest they should devour me. But when I heard of the Son of God having come into the world to die for sinners, all that fear went away. I took my gun again, and without fear of death, *went to hunt lions, and tigers, and elephants.*" There is a simplicity in this specimen of Hottentot theology that vouches for its truth : yet we trust that by this time the honest African divine and cattle-driver, has been instructed to teach his brethren that there are other fears to be overcome than those of muskets and savage hills ; and other enemies to be encountered, when clad in the armour of the Gospel, than

than "lions and tigers and elephants."

"Researches concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the ancient Inhabitants of America; with descriptions of the most striking Scenes in the Cordilleras. Written in French by Alexander de Humboldt; and translated into English by Helen Maria Williams."

"Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoxial Regions of the new Continent during the years 1799-1804. By Alexander de Humboldt, and Aimé Bonpland. Written in French by Alexander de Humboldt, and translated into English by Helen Maria Williams." M. de Humboldt is a voluminous writer; and perhaps no man living possesses so large a store of materials for such a purpose: for few men have read more, and few travelled further; and still fewer have so well digested and committed to memory what they have read, or are able to combine so largely the best observations of others with the facts that occur before their own eyes. The two volumes before us may be regarded in some sort as works detached from the general set that has hitherto been furnished by M. de Humboldt, and his active and intelligent friend. The first, or that entitled "Researches," is a translation of M. Humboldt's folio volume, entitled by himself "Views of the Cordilleras," accompanied with sixty plates. In the second we have reason to believe, though not having seen the original we cannot speak positively, that the translator has made an equal change in the title; for which we can see no reason in either case. The "Researches" chiefly give us an account of the physical wonders of the vast chain of the Cordilleras, and its enormous volcanic casts

Cotopaxi and Chimborazo; and the moral wonders of the Mexicans and Peruvians, and the more ancient Tolteck, and Azteck tribes, who have progressively taken the lead in this interesting quarter of the world. Cotopaxi is the loftiest of those volcanoes of the Andes which, at recent epochs, have undergone eruptions. Its absolute height is 18,874 feet; so that it is double that of Canigon, and 2600 feet higher than Vesuvius would be if placed on the top of the Peak of Teneriffe. It is also the most dreadful volcano of the kingdom of Quito, and its explosions are the most frequent and disastrous. The mass of scorize, and the huge fragments of rock thrown out of this volcano, cover a surface of several square leagues, and would form, were they heaped together, a colossal mountain. In 1758 the flames rose 2900 feet above the brink of the crater. In 1744 the roar of the volcano was heard on the banks of the Magdalena, a distance of 200 leagues. The explosion which took place in January 1803, was preceded by the sudden melting of the snow which covered the mountain: and our travellers heard the noise of the eruption at the port of Guayaquil, 52 leagues distant, which continued day and night, like the continued discharges of artillery. Yet the mountain of Chimborazo is of a still greater height, its summit being 21,430 feet above the level of the sea. A great part of its head is consequently beyond the circle of perpetual congelation, which in this latitude, almost under the line, is somewhat higher than the summit of Mount Blanc. In describing the customs, habits, arts, and genius of the Mexicans, our author notices very particularly the dexterity of their picture-writing

ing, and gives us a few hints in addition to those we have incidentally received from other quarters, concerning the still greater ingenuity and refinement of the more ancient Toltecs, with whose history we hope soon to become somewhat better acquainted from another quarter. In the second work, or "Personal Narrative," M. de Humboldt gives a relation of the various occurrences which, in the course of his travels, have more immediately interested or been connected with his own person or feelings. We have consequently occasional traits of his history and character, and are brought more closely to a knowledge of himself, his pursuits, and his friendships. Interspersed with which we have also a detailed account of spots or sceneries that appear peculiarly to have arrested his attention, such as the picturesque beauties of Teneriffe, and its romantic peak, the island of Tobago, Cumana, and the adjoining regions of the American continent that stretch still farther westward from the mouth of the Orinoco. In conclusion, we have only to observe that the translation is made with ease and spirit, and, we have no doubt, though the original is not in our possession, with fidelity.

"Journal of a Voyage from Okhak on the Coast of Labrador, to Ungava Bay, westward of Cape Chudleigh; undertaken to explore the Coast, and visit the Eskimaux in that unknown region. By Benjamin Kohlmeister and George Kmoch, Missionaries of the Church of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren." Of the laudable zeal of the Moravians in diffusing a knowledge of the Christian religion among savage and heathen nations we have already had occa-

sion to take notice in the article preceding the two of M. de Humboldt. The work before us gives another example of the same benevolent and indefatigable spirit. The grand founder of the Moravian Missions on the Labrador coast was that active and excellent man Jens Haven, for although an attempt to this effect was made twelve years antecedently, it completely failed. It was in 1764 that this zealous Missionary commenced his journey. Having resided before this, in the same character in Greenland, he was easily able, from the affinity of the two dialects of what appears to be but one common language, to make himself understood among the Eskimaux; and from his consequent popularity he was enabled to render essential service to Sir Hugh Paliser, at that time Governor of Newfoundland, and hereby to secure to himself the countenance of the Board of Trade and Plantations. The result was a grant from the King to the United Brethren, to make settlements on the Labrador coast; by means of which land was purchased of the Eskimaux in 1771 for a settlement at Nain: to which was added in 1776 another settlement at Okhak, about 150 miles to the northward; and one year afterwards a third settlement at Hopedale towards the south of Okhak. The line of the voyage before us extends from Okhak, along the coast of Labrador, to the Cape Chudleigh Islands, whence it takes a south and westerly direction to the bottom of Ungava Bay. It was undertaken upon information from various Eskimaux that the main body of this people live near and beyond Cape Chudleigh. The direct object of the work before us is to give an account of the success of the writers and their

their companions in their missionary labours: but the geographer and the naturalist will derive as much benefit from its contents as the patron and promoters of so benevolent an undertaking: for our travellers appear to have been men of science and discernment, and have neglected no opportunity of acquainting themselves with the characters of the various bays, points, and islands they passed along; and have described with much interest the general face of the country, which is strikingly grand and romantic, its mineralogical, zoological, and botanical productions, and the manners and customs of the different tribes with which they associated. The following is the picture presented to us of the stupendous ridge of the Kanmayok:—"We rose soon after two o'clock, and rowed out of the Ikkerasak with a fair wind. The sea was perfectly calm and smooth. Brother Kmoock rowed in the small boat along the foot of the mountains of Kanmayok, sometimes going on shore, while the large boat was making but little way, keeping out at some distance to avoid the rocks. The outline of this chain of mountains exhibits the most fanciful figures. At various points the rocks descend abruptly into the sea, presenting horrid precipices. The strand is covered with a black sand. At the height of about fifty feet from the sea the rocks have veins of red, yellow, and green stone, running horizontally and parallel, and sometimes in an undulated form. Above these they present the appearance of a magnificent colonnade, or rather of buttresses supporting a gothic building, varying in height and thickness, and here and there intersected by wide and deep chasms, and glens

running far inland between the mountains. Loose stones above have, in some places, the appearance of statues, and the superior region exhibits various kinds of grotesque shapes. It is by far the most singular and picturesque chain of mountains on the coast. To the highest part of it we gave the name of St. Paul's, as it is not unlike the cathedral, when viewed at a distance, with its dome and two towers."

"Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. during the years 1812 and 1813. By Henry Holland, M.D. F.R.S. &c." 4to. As we have extracted very long passages from this work in a preceding part of our Register, it is only necessary to notice it in its proper place. The volume derives great additional interest from the gratifying connection which the present treaty of Paris has been the means of introducing between our own country, and the isles of the Ionian sea; and thus giving us a command directly or indirectly over the whole of the interesting and picturesque country of Greece, and the Grecian Archipelago.

"Alpine Sketches, comprized in a short Tour through part of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany during the summer of 1814. By a Member of the University of Oxford." 8vo. 9s. A repetition of what we have been told a thousand times before, and for the most part in a much better manner, with little or nothing of novelty or importance to give zest to the re-cooked meal. The anonymous author attempts to be lively and quaint, and original and abrupt in his style, assumes great airs and great importance, and capers about in the most fantastic manner with asterisms, and

sad dashes, and interrogations, and Latin and French; but he makes a sad work of it after all.

"Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812 to Madras and China; returning by the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, in the H. C. S. the Hope, Captain J. Pendergrass. By James Wathen. Illustrated with twenty-four coloured Prints: from Drawings by the Author." 4to. 3*l*. 3*s*. Mr. Wathen has a sort of chivalrous fondness for picturesque nature, and the elegant art of copying her under this character: and he has hence volunteered his services, and gratuitously travelled both at home and abroad to various regions, whose romantic or impressive scenery offered its charms to decoy him. In this free and unfettered spirit he undertook the voyage which it is the object of the present volume to describe. The coloured views are numerous, interesting, and elegantly designed; the topographical part of the work evinces an active mind, cheerful disposition, and observant eye. He is fortunate in having anticipated the interest which recent events have given to the island of St. Helena; for without reference to these events, or a possibility of foreseeing them, he has given us a short but entertaining account of this singular station, and several drawings of its most singular views. We have already copied from this work at some length.

"Travels in the Caucasus and in Georgia; performed in the years 1807 and 1808, by command of the Russian Government. By Julius Von Klaproth, Aulic Counsellor, &c. Translated from the German by F. Schoberl." 4to. From this work we have already made one or two extensive extracts. It is entitled to

our attention as being authentic, and even official; and still more so, as unfolding, beyond any account that has hitherto been given to us, the restless, enormous, insatiable, and successful ambition of the Court of St. Peterburg. At the commencement of the late war, or rather the short campaign against France, the limits of Russia, according to the most accurate calculations of its own government, extended in length, from Riga to the eastern borders of Kamatchatka; and in breadth from Kertek, through Moscow to Kola, being a length of 9200 and a breadth of 2400 English miles; and this too without noticing the islands in the eastern ocean; spreading, in a continuous range through a large portion of Europe, the entire length of Asia, and part of America; comprising more square miles than the whole European Continent; wider in breadth, and at least double the length of the Chinese dominions, and both in length and breadth, considerably exceeding the boundary of the Roman empire when at the height of its grandeur. The Russian empire, however, is still expanding: how largely its power and extent of territory has been increased by the overthrow of Buonaparte, and especially by the annexation of Poland, is obvious enough. But it may not be equally known that the ambition of Russia is still actively at work, to explore its boundaries at least as widely in a south-east, as in a north-west direction, and to carry them to the banks of the Arass, or Araxes. It was only in the year 1800 that, at the instance of the Court of St. Petersburg, an overture was submitted by several Georgian Chiefs, upon the death of their imbecile prince, to make Georgia

Georgia a Russian province. In 1806 the arrangements to this effect were completed. The very next step was an order to the respective provincial commanders, to seize the whole line of the Caucasus; Daghestan and Imeretia were instantly occupied; the hordes of unsubdued mountaineers that inhabit its sides became hemmed in by this new protrusion of the Russian territory, and the Araxes now constitutes its limits in this quarter. The object of the journey before us was to examine minutely, under the authority of the Russian Government, the customs, habits, manners, and political regulations of the wild or semi-barbarous tribes that have hence been added to the general mass of the Imperial population, the geography of the country, its agricultural, and mineralogical wealth, its physical and moral strength, so that the cabinet of St. Petersburg may determine how far these new auxiliaries may be most conveniently and most completely brought into action, and concur in the views of aggrandizement which may next be attempted. The volume abounds with original information, and discovers an acute penetrating eye, and comprehensive judgment.

Since we are upon this subject we shall next notice "Sketches of the History and present State of the Russian Empire: of the progress of Civilization from the foundation of the Monarchy to the accession of the House of Romanoff (the present reigning Family), and particularly under the Sovereigns of that House: connected with political and personal Memoirs of the Imperial Court. By the Rev. William Anderson." 8vo. 12s. This is, upon the whole, a useful epitome drawn

up from authentic or approved sources, and chiefly from the labours of Mr. Tooke. The style, however, is unnecessarily dry, and not unfrequently obscure; qualities that in no small degree distinguish the title itself, which may serve as a general specimen of the body of the work. Here also we meet with other proofs of the insatiable ambition of the Russian Government, the shameless profligacy of most of the series of the Russian ministers; and the enormous extent of the Russian empire. The great security of Europe lies in the well known fact that this gigantic empire is seated on what may be called the verge of the political horizon, and can never be brought forward to attack its centre without enormous labour; that its population is, for the most part, thinly scattered, and without any one common interest that pervades the whole; that more than half the empire consists of frozen seas, mountains of ice, barren rocks, and plains, or steppes, as they are called, stretching to an enormous range, uncultivated, and incapable of cultivation.

"Travels in the Pyrenees: containing a Description of the principal Summits, Passes, and Valleys. Translated from the French of M. Raymond, by P. Gold." 8vo. 9s. We have copied into another department one or two of what have appeared to us the most interesting passages of this work; and from these our readers may judge of the general merit of the whole. It is somewhat too flowery in the description of picturesque scenery, and scarcely enters with sufficient minuteness into the characters and manners of the people, and those incidental and interesting anecdotes which might easily have been gleaned.

"Naples

"Naples and the Campagna Feltre, in a Series of Letters. With coloured Maps and Plates." 8vo. 11. 1s. A lively and cheerful account of Neapolitan customs, manners, and scenery, and especially Neapolitan music, credulity, and superstition. The writer seems to have been more fortunate in his society than most travellers; and out of the overflowing gratitude of his heart, has eulogized the people whom he describes not a little above what is usually allowed to be their real desert.

The termination of the war, or rather we may say of the two last wars, now that we have time to survey them in their various bearings and actions, and glorious operations and results, has given rise to a considerable number of publications of different bulk and merit: of which the following are the chief: "Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain. By M. de Rocca, Officer of Hussars, and Knight of the Order of the Legion of Honour." A lively and interesting description of the events of the war referred to; in which the writer makes himself somewhat more the hero of the tale than he is required to do; but throughout the whole of which he details most forcibly, and by a variety of impressive pictures, the utter hatred of the Spanish peasantry, in every part of the country, to whatever was French or a Frenchman.

"A Circumstantial Narrative of the Campaign in Russia, embellished with Plans of the Battles of the Moskwa and Malo-Janosovik. Containing a faithful Description of the affecting and interesting Scenes of which the Author was an eye-witness. By Eugene Labaume, Captain of Engineers. Translated from the French." 8vo. 10s. 6d.

* A faithful Narrative of the re-

passing of the Beresina by the French Army in 1812. By an Eye-witness. Translated from the French, with Notes, written by an Officer who was with the Russian Army at the same period." 8vo. M. Labaume was attached to the fourth corps of the French army, commanded by Eugene Beauharnois, the Italian Viceroy; and if the French were doomed, in the midst of their triumphs, to be woeful sufferers in Spain, their miseries, in their retreat from Moscow, as described by the present writer, were so enormous and complicated as to be beyond all comparison. M. Labaume's account of the different movements and battles is clear, spirited, and glowing; the interest of his story never flags, though he sometimes fatigues us by long-winded speeches of Chieftains whom we care nothing about. The object of the "Eye-witness," is highly illaudable and ungenerous. It is well known that Admiral Chichagoff, who was entrusted with the command of the united armies of the Danube and Volhynia, was unfortunate enough to incur the displeasure of his sovereign. He was accused of tardiness in his manoeuvres. There is no doubt that he was a brave man, and that he had great difficulties to encounter; yet he does not seem to have been altogether equal to his important post; and probably the Court of St. Petersburg had reason for expressing its censure. The object of the "Eye-witness" is to rescue him from the general charge; an attempt which, in our opinion, is unsuccessful; but what we chiefly object to is that this attempt is made at the expence of the reputation of other Russian Commanders of apparently far more talent, and especially by what we can scarcely regard otherwise than a series of calumnies

lunies directed against the unconquerable Kutusow, and the daring, discreet, and indefatigable General, Count Wittgenstein, to whom, with the exception of Prince Bagrathion, the Russian cause is, perhaps, more deeply indebted than to any other officer whatever.

"The Campaign of Paris in 1814, &c. Translated from the French of P. F. J. Giraud." 8vo. 6s. This is intended to be a continuation of Labaume's "Campaign in Russia;" but it is of a very different character. It abuses, indeed, Buonaparte with as little reluctance as the former, for there is no difficulty in getting Frenchmen, and even French soldiers, to do this in the present day; but it is less animated, and at the same time less minute, and enriched with interesting episodes. It affords, however, abundant proof that Buonaparte sacrificed his own troops, as readily as he destroyed those of the enemy, wherever his personal safety or the execution of his plans demanded it. Immediately after some of the soldiers from amidst the thousands that were wounded at the bloody battle of Lutzen, exclaimed, amidst their groans, "Long live the Emperor!" as a reward of their generous devotion, these wounded wretches "were horribly crushed under the feet of the horses, and under the wheels of the equipages of this very Napoleon, in a rapid movement occasioned by an unexpected hurra of the enemy." In like manner in passing the bridge at Leipsic the imperial guards about his person "cut themselves a passage through the French who thronged across the bridge of the Pleiss; and soon the gunpowder, lighted at his command, by destroying the bridge, once more preserved, with a sacri-

fice of a third of his army, that man who, in so many disasters—from his flight from Egypt to the Treaty of Fontainebleau—thought only how to save himself. The destruction of the bridge at Lindenau was not commanded by a corporal, much less by Colonel Montfort, who was not even there. After Paris had surrendered to the allies, Buonaparte's grand aim was to stimulate his troops to a desperate attack on the capital, by promising them its entire pillage. When the act of dethronement reached him "he was preparing," says M. Giraud, "to march, and had set before them as their object and their reward, *Paris and forty-eight hours pillage* :—and the cries of *Paris! Paris!* issued immediately from the ranks."

We proceed to the actual state of France as the result of the success of the allies, and her slavish attachment to Bonaparte. The following are the chief works which have reached us on this subject :

"General View of the Political State of France, and of the Government of Louis XVIII." 8vo. 9s.

"Answer to the Calumniators of Louis XVIII. &c. By an Englishman." 8vo. 2s.

"Letters from a Lady to her Sister, during a Tour to Paris in the months of April and May, 1814." 12mo. 4s.

"A Visit to Paris in 1814: being a Review of the Moral, Political, Intellectual, and Social Condition of the French Capital. By John Scott." 8vo. 12s.

The rapidity and extraordinary character of the events of the current year, have already in some degree antiquated the whole of these, and especially the first two. It is auspicious in the upshot to the stability of the kingly power, and consequently

sequently to that of the internal peace of France, that the Emperor of Elba should have broken loose from his narrow confines, and once more ventured to take the chance of his desperate fortunes. Louis carried back with him many good English notions, but he found the whole of the state-machinery, and the Views and feelings of the Parisians so erroneous, corrupt, and confused, that it was impossible to put them into play. Added to which his judgment seems strangely to have failed him in distinguishing between the essential service, and the gew-gaw trappings of the Catholic religion. The great multitude of the city laughed at both; to the first, however, they might have submitted, if dis severed from the second; but the unfortunate attempt to connect them converted Louis "the desired" into a very general object of "aversion" and ridicule; and united in opposition to him atheists, deists, and protestants; who were hereby not indisposed to make common cause with the army, the republican party, and the large mass of people who had purchased national domains, and trembled for the re-establishment of the ancient nobility and order of things. The victory of Waterloo, the dissolution of the house of deputies, and the disbanding of the army, and various more explicit articles introduced into the constitutional act; and above all the salutary change of the late for the present ministry, and the energy displayed in the various punishments allotted to the ringleaders of the late rebellion, have gone far, and especially in connection with the secure possession of the person of the grand instigator, to crush the numerous mischiefs which were lurking about the

throne on the first return of the rightful sovereign, and to establish him in a securer possession. The two last publications upon the state of France, or rather of the French capital, touch but slightly upon its political relations, and are almost exclusively directed to a description of the customs, manners, and buildings, of the metropolis. The first is written with warmth and simplicity: the second with considerable judgment and acute observation. We cannot approve of Mr. Scott's style, and chiefly because he takes unnecessary pains to make it appear fine, or perhaps original: in doing which he launches, at the expence of his taste, the awkward terms of "unmatchable," "elastically," "effigying," "disconcertion," "abidance," with various others which it is unnecessary to enumerate. His forte is in drawing national characters; his contrasts between the English and French are usually correct and spirited; and the following may be given as a deduction forcibly written and fairly flowing from his prior remarks. "From all I have said of the French character and condition it will be seen that I have the worst idea of their social system, as it is at present constituted. It seems to me to be without foundation or compactness. There are no generally recognized principles in the public mind; there are no great bodies to give gravity, and steadiness, and impetus to the state; there are no respected names in France to lead opinion, to collect national strength under legitimate banners in behalf of honourable purposes."

"England at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. From the French of M. de Levis, Duke and Peer

Peer of France. By the author of "A Few Days in Paris." Vol. I. 8vo. 12s. We are glad that this liberal and enlightened statesman, who has so steadily followed the fortunes of his sovereign, and by the cruelty of a succession of unprincipled governments, should have been exiled, and deprived of his family honours and property, is at length by the well-directed favour of his sovereign a partaker of his own success, and restored to the possession of his proper rank, which we trust will ere long be followed, if it be possible, with a restoration to his family estates. The Duke de Lewis is a well-informed writer, an extensive reader, and personally acquainted with the actual state of England from his travels and inquiries over the greater part of it. He is hence able to give a fair and candid statement of what England and Englishmen; and English customs and English virtues really consist of; and the work before us, which is a good translation from a larger work in the original, displays a strong but perhaps somewhat flattering likeness; it is complimentary, but with so much truth and delicacy that it can scarcely be objected to by the most fastidious critic or moralist: and is admirably calculated to counteract in its original tongue those false and defamatory representations which have of late been so strangely put forth at Paris, from motives of national jealousy or private pique.

"Memorial on behalf of the Native Irish: with a View to their Improvement in Moral and Religious Knowledge, through the medium of their own language." 8vo. 3s. We have heard and read and seen much of the misery and ignorance and discontent of the Irish; of their blind

submission to bigotted priests, and turbulent resistance to established government. In all this there is much exaggeration; but the best and most extensive, the wisest and cheapest method of curing whatever measure of these serious evils really exists, is to follow up the benevolent plan detailed and exemplified in the pamphlet before us: to encourage the formation, and point out the value of schools for instructing the poor in their own tongue, and to take especial care that books of a proper character shall afterwards be explained and distributed amongst them. We rejoice therefore to find that the schools we refer to are in so thriving a state, and especially that the Scriptures in the Irish tongue, are now propagated so widely, and received so cordially. The benefit of this wise institution upon the morals of those who have thus far been open to its effects, are unquestionable and striking: they are here well detailed, and ought to be our strongest stimulus to perseverance.

"Considerations on the present Political State of India, embracing Observations on the Character of the Natives, on the Civil and Criminal Courts, the Administration of Justice, the state of the Land-t tenure, the condition of the Peasantry, and the internal Police of our (the British) Eastern Dominions: intended chiefly as a Manual of Instruction in their Duties for the younger Servants of the Country. By Alexander Fraser Tytler, late Assistant-Judge in the Twenty-four Pergunahs, Bengal Establishment," 2 vols. 8vo. 18s. We have copied the above enormous length of title, because it answers the purpose of a table of contents. Mr. Tytler, is yet, we have reason to believe,

believe, a very young officer, and takes upon himself the character of censor to an extent and in a degree which would be hardly warranted by the most experienced veteran in the service. That there are great abuses in the mode of letting lands and occasionally in the administration of justice is well known, but we can never agree with him in loading with one sweeping anathema all our civil and criminal courts, and the whole internal police of British India: and still less in admitting that under our boasted government, the condition of the lower orders is worse than ever, more vicious and more wretched than before they were acquainted with us. Partial instances of oppression and corruption are to be met with in the best regulated states, and assuredly we are not free from such examples at home; but the great object of Sir William Jones in giving us a digest of the Gentoo laws, the good effects of which have been felt and acknowledged in the Indian Delta, has by no means so completely failed as it is the endeavour of this writer to represent.

The success which has accompanied the strenuous and persevering exertions of the aggregate population of our own country in obtaining an immediate and unprovisional abolition of the slave trade in France has so completely succeeded, that it is now only necessary to enumerate the pamphlets which have been most instrumental in obtaining so decisive a result: and this we do the more readily, because the French Minister, in his reply to Lord Castlereagh, containing the French King's unqualified assent, expressly states that it is in consequence of the change which has been produced in the moral opinion of the French public, by a

timely circulation of these valuable addresses, that his Majesty has found himself relieved from the chief difficulties that pressed upon him antecedently, and at liberty to gratify the warm and unequivocal dictates of his heart.

"Letter to his Excellency Prince Talleyrand Perigord, &c. &c. on the subject of the Slave Trade. By William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P." 8vo. 3s.

"Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. &c. &c. containing Remarks on the Reports of the Sierra Leone Company and African Institution. By Robert Thorpe, Esq. Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, and Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of that Colony." 8vo.

"Letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Institution, from Zachary Macaulay, Esq." 8vo. The two last pamphlets have produced a strong sensation in the public mind. Mr. Thorpe, in the most direct terms, charges the Sierra Leone Company with purposely abusing the generosity of the public by the grossest falsehoods; flatly contradicts their most important assertions; maintains, and endeavours to shew that the settlement has in no respect answered its purpose; and that it has been only of service to Mr. Macaulay, the Secretary, who has nominated and appointed all the agents and officers that have been sent out under the superintendence both of the Sierra Leone Company, and the African Institution, has obtained for himself a monopoly of almost every article traded in, and has received prodigal presents of plate from the Directors in reward for his gratuitous services. To these severe charges from so high an authority, Mr. Macaulay replies with equal warmth of asseveration:

ration: he denies much and palliates more. We are sorry that there should have been any cause for such a dispute: we have no doubt that the charges are unduly heightened, but it would be too much to say that there is no ground-work for any of them.

The question of the expediency of the existing corn-laws, or of any corn-laws whatever, has still continued and been discussed in the following pamphlets, among many others:

"The Grounds of an Opinion on the policy of restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn. By the Rev. T. R. Malthus." Intended as an appendix to his "Observations on the Effects of the Corn-laws."

"Enquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent, and the Principles by which it is regulated." By the same.

"The Objections *against* the Corn-bill Refuted; and the necessity of this measure to the vital interests of every class of the Community demonstrated. By W. Spencer, Esq. F. L. S."

"An Argument and Constitutional Advice for the Petitioners against the Corn-bill. By John Prince Smith, Esq."

"Remarks on the Commercial Policy of Great Britain, principally as it relates to the Corn-trade."

"Address to the two Houses of Parliament on the importance of the Corn-laws to the national Revenue."

It is not necessary to discuss the arguments in any of these: the experiment has been tried; the corn-bill fell dead from its birth; and the only means of settling the question are now found to be those of reducing the rents to somewhat like their proper standard, and that which they possessed till a most ungenerous advantage was taken of the war, first by the occupiers, and then by the proprietors of land, and the public was compelled to pay an exorbitant price, which the peace has rendered it unnecessary that they should pay any longer.

"The Right to Church Property secured, and commutation of Tythes vindicated, in a Letter to the Rev. W. Coxe, Archdeacon of Wilts." The right is unquestionable, but the mode here offered of securing and valuing it is open to palpable and numerous objections.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Tales, and Romances.

"**H**ISTORICAL Memoirs of my own Times, from 1772 to 1784. By Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, Bart." 2 vols. 8vo. This work has acquired a considerable degree of celebrity, rather in consequence of its being the subject of a libel which has brought the author into notice in the court of King's Bench, than from any very prominent merit which would otherwise have brought him into notice before the bar of the public. Sir Nathaniel seems to have in some measure outlived his own reputation; for we suspect that the present attempt will rather detract from, than add to the respectability of the "History of the Race of Valois." He succeeds best in biographical anecdotes and outlines, and we have hence selected in another part of our work his delineations of the characters of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, which, though somewhat too straggling and protracted, form upon the whole a tolerable pair of portraits, are not devoid of likeness, and constitute two of the most favourable specimens of his powers which the volume before us produces. In his anecdotes, however, his memory seems at times egregiously to fail him, and hence we cannot depend upon his correctness.

Bon mots, or moral features, are not unfrequently ascribed to the wrong persons; real facts are occasionally coloured into extravagance, and the marvel of romance is too often substituted for sober truth: yet in the midst of all these errors there is a wonderful uniformity of self-complacency; and the author has certainly succeeded in satisfying himself, how much soever the rest of the world may be disposed to prove censorious. We also perceive a very considerable portion of matter extracted at times from other works of very easy access, sometimes verbatim, and sometimes with a slight alteration of the diction, without any acknowledgement of the sources to which the writer is indebted. As a single example of which (and we have not space for more) we may refer to his account of the features by which our celebrated epistolary satirist Junius is to be traced out, if he be to be traced out at all; the whole of which is taken substantially from the preliminary essay to Mr. Woodfall's edition of Junius, rendered complete, and published in 1812. "He must have lain within a very narrow circle; for every evidence, internal and external, proves him to have been a per-

son of pre-eminent parts, admirable information, high connexions, living almost constantly in the metropolis, and in good company, ignorant of nothing which was done at St. James's, in the two houses of parliament, in the war-office, or in the courts of law, and personally acquainted with many anecdotes or facts only to be attained by men moving in the first ranks of society. Who then, we repeat, was he?" In the preliminary Essay to Woodfall's complete edition, the passage is given thus, and we do not think it improved by passing through the worthy baronet's hands. "From the observations contained in this Essay, it should seem to follow unquestionably that the author of the Letters of Junius was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution, and history of his native country; that he was a man of easy if not affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart, and in his power, to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account; that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately acquainted with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets; that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the Public Advertiser; that in his natural temper he was

quick, irritable, and impetuous, subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities, but possessed of a high, independent spirit, honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the established church, and though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession. What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not; but these are sufficient; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forward as the author of the Letters of Junius."

The writer of the Essay then proceeds to examine by this test the pretensions of the various persons to whom this honour has been ascribed; in which also he is followed, though we cannot say *passibus æquis*, by the writer of the "Historical Memoirs of my own Times." Upon this subject, however, the latter, in point of claimants for the distinction, is somewhat more diffuse than the former, for he brings forward the idle pretensions which certain friends or acquaintances of De Lolme, a *foreigner*, Glover, the author of *Leonidas*, and a Mr. William Grestakes, have advanced in their behalf, but which the writer of the preliminary Essay has thought it too absurd to notice even in the second edition of his work, and which Sir Nathaniel himself sets up, like nine-pins on his own tables, for the purpose of knocking down. "All circumstances fully weighed, says he, my own conviction is, that the Letters of Junius were written by the Right Honourable William Gerard Hamilton,

Hamilton, commonly designated by the nick-name of "Single-speech Hamilton," from the report generally, though falsely circulated, that he never opened his mouth more than once in the English parliament." There is scarcely perhaps an individual in the whole list of pretenders, respecting whom the evidence is so feeble. Our author admits that he "had not the honour of his acquaintance," and offers only two arguments in support of his opinion; first, that "various noblemen or gentlemen of almost daily intercourse with him (Hamilton) have protested in my hearing that they traced or recollected in Junius's letters the *ipsissima verba*, which had recently fallen from his lips in conversation;" and secondly, that "his pen (Hamilton's) is universally admitted to have been most elegant, classical, correct, and nervous." That Hamilton, like Macauley, Boyd, and hundreds of other admirers of Junius, might have habituated himself to a use of the very words, the "*ipsissima verba*" of the anonymous letters, in common conversation, is highly probable, if he *were not* Junius, but altogether impossible if he were; for, first, we have the authority of Junius himself for asserting that the words of his letters were not his colloquial language, but put together with great study, pains, and time; and secondly, if he could have spoken as classically and correctly, or in like manner in conversation, the deep disguise he assumed, and which it was necessary for him to adhere to most pertinaciously, must have compelled him to the use of a style altogether distinct and different in his letters. As to the argument that Hamilton was a classi-

cal writer, and Junius a classical writer, therefore they must be one and indivisible, it has just the same force as that of the honest Welsh geographer. "There is a river in Macedon. There is also a river at Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other; but 'tis all one; 'tis so like as my fingers is to my fingers; and there is salmons in both." We shall only add that the chief, we may say the sole reason for ascribing these letters to Hamilton, that we mean of his having mentioned, or being supposed to have mentioned, the subject of one of them to the late Duke of Richmond, before it was printed, is altogether kept out of sight by the worthy baronet, as an exuberant evidence, a fact however not difficult to be explained, from Mr. Hamilton's acquaintance with Mr. Woodfall, the proprietor of the Public Advertiser; that Mr. Woodfall repeatedly declared Hamilton was not the author of these letters, and that Hamilton himself declared so in his last illness to Mr. Courtney.

"Remains of the late John Tweddell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge: being a selection of his letters written from various parts of the continent, together with a republication of his *Prolusiones Juveniles*. To which is added an appendix, containing some account of the author's journals, MSS. collections, drawings, &c. and of their extraordinary disappearance. Prefixed is a brief biographical memoir, by the editor, the reverend Robert Tweddell, A. M. illustrated with portraits, picturesque views, and maps," 4to. 3l. 3s. The title is quaint, formal, and full, even to overflowing;

overflowing; but we have copied it as an extensive table of contents. Mr. John Tweddell is well known to have been a young man of superior talents; he was born in Northumberland in 1769: studied under Dr. Raine and Dr. S. Parr; passed his academical career at Cambridge with considerable distinction: In 1792 was elected Fellow of Trinity College, and soon afterwards entered himself as student of the Middle Temple. The science of the law, however, had no charms for him; in spite of the remonstrances of his father he left it in disgust, and in 1795 embarked for Hamburg, on a course of travels designed to fit him for diplomatic life; he proceeded through Germany, Sweden, and the north of Europe, whence he visited various parts of the east, and at length arrived in Greece. Here he fixed himself for some time, "exploring, as we are told, with restless ardour, and faithfully delineating the remains of art and science." And here too he closed his earthly scene by a premature death, in July 1799, in the thirtieth year of his age. It is thus he is described in colours somewhat too glowing, by his biographer and eulogist. "Mr. Tweddell, in his person, was of the middle stature, of a handsome and well-proportioned figure; his eye was remarkably soft and intelligent: the profile or frontispiece gives a correct and lively representation of the original; though it is not in the power of any outline to shadow out the fine expression of his animated and interesting countenance. His address was polished, affable, and prepossessing in a high degree: and there was in his whole appearance an air of dignified benevolence

which portrayed at once the suavity of his nature and the independence of his mind. In conversation he had a talent so peculiarly his own, as to form a very distinguishing feature of his character; a chastised and ingenious wit which could seize on an incident in the happiest manner; a lively fancy which could clothe the choicest ideas in the best language. These, supported by large acquaintance with men and books, together with the farther advantages of a melodious voice, and a playfulness of manner singularly sweet and engaging, rendered him the delight of every company. His power of attracting friendships was indeed remarkable, and in securing them he was equally happy." Upon the whole we have not been so much pleased with these "remains" as we expected. The posthumous author's letters want animation where they are grave, and sprightliness and sparkling where they are intended to be gay. His early "Prolusions" appear to us the best part of the volume. But we have perhaps lost that which the author himself most valued, and which was probably most entirely to his approbation. By what sacrilegious hand the robbery of his valuable papers was effected shortly after his death we know not, nor does the editor seem very decidedly to have formed even a suspicion, for we cannot trace in the appendix, which follows up the robbery at considerable length, any reference to the noble and distinguished character to whom the charge has of late been ascribed by something more than implication, and to which, from various publications on the subject, with which the press is at this moment teeming,

teeming, we shall perhaps have to recur in our retrospect for the ensuing year. Mr. Tredell was buried in the Theseum; and his grave has since been honoured by a due attention paid to it by Lord Byron, and several other English scholars, one of whom, Mr. Walpole, has inscribed upon it an elegant Greek epitaph.

"The Life of the most Noble Arthur Duke of Wellington, from the period of his first achievements in India, down to his invasion of France and the peace of Paris in 1814. By George Elliott, Esq." 8vo. This must stand us in stead till something better shall make its appearance. It contains little that has not been already communicated to the world in detached fragments of public journals and miscellaneous publications. But the whole is here brought together in a connected view, and becomes interesting from the high merit of its illustrious subject. The style is tame, and jejune; and the author would have been more happy had some prophetic spirit whispered to him to have suspended his labours till the *ultimate* close of the grand drama, and the battle of Waterloo had incontestably established his hero as the *first* warrior of the age. We have already extracted what have appeared to us the most interesting parts of the work; and to these extracts we refer for specimens of the author's manner.

"The Lives of Alchemical Philosophers: with a critical catalogue of occult chemistry, and a selection of the most celebrated treatises on the theory and practice of the Hermetic Art," 8vo. 10s. 6d. If any of our readers are desirous of knowing the folly, intricacy, and

pertinacity with which the alchemists of our own country and the continent (many of them men of profound erudition and clear intelligence in other respects) pursued the various processes and preparations which constituted the chemistry of *their* day, and we may add, which laid the foundation of the chemistry of *our own* day—the present is the book which they ought by all means to study. And when the mania of lotteries shall cease, and twenty or forty thousand golden guineas are not so easily to be coined by this insidious art, as thousands are at first induced to suppose, the mania of alchemy may, possibly, by the circulation of this and similar books, resume its control, and "thousands of gold and silver" be sought for, as it is, in numerous pages promised, from the transmutability of lead, quicksilver, and even iron. For the only truth we find scattered throughout the volume is, that one metal is just as capable as another of resigning its common and vulgar form, and of being refined into the precious ores.

"Parliamentary Portraits (*Pourtraits*), or Sketches of the Public Character of some of the most distinguished Speakers of the House of Commons." 8vo. 8s. A collection of papers that have already appeared in a weekly newspaper, entitled "The Examiner," and partaking of the nature of its politics. The oratory of parliament is calculated at too low a standard, and an excess of merit allowed to those who generally or habitually oppose the views of government. After describing how fair and extensive a theatre is open in both houses to the oratorical talents of those who possess any, the writer adds, "What

is the fact? About half a dozen speakers, who have acquired a certain fluent mediocrity, are allowed to settle the disputed proposition with little knowledge and less spirit, while the rest remain idle and almost unconcerned hearers, sometimes yawning, sometimes sleeping, and sometimes, perhaps to evince their claims to sit in a speaking assembly, shouting in a *style* to be envied only by a stentor or whipper-in." The writer proceeds to compare the eloquence of the late Lord Chatham with that of Demosthenes, and finds that in point of merit there can be no comparison. So mean was the talent of the first, and so mighty that of the last. Compare, says he, the best speech of Lord Chatham on the American war, with the famous vindication which the Athenian has left against his enemies, then say if the *half-educated, half-informed*, and even *tasteless puerilities* of the Englishman, are to be put in competition with the *salline harmony* of thought and diction which distinguish the Greek." This is foolishly put, and discovers great ignorance of the subject. We do not know what the author means by *half-educated* or *fully-educated puerilities, half-informed or fully-informed puerilities*, &c. nor have we been able to trace in the speeches of this eloquent and enlightened statesman any thing of these qualities, in any sense which the author himself can ascribe to these terms; yet admitting them to exist, they can only be contemplated as the lowest and least worthy parts of the oration: and the argument then stands thus:—"Say if the lowest and least worthy parts of the one are to be put in competition with the loftiest and most excellent parts of the other," No-

thing, however, can be more absurd, than to bring into a comparison the studied and elaborate orations of the statesmen or lawyers of ancient Greece or Rome, slowly and carefully composed, and sedulously chastised and matured in their own retirement, and verbally committed to memory before their enunciation, with the extemporary orations of like characters of our own country, poured forth upon the spur of the occasion, without pre-arrangement or forethought, unpruned, uncorrected, and without a moment for either.

"Archæologia, or miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, Vol. XVII." 4to. We hail this new production of the *venerable* association before us; for, though a few of the articles in the volume might have been spared, or abridged, so as to make room for others of higher value, the majority of them are instructive, entertaining, or useful. The volume embraces an ample scope, and is sufficiently diversified in its subjects. We have not space to enumerate these in a regular order. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing, that the aggregate number of the papers amount to thirty-eight, and that ancient architecture, dresses, coins, political and other records, statuary, and inscriptions, customs, sports, dialects, manuscripts, philology, and poetry, are equally enlisted into the service of the volume. There is also a long string of what seems to have been regarded as secondary or inferior contributions, thrust, in an abbreviated form, into a subjoined appendix, but some of which appear to us to be as worthy of detail, as several that have been more successful.

"The

"The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, represented and illustrated in a series of views, elevations, plans, sections and details, of various ancient English edifices; with historical and descriptive accounts of each. By John Britton, F. S. A." 4 vols. 4to. 21*l.* small, 32*l.* large paper. This is a truly splendid, and interesting production; scientific enough to excite professional attention, and sufficiently picturesque and diversified to afford an ample treat to the general reader. It does high credit to the taste, industry, and ingenuity of the indefatigable author, and is a real honour to the country. It is true to the character given of it in the title-page, and constitutes a whole. Yet it cannot be supposed that four quarto volumes alone afford space for every article that ought to be discussed on the subject of the architectural antiquities of Great Britain, or can even reach, otherwise than by a mere glance, at several classes of this comprehensive subject: and hence, we are so little tired of the banquet before us, rich and savoury as it is, that we rejoice to find, from the preface to the fourth volume, that it is the author's determination to employ all his "experience and knowledge, with increasing love for the subject," in a kindred work he was then meditating, and has since commenced under the title of "The Cathedral Antiquities;" from which we have already made one selection, and in the progress of which we wish him every success; and trust that the science he will evince will not disparage the importance and sublimity of his subject.

"Elements of Chinese Grammar; with a preliminary disser-

tation on the characters and the colloquial medium of the Chinese, and an appendix containing the Ta-hyoh of Confucius with a translation by J. Marshman D. D. Serampore, printed at the Mission press 1814." We have formerly had occasion to notice in terms of high commendation, the indefatigable exertions, and disinterested zeal of the learned Missionaries who have established themselves at Serampore, as also the extensive and gratifying success which has accompanied this establishment. Dr. Marshman had shewn himself a proficient in Chinese literature upon several former occasions, and particularly by his publication of "The works of Confucius," containing the original text with a translation, of which Volume I. was printed at the above press in 1809. The present is a still more valuable work. It is in fact the first attempt at a Chinese grammar, that has ever been made by natives or foreigners: for as the Chinese language consists entirely of monosyllables; and consequently has no inflections in any parts of speech, the Chinese philologists have never given it a regular grammatical arrangement, although they have published numerous elementary and critical works on its structure, and perhaps a greater number of dictionaries than have been produced vernacularly in any European country whatever. And it is not a little extraordinary, that the present work should be the production of a scholar who has never been in China in his life, and has only made himself acquainted with the language from such sources of information as have been incidentally opened to him.

On his arrival in India in 1790, he formed a determination to acquaint himself with the Chinese tongue;

tongue; and it having fallen to his lot, in the regulations adopted by his brother Missionaries, to take the charge of preparation for a version of the sacred Scriptures into Chinese; he surrendered himself to this study, as soon as he had acquired a competent knowledge of Bengalee and Sanskrit. For this purpose he placed himself under the instruction of M. Lassar, who fortunately arrived at Calcutta in 1805, and was persuaded by Dr. Buchanan to remove to Serampore, to aid the Missionaries in their Chinese labours. M. Lassa brought with him two natives of China, and the best Chinese authors; but unfortunately M. Lassa knew very little of English, and the station was in possession of no English, or even Latin-Chinese dictionary: and Dr. Marshman was in consequence compelled to begin the study of Chinese in Chinese, without being assisted by a single sentence of a Chinese author translated into any language. These and other difficulties, however, his perseverance enabled him to surmount; he at length was fortunate enough to acquire a Latin Chinese dictionary, through the politeness of M. P. Rodrigues, a Catholic Missionary who had passed ten years of his life at Peking, and twenty years in China, and from this circumstance, and frequent communications with M. Rodrigues, a new era seemed to open upon him. Finally in 1810, he had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with T. Manning, Esq. who in that year arrived at Calcutta from China, where he had resided many years for the purpose of studying the Chinese tongue, and whose Chinese teacher had accompanied him to Calcutta; and from this double

source of information he was able to perfect himself in the peculiarity of the Chinese tones, and in the purity of the Peking enunciation.

The plan of the grammar consists of the usual divisions into the common parts of speech, each division, and the different forms under it being illustrated by examples drawn from the best Chinese authorities of earlier as well as of later ages, from Confucius, Tsung-tre, Mung, and the Five Kings, as the sacred books are called, down to the *Koo-tse-tschin-yuen*, of the fifteenth, and the Chinese Annals, of the seventeenth century. It commences with a preliminary dissertation on the general structure and history of the language, as well legible as oral, and various subjects connected with the enquiry; and it closes with the *Ta-hyoh*, and a translation by Dr. Marshman's eldest son, who also appears to be a considerable proficient in Chinese literature. The *Ta-hyoh* is a commentary of *Tsung-tse* upon a brief essay of Confucius on self-knowledge, as the only proper source of all knowledge, and self-government, as the only proper foundation of all government. The commentary is exemplified, and indeed mainly consists of quotations from the proverbial and lofty sayings of earlier sages in corroboration of the axioms of the text. The Chinese characters are printed from metal and moveable types, which we scarcely expected to have seen accomplished; they are clear, correct and elegant. Should the grammar succeed, of which we have no doubt, it is the author's intention to follow it up with a translation of the Imperial Dictionary of China; probably, at least we hope so, with an omission of

of the obsolete and unknown characters which have been introduced into that ponderous work. We have been much pleased in hearing since the above account was written, that Lord Moira, the Governor General of India, with his accustomed munificence has taken ten copies of the author, for which he has made him a present of one thousand pounds; and that the directors at home have also subscribed for fifty copies more.

"The Miut Amil, and Shurhoo Miut Amil: two elementary treatises on Arabic Syntax: translated from the original Arabic, with annotations, philological and explanatory, in the form of a perpetual commentary. The rules exemplified by a series of stories and citations from various Arabian authors, with an appendix, containing the original text. By A. Lockett, Captain in the Bengal native infantry; secretary to the council of the College of Fort William; and examiner in the Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee Languages." 4to. Calcutta. The Miut Amil and Shurhoo Mi, ut Amil, are generally supposed to be the two best works for perfecting a student in Arabic grammar and syntax. The first or Miut Amil contains a brief but comprehensive view of the introductory parts of grammar, and the government exercised by nouns, verbs, and particles; all which is conveniently dispatched in something less than five pages; and is hence entirely free from those little verbal quibbles, and philological fopperies which tend more or less to disgrace most of the works which have hitherto appeared on Arabic grammar. The second part, or Shurb,

is a commentary on the former; and illustrates by a minute and detailed analysis, the various rules recorded in the text, and the general acceptations of the several governing powers. It is a singular fact, that we are to this hour almost totally unacquainted with the history of the writer of this excellent and extraordinary work, and not certain of the age in which he flourished. We should rather have said "the history of the *writers*," for the commentary is avowedly composed by a subsequent hand, and of the last the very name has perished from us. According to the commentator, the name of the original author or inventor of the first part was Abu Bekir Abdulkahir, in the present pages denominated Abdoolquhibno Abdirrihman: he was by way of pre-eminence surnamed Alnuwbee, or "the Grammarian;" he was also of the sect of Shafei, and one of the followers of Abul Hassan al Asharee. Besides the Miut Amil he wrote the Jotmul, another introduction to Arabic syntax, and a learned work in three volumes entitled Almughnee, or a commentary upon the Eezab, together with various other productions on the kindred subjects of grammar and rhetoric, and according to his commentator died in the four hundred and seventy-fourth year of the Hejira, answering to about the middle of the eleventh century of our own æra. A somewhat similar account of him is given by Meninski, in the preface to his dictionary, who denominates him Abdelkaher, and rests chiefly on the authority of Shumood-Deer, a commentator on the Jotmul, which work, together with the Miut Amil are, said to

be deposited in the library of the Escurial; the latter with a Latin version. The author's name is also mentioned in the *Miratal-Junan*, and with equal commendation. "There is no date," says Captain Lockett, to the commentary, nor can I pretend to settle one. I suspect, however, that it is comparatively modern. The author, at the conclusion of it, speaks of Ibn Malik, the grammarian, who died A. M. 672: but if D'Herbelot's information be correct, it will probably give an antiquity of 500 years to the work," for he assigns it to Ebn Heschem, who is known to have died in 762. There seems little reason, however, for D'Herbelot's conjecture. The translator has executed his task with great accuracy and fidelity. But we are sorry to remark in almost every modern orientalist, a desire to express the characters of the original by a new orthography; so that we have now the same words written, perhaps, fifty different ways, and in many instances so unlike each other, that it is often difficult for the general reader to understand what is intended. Thus in the German critics, and Sir William Jones, we have *Alcoran*, *Dei Liber*, or "the Book of God," which we still prefer: Sale and others, regarding the first syllable as a mere particle, give us *Koran*, or *Coran*; another set of writers *Kuran*; and Captain Lockett *Quoran*: the same remark will apply to our author's mode of writing *Aboulkhir*; and *Mahomet*, *Mohammed*, *Mohammoud*, is here transmogrified into *Moohummod*. In the preface too much of the philosophy of Arabia is ascribed to that of Greece. Arabia was cele-

brated for its learning and philosophy before Greece had any existence: and many of its most recondite doctrines, which have descended apparently from the patriarchal ages to the present day in the same country, are in direct opposition to what were held by all the schools of Greece: such particularly as the doctrine of a future state from a resurrection of the body, and not from a separate existence of the soul. There is also somewhat too much effort to show, that the author is acquainted with Greek and Roman classics, with the modern languages of Europe, and the writings of its most approved scholars and critics. And hence we have perpetual quotations from Greek, Latin, French or Italian poetry; from Aristotle, Cardan, Sir William Jones, Harrie's *Hermes*, Good's *Translation of Lucretius*, the *Diversions of Purley*, &c. &c. many of which are sufficiently entertaining, but add too much to the bulk of the volume, and are not essential to a due understanding of Arabic grammar. It is nevertheless upon the whole a work of eminent merit; and Capt. Lockett is amply entitled to the thanks of every Arabic student and philologist.

"The Cambrian Popular Antiquities; or an account of some traditions, customs and superstitious of Wales; with observations as to their origin, &c. By Peter Roberts, A. M." 8vo. 18s. Though the Welch cannot stand in competition with the Highlanders, either in antiquity of writing, or transmission of poetry and other branches of early learning by memory; yet in antiquated traditions they are rich, and not barren in the oral descent of

of poetry. The volume before us is an entertaining proof of this, if proof, indeed, were wanting. But it does not appear, to us, that the reverend and ingenious compiler, to whom we are indebted for other works on similar subjects, has at all times clearly hit on the origin of traditions, whose sources he confidently thinks he has traced out. Thus the use of lamb in the Welch banquets at Easter, is by him referred to the Christian doctrine of the sacrifice of the lamb without spot for the salvation of the world. We have as much reason to say the same of the use of lamb amidst our banquets in this metropolis, during the same season of festivity. In London, however, nobody doubts that the practice is attributable to a much more grovelling desire, to a gratification of the appetite rather than a test of Christian faith; and it is more probable that the practice in Wales does not proceed from a higher principle. In the veneration for various wells as St. Thecla's, St. Cilian's, St. Winifreds, the author traces a traditionary reference to the sorcery exercised by the witch who dwelt by the well at Endor. We can trace no such connexion whatever, and have a much more agreeable conjecture concerning the origin of such supposed virtue. Most of these wells have some peculiar property belonging to them; they are frigid or tepid, intermittent or periodical, or impregnated with medicinal materials. They cannot therefore fail to excite wonder, and in performing cures they can as little fail to excite gratitude: a superior power is of course, in the early ages of every country, supposed specially to preside over each; an angel or a saint is conceived to descend at the flow of the spring,

and to trouble or agitate the water. All countries are full of this pleasing mythology—and we stand in no need of hags or witches to explain the popular feeling. In using the terms *ignis sacer* and St. Anthony's fire as synonymous, and in explaining the former in the sense of "blessed fire," or "blessed disorder," the author commits a double error. If he consult Sauvages among the earlier, or Willan among the recent nosologists, he will find that the two diseases are essentially distinct; and if he consult Lucretius, or any other Latin writer who mentions *ignis sacer*, he will also find, that the latter term is used in a bad instead of in a good sense, and imports desecration or cursing, rather than consecration or blessing. The erysipelas seems on the contrary to have been called St. Anthony's fire, from his being traditionally supposed to have a peculiar power over its morbid influence, and supplicated accordingly.

"Researches in Greece. By William Martin Leake." 4to. This should rather have been entitled, "A grammar, glossary and remarks on the Romaic or Modern Greek, as well as on various dialects employed in the vicinity of Greece." The collateral dialects are chiefly the Wallachian, Albanian and Bulgarian; concerning all which Mr. Martin Leake, from a residence of fourteen years in the Greek islands or Turkish territories, thinks himself competent to give the public a critical account. The work, however, is so tessellated with foreign terms and characters, that the part of it devoted to plain English is by far the smallest; and hence it is necessary to obtain a general key, a grammar and glossary to the quarto

quarto itself, before we can undertake to unfold its massy doors, and comprehend the contents of its interior. Grammars of the Romaic are now so easy of access, and upon such reasonable terms, both at Paris and Vienna, that our author must possess rare and chivalrous courage, or a high opinion of the interest he possesses with the public, to have ventured upon the arena with a volume of three guineas, notwithstanding the curious mosaic of other dialects with which it is so mysteriously embossed. We are alarmed, however, with the menace of another volume to succeed the present:—and a hint is thrown forth, that this second may be followed by a third, although the author admits it to be “difficult to foresee whether a third part will be required.” This last passage gives us some hope: for as the question seems to be put upon the ground of a *general requisition*, it is not “difficult” to us “to foresee”—that neither the second nor third part will ever be guilty of trespassing upon the premises of his majesty’s liege subjects.

“Ricardi Porsoni Adversaria. Notæ et Emendationes in poetæ Græcos, &c.” The Adversaria of Richard Porson. Notes and Emendations on the Greek poets, collected and arranged from the manuscript loose papers of Porson, deposited in Trinity College, with indexes of reference, by J. H. Monk, A. M. and C. J. Bloomfield, A. M. Printed at the expence of the College.” 8vo. pp. 334, with pp. xviii. of preface, 1*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* large paper 3*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* Richard Porson is the glory of classical criticism in the present age. The *omne scibile* of Greece and Rome was not only open to him, but

reaped and digested by him with little or no exception. His sagacity in penetrating to the depth of a difficulty, and in discovering or divining the most happy solution of it, would appear incredible, had not its proofs been manifest. Occasionally irritable, and contemptuous, he nevertheless employed his extraordinary skill in detecting the corruptions of ancient authors, and in restoring their genuine text with great general sobriety and temperance. His posthumous productions, contained in loose papers, and the margins of his books, were purchased by the heads of Trinity College for a thousand guineas, and it is from these treasures that the present valuable pages are drawn forth. The task was extremely tedious: for the materials, though written in a beautiful but very small hand, were dispersed through little note-books, loose sheets and fragments of paper, and the margins of more than two hundred volumes. Notes and hints referring to the same passage were often found in distant and variable positions; and these were to be brought together. Every thing was to be fairly transcribed, though at a severe expence of labour and eyesight: and the detached results, like the leaves of the Sibyls, “*quasi folia Sibyllina*” were to be digested into due arrangement and service. The first article in the volume is the Professor’s “Inaugural Oration,” on his taking the Greek chair in 1792. This was almost an extemporaneous production; composed, as the editors assure us, within two days, a space of time hardly sufficient for transcribing it in a fair copy: yet they characterise it, and correctly, as. “*suavitate elegantia, et judicii subtilitate*”

tilitate admirabilem." The subject prescribed to him by the Vice-chancellor, at a very short notice, was the poetical character of Euripides. We have next ten pages of *Observationes variae*, in which the conjectures of several antecedent critics, and especially of Dawes and Valcknaer, are proved to have been erroneous. Then follow a hundred pages of *Notæ et Emendationes in Athenæum*, who was his favourite Greek writer, and whom he has nobly rescued from almost innumerable corruptions of mistaken scholars, or errors of blundering transcribers. To these follow a hundred and thirty pages of remarks of a like kind, and with a like title on the Three Tragedians; those on Euripides extending to all the tragedies except the four already published by himself, with sufficient comments. We have then notes and emendations on fragments of lost tragedians, on Aristophanes, and the remains of Menander and other comic writers, on Stobæus, and on a number of poets from Pindar to Gregory Nazianzen, and Paulus Silentarius. The work is therefore highly valuable, yet the professor's portfolio is by no means exhausted; his notes on Aristophanes are sufficiently numerous to call for a new edition of this poet, and are to be given in a volume of equal capacity with the present: besides which there remain, independently of the celebrated transcript of the Lexicon of Photius, critical observations on many of the Greek prose writers, on Hesychius, and the other lexicographers, and on some of the Latin classics. All these, we have reason to hope, will progressively be given to the public, which indeed is deeply indebted to the learned editors for the mi-

nute attention they have paid, and the accuracy they have produced, in what has thus far passed beneath their superintendence. The typography is beautiful, and the two indexes are most valuable accompaniments.

"Specimens of the Classic Poets, in a chronological series, from Homer to Tryphiodorus, translated into English verse, and illustrated with biographical and critical notes. By Charles Abraham Elton," 8vo. 3 vols. The author is well known to the public from his spirited translation of Hesiod, in several passages with Miltonic force and resonance. The work before us is of a more extensive and miscellaneous nature, apparently intended to show the progress of poetry, and its different features and pretensions in the descending epochs of Greece and Rome. The translations are drawn from sixty distinct authors, of whom thirty-three are Greek and twenty-seven Latin. No notice is taken of the dramatic poets of either tongue, though they would have furnished detached passages of as marked and striking character as any actually selected. Mrs Elton has adopted a variety of measures both in rhyme and blank verse, for he has employed both; but we cannot always approve the taste he has evinced. If he does not in every instance do strict justice to his subject, he never sinks it into contempt. We have been best pleased with his translations of short detached poems, and the fragments of those whose remains are but few and sparing. In the longer and more perfect productions he has not been very successful, at least it appears to us that the passages he has taken from the *Iliad*, the *Nature of Things*, and the

the Georgics, are given with more truth and beauty, and spirit in Pope, Good, and Sotheby. We have, however, selected from the volumes pretty largely in an antecedent department, and our readers, we presume, will have no reason to be dissatisfied with the assortment we have presented to them.

Of original poetry the annual harvest has been more than usually abundant, in quantity if not in intrinsic value. From what have appeared to us the most successful attempts, we have endeavoured to enrich a preceding part of our volume; but the productions are altogether so numerous, that we can find little more than room for a *catalogue raisonné*.

The prolific muse of Mr. Walter Scott has twice brought him forth a poem in the course of the year. "The Lord of the Isles" has succeeded to "The Lady of the Lake;" and "The Battle of Waterloo" has succeeded to "The Lord of the Isles." The same prominent features and family likeness run throughout the whole; the same excellences of ease, natural and picturesque delineation, original imagery, and introduction of new, or revival of obsolete terms; and the same defects of negligent hurry, unfinished sketch of character, and irregular and broken incidents. Of the two before us, however, the first is incomparably the most meritorious, and does not lag far short of the general beauties of "The Lay of the last Minstrel," though it wants its delicate finish, and impressive and commanding effect. "The Battle of Waterloo" is almost unworthy of its author. We have much bustle and business, and detailed description; a scene overflowing with carnage and clamour,

and death-shade and brilliant glory, and as many pictures of human casualty and suffering as if we were in a hospital; but after all the Gazette account will be found more interesting. The production of this poem is indeed more creditable to Mr. Scott's benevolence than to his poetic genius, for he has intended its profits to go in aid of the general subscription. It is peculiarly unfortunate however, and perhaps not very easy to be explained, that whenever he has acted upon this ennobling principle his wings have woefully flagged, and his object has but slenderly been accomplished.

Mr. Wordsworth seems to have tried to keep pace with Mr. Walter Scott, in rapidity of poetical production; and hence the muse of this gentleman has also within nearly the same period of time been crowned with a double labour. "The Excursion, being a portion of the Recluse," and "The White Doe of Rylstone, or the Fate of the Nortons." There is occasionally in both these a vein of simplicity and tenderness that is deeply touching and impressive, but it is a vein imbedded in an overwhelming matrix of rabble and rubbish, and which only peeps forth at distant intervals. We have selected what have appeared to us by far the best offering of this whimsical writer's powers, and we shall leave the reader to judge for himself by critical perusal of them.

"Helga, a poem in seven cantos. By the Honourable William Herbert." We hail the return of Scandinavian Mythology, when ushered in by so erudite and elegant a scholar as Mr. Herbert, who is worthy of the chair of T. Warton and Gray, and is likely to be of more procreative power than either of them. For the

the present we merely notice the very bold, and energetic, and terrific and exquisitely beautiful poem before us, for in its first edition it has but just reached us, and too late therefore for extracts in their proper place. We shall return to it with pleasure in our next year's retrospect, to which we feel confident we shall be called by a second, and probably by several subsequent editions.

"Armageddon, a poem, in twelve books. By the Reverend George Townsend, B. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. The first eight books." 4to. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* We have entered upon this formidable effusion of blank verse, but have not had courage to persevere beyond the fiftieth page, and the rather as the author very candidly forewarns us in the title page itself, that if we can endure the present battery, there is another in reserve of perhaps as terrific powers; the volume before us containing not more than two thirds of what he is meditating for future years and younglings. There are some works which possess the spirit of poetry without the form. Mr. Townsend's object appears to be that of demonstrating that there may also be books which on the contrary possess the form of poetry without the spirit.

"The Descent of Liberty, a Mask. By Leigh Hunt." 8vo. The scene of this poem is the *Surrey Gaol*, which after all the poet seems to describe rather from hearsay than from actual knowledge; and there is merit enough in it to make us wish that whenever his "eye" is in the present "phrenzy rolling," he may do it in this manner rather than from a more intimate acquaintance with it.

"The Pilgrim of the Sun, a Poem. By James Hogg, author of the *Queen's Wake*, &c." 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* There are but few of the poetical attempts of the year that are more richly imbued with all the genuine qualities of poetry than this work. It is full of imagination, tender, sentimental, animated, and daringly wild and romantic. It consists in reality of a supposed visit in a disembodied state to the surrounding planets, and at length to the sun, in which the poet places the pure throne and dazzling residence of the Most High. In due time the "travellers return," contrary indeed, to common custom, to their earthly "bourn," and the poem closes more accordingly with the established order of things. With a liberal rather than a laudable desire to suit himself to every taste, we have here, however, a sort of vicious indulgence in almost all the different species of versification that have been attempted. The poem opens in the ballad style. The second part is given in stately blank verse, and the last in the usual hexameter couplet. The volume closes with an Ode to Superstition, in the Stanza of Spencer.

The drama has supplied us with little to vary the literary labours of the year, whether of exotic, or indigenous growth. From the former, however, we have been somewhat gratified by receiving "The Tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri, translated from the Italian. By Charles Lloyd," 3 vols. 12mo. The Italians have been for ages far more attached to melo-dramas and operas than to the tragedy properly so called. Alfieri has the chief credit of calling their attention to this species of dramatic excellence. His productions

productions are in the highest esteem in his own country; but the present version will not render them equally so in ours.

"King Edward III. an historical drama in five acts." This is adapted with considerable dexterity to the times before us, and yet almost without any deviation from historic truth. In fact we wish the deviations had been somewhat more numerous, and that the author had given more play to his fancy, for, as it is, the piece wants animation and stage effect. In the following lines he has well described the French as they probably were at the era alluded to, and most unquestionably as the world beholds them in the present day.

There is an active devil in their blood,
That will not let them rest.

Among the Novels, Tales, and Romances of the year, we ought first to notice, "Guy Mannering, or The Astrologer, by the author of

Waverly," 3 vols. 12mo. considerably more interesting than his last production, be the author who he may, and concerning whom we have still sundry mysterious stories afloat.

"The Observant Pedestrian mounted, or a Donkey Tour to Brighton, a comic sentimental novel. By the author of the *Mystic Cottager*." An attempt to resuscitate the dormant powers of Sterne, but without much success.

"A Tale for Gentle and Simple." A well conducted moral story, interesting enough to command attention, and stored with advice that cannot be read without improvement.

"The Maskers of Moorfields, a Vision." The reverse of the former; a feeble attempt at personal satire, not sufficiently expressed to be understood, seasoned with the ingredient of malice for lack of that of wit.

FOREIGN LITERATURE,

FOR THE YEAR 1815.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL,

Containing an Account of various Publications of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and America.

TO the biblical student, and especially to the real Christian, nothing can be more satisfactory, or afford a higher degree of gratification, than to perceive that the more the sacred text is exposed to the test of criticism, the more it stands its ground, and establishes its authenticity and genuineness. It is only two years ago that we had to call the attention of our readers to a very curious and interesting M.S. copy of a Hebrew pentateuch, with several other parts of the sacred writings, obtained in India by Dr. Buchanan, from the black Jews of Cochin, among whom the work has been in use from a very early era, and which, being collated by Dr. Yeates, was found scarcely to vary in a single essential particular from the Masoretic text, in common reading among ourselves, though there can be little doubt that it is of a considerably higher antiquity. We have now to notice a discovery of a somewhat similar kind, though re-

1815.

lating to a very different quarter of the world. Dr. Engelbreth, honorary provost of two of the principal churches in Zealand, has the gratification of submitting this singular discovery to the literary world, and this he has done in a quarto volume published at Copenhagen, under the following title: "*Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti quæ in Museo Borgiano Velitris asservantur, cum reliquis versionibus Ægyptiis collata, Latine vertit, necnon criticis et philologicis adnotationibus, illustravit, W. F. Engelbreth, &c.*" "*Fragments of a BASMURIC Old and New Testament preserved in the Borgian Museum, collated with other Egyptian versions, rendered into Latin, and illustrated with notes critical and philological. By W. F. Engelbreth, V. D. M. &c., &c.*" It is possible that Egypt, when in the zenith of its prosperity, could boast of as many different languages, and dialects of lan-

2 E guages

guages, made use of in different parts of its sweeping range, as Russia pretends to do in the present day. Of any one of these we know but little, and nothing whatever of its *ἱερά γράμματα*, or sacred dialect, or even of its vernacular tongue, at least as spoken in the plenitude of its power. We have indeed various specimens of the first, and in the Rosetta stone in the British Museum a single, but highly valuable specimen of both; but of these the first has never been deciphered, and the latter is nothing more than a mere alphabetical designation and arrangement of its letters or arbitrary characters, through the ingenious labour of two celebrated oriental scholars, who, without any concurrence or co-operation, were fortunate enough to give a similar analysis, and thus, in a very considerable degree, to substantiate its truths. We mean M. Akersblad, a learned Swede, and M. de Sacy, one of the most distinguished members of the French Institute. But though we know little or nothing of these dialects of Egypt, we may be said to be tolerably acquainted with one or two others, the Coptic or more modern Egyptian, sometimes called the Memphitic, from its being still in use at Memphis or Cairo, and the Sahidic or Thebaïdic, of far greater antiquity, and which there is little doubt was in use in the Said, or Upper Egypt, and especially at Thebes, from which totem it has been, by different writers, distinguished by these two names; yet wherever the career of literature has directed its march into countries not merely that bordered on Greece or Palestine, but have the slightest connection with them, we find evident and gratify-

ing traces of the zeal of the earliest Christian fathers to disseminate a knowledge of the bible, by translations into the different languages which were vernacular in such territories, so that neither the object of the Bible Society of our own day, nor the mode of carrying it into effect, are without precedent in times, and amongst characters, to which all Christians look back with a greater or less degree of veneration.

The fragments now before us are a proof of this. They consist of the following passages:—Isai. i. 1—16. v. 8—25. John iv. 28—34; 36—39;—43—46; 48—53. 1 Corinth. vi. 19. ix. 16. xiv. 33. xv. 35. Eph. vi. 18. Philip ii. 2. 1 Thess. i. 1. iii. 5. Heb. v. 5. x. 22. At the foot of the text the editor has subjoined the Greek version taken from the Roman edition of the Septuagint, and from Griesbach's second edition of the New Testament. The Coptic version has been added from a Roman M. S. of Isaiah, and from Wilkins's edition of the Memphitic version of the New Testament. With these is co-joined a Sahidic version taken from the MSS. belonging to Cardinal Borgia, with the exception of a few extracts from Woide's Appendix to the Alexandrian Codex of the New Testament. The peculiar character of the MSS. of the Basmauric version before us, refers us to the eighth century, as their proper date; nor can they be well later than the year 838. A neatly executed copper plate, containing a fac-simile of several of them, is prefixed to the work; and a very good description is given in the Prolegomena, sect. v.

From the specimens before us, the Basmauric appears to make a nearer approach to the Sahidic than to the Memphitic dialect; and hence

hence is ruder and simpler than the last, which was gradually refined and augmented at Memphis, upon the transfer of the seat of royalty to this city, while the dialects of the Said, or Upper Egypt, and those connected with them, were neglected and disparaged. There is some doubt among the critics as to what part of the Egyptian territories the city of Basmur, or Bashmour, was situated in. The name itself is that of the Arabic writers, by Georgi and Quatremere, derived from the Coptic (*Pasmer*) and by them translated *regio trans*, sc. *fluvium* in *Nilum*, as though beyond the range of the Delta: while Engelbreth proposes, and as we believe more correctly, to trace it from *Pasmour regio cincta*, and consequently places it in some degree within the boundary of the Delta. The Egyptian name of Delta is almost sufficient to confirm this last origin, for it is in strict consonance with the meaning offered. This name, according to Stephanus Byzantius, is Περμυσις, which Zoega writes in Coptic (*Pitmour* or *Ptimēr*) and in like manner translates *regio cincta*: while, as though to settle the question completely, Abulfeda expressly places Bashmur (al Baschmour as he calls it) in the same quarter, making it a separate district, the capital of which he calls Osmun Tinnag, or Tanact, *Ashmun-Tinnat*, which; according to D'Anville and Hartmann, is the ancient Mendesis, to which Thmuis, now called Thmais, is very near. This etymology leads to a calculation at what time Christianity was introduced into the smaller Delta. The martyrs Phyllas and Donatus, are both mentioned as bishops of Thmuis;

and of these the first suffered under Maximian, and the latter under Licinius. Caius, Bishop of Ptmythis (supposed to be the same as Thmuis) formed one of the council of Nice. Hence, and from other facts, proving that various other cities of the Delta formed contemporary bishopricks, M. Engelbreth fairly conjectures that many of the inhabitants of the country must have been Christians, and that being ignorant of the Greek tongue, versions of the bible were necessary for them, and were actually executed in their respective dialects. He thinks it probable, therefore, that the Basmuric was made near the time of the other Egyptian translations, and consequently, according to Münter, in the end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. All these seem to follow the septuagint of the Vatican MSS. and the present fragments do not seem to form an exception. In the MS. remains there is no important variation from Griesbach.

At Freyberg we find announced a new critical "Translation of the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses," in three volumes, 8vo. The language of the translation is to be German; and the pretensions of the translators are, that the version shall be more exact to the original than any hitherto offered, that it shall be arranged according to the primitive order of the books, and divested of apocryphal additaments. It is moreover to be accompanied with occasional remarks, and illustrated by references to subsequent parts of scripture, as well as from other sources. The following is an outline of the general arrangement. The five books of Moses are divided

two historical books, and three books of laws. Of the two historical books, the first contains the history of the times anterior to Moses; the second the history of his own æra. Of the three legal books, the first comprises the code of moral laws, the second that of religious laws, the third that of civil laws. We shall notice the work somewhat at large, when it is completed and fully before us.

"Titi Cicconii de vi trium verborum, &c." "Disquisition on the meaning of the three words in the vulgate MANE, THEKEL, PHARES. By T. Ciccogni." Milan, 8vo. 1814. The commentators on the Old Testament, while unanimous in admitting the miracle of the writing on the wall of Belshazzar's palace, by the similitude of a man's hand, during his profanation of the holy vessels of the temple at the banquet prepared for his nobles, as narrated in Dan. v. 26, have yet felt a difficulty upon several points connected with it. What was the language in which the terms were written? Do the terms communicated literally bear out the interpretation given by the prophet? Are they ænigmatical? and ought they, for the purpose of obtaining such interpretation, to be changed in their order, to be read backwards, or in a different position? while if genuine Chaldee, and in the usual order, were inscribed on the walls, whence comes it that the Chaldean magi were incapable of deciphering the sense? To some, though not to all these questions, the learned author replies, and endeavours to prove that the words are genuine Chaldee (of which indeed there can be no doubt) and that they were inscribed, and are to be read in the order in which they are

presented to us in the said text, מָנָה תְּקֵל וּפְרָסִין, but he conceives that each of the three terms has a duplicate meaning, and that the Chaldean philosophers were incapable of reading, or rather of understanding them, from not knowing how to unite to each this double sense. Thus מָנָה (*mane*), he contends, imports as a verb "he hath numbered," or he hath portioned, torn in pieces, made an end of; and as a noun, an allotment, province, prefecture, kingdom; and he hence supposes that by the repetition of the terms, two at least, if not all three of these ideas were directly intended. In like manner he conceives that פְּרָסִין (*phares*, or *pharsin*) imports *division*, or *distribution*, and *Persians*, both which senses he conceives to be wrapped up in the same term. It is a simple, and perhaps more rational conjecture, that the terms, though strictly Chaldean, were imprinted on the wall or pillar in the ancient Hebrew character, or what is now called Samaritan, a character well known to Daniel, but little or not at all known to the magi of the Babylonian Court; and hence the difficulty of their interpretation by the latter. The direct and verbal rendering is "He (God) hath numbered—hath numbered—hath weighed—hath given away (or distributed)." There is a peculiar force in the term דִּי (*di*) in v. 5. of the same chapter, which is not noticed in the present essay, and as little in our translations, "as large as, like as, similitude, apparition;" whence the passage should run, "in the same hour came forth fingers, *the apparition* of a man's hand;" and hence the terror of the Babylonian monarch.

"Histoire des Sectes religieuses, &c."

&c." "History of the Religious Sects that, since the beginning of the past century to the present time, have sprung forth, remodified themselves, or have ceased; in the four quarters of the world. By M. Le Comte Gregoire, Member of the French Institute," 8vo. 2 vols. The excellent character of the writer is well known to every one, yet the term *religious sects* (*Sectes religieuses*) is here used in a sense so singularly lax and latitudinarian, that did we not know the contrary, we should be induced to think that M. Gregoire had intended to employ it in contempt, for we have not only described under this title all the various denominations of Deists and Theists that have ever started into birth in our own country, from the ice of Unitarianism to the hot springs of Hutchinsonians, Welsh Jumpers, and Methodists; not only Quakers, Quietists, Moravians, the fanatics of Cevennes, and the Christians of modern Greece, but all the various divisions of Jews, Dutch, German, Spanish, Italian, and black (as the Cochin tribes) Theophilanthropists, Turks, and Wahabis, or Mahomedan heretics. The work is in fact as full as an egg; and a translation of it would go far to supersede all the smaller works upon the same subject, which have lately appeared in our own country.

"Memoria Historica sobre qual ha sido l'opinion nacional de Espagna, &c." "Historical Memoir, serving to show the national opinion of Spain upon the subject of

the tribunal of the Inquisition. By M. Llorente," 8vo. Vols. I. II. We lament to find that the national opinion of Spain, so far as it is capable of being expressed, has veered completely round since the blessed restoration of Ferdinand the beloved. In consequence of which M. Llorente is compelled to suspend his labours, or rather to recommence and continue them in the French tongue. As he was expressly intrusted by the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, with all the most important documents in the archives of the Inquisition, for this express purpose, and is hence admirably qualified for it, we wish him every success.

We are sorry to see also that the most popular work on religion, which has lately appeared at Madrid, is a sermon of father Blasius Ostolara, on the piety and devotional exercises of the restored monarch; in which he ascribes to him visits from the Holy Virgin; together with other supernatural remunerations in return for his exemplary zeal.

America is still chiefly enriching itself by republications of the most esteemed European productions. Among these we are pleased to see a new edition of Dr. Lardner's "Credibility," in eight vols. 8vo. Archbishop Newcomb's "Greek Harmony, with select readings from Griesbach;" and Vander-Hooght's Hebrew Bible. Editio prima Americana, without the manuscript points, 14 dollars,

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Containing an Account of various Publications in Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Franconia, France, India, China.

WE commence this Chapter with a work which has obtained much celebrity in France, and not a little in our own country, the "*Anatomie et Physiologie du Système Nerveux en général, et du Cerveau en particulier: avec des Observations.*" &c. "*Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System in general, and particularly of the Brain: with Observations on the possibility of determining the greater number (plusieurs) of intellectual and moral Propensities of Man and other Animals, by the configuration of their Heads.*" By F. J. Gall, and G. Spurzheim." 3 vol. 4to. plates, folio. In the second Chapter of our *Domestic Literature* for the year, we have glanced at "*The Physiognomical System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim,*" &c. in one bulky 8vo. volume: but as this last is founded upon the larger and more elaborate work now before us, and only details, with a few trivial variations, the doctrines and assumptions which it unfolds, we have reserved the very brief account which we are able to give of this hypothesis for the present article. This hypothesis has been propounded in turn to almost every country in Europe; and almost under every name that the ingenuity of its learned inventors

have perhaps been able to hit upon; and we have hence had to follow it up under the Proteus denominations of "*Physiology of the Nervous System.*" "*New System of Physiology.*" "*Craniology,*" "*Psychology.*" "*Cerebral organology,*" and at last *miserabilè dictu* "*Physiognomy.*" It is specious in its appearance, and of attractive invitation, and has hence been easily listened to for a short time, by gentle and simple, by the grave and the gay, wherever it has perambulated; but we have not heard that it has any where been successful in making permanent converts. It should seem, indeed, on the contrary, that the distich of the poet has never been more completely verified than in the instance before us:

Here shallow drafts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking largely sobers us again.

And it is, as we suppose, under the influence of this belief, that the masters of the mystery keep moving from scene to scene, and from people to people, as soon as they have experimented so far as to produce delirium, without waiting the return of sobriety and reason. The grand aim of our twin authors is to establish a new origin of nervous power;

power; by distributing its sources through one organ of the body as well as another; while the brain, instead of being the primary issue of such power, is the mere market-place, bazaar, or exchange, in which its different branches or representatives meet to compare notes and barter commodities; for which purposes this central organ, like the aforesaid places of resort, is divided into different compartments, so that every agent may find his appropriate station, and know where to dispose of his peculiar merchandize. In sober language, the great object of our craniologists is to prove that the brain, instead of being a single organ that secretes a nervous fluid for every other part of the body, is a congeries of organs, possessing separate functions and faculties; and that as the liver, the kidneys, and the stomach are appropriated to particular offices in the trunk, and the faculties of sight, smell, hearing, and taste, flow from particular parts or organs within the cranium, so will, memory, consciousness, imagination, a love of morality, religion, thieving, murder, concupiscence, the sentiments of friendship, pride, faith, hope, and a variety of others, are in like manner generated in other parts or organs of the brain, and constitute their respective functions. And having thus conceived, in the first place, that nature has marshalled the important region of the brain into a definite number of divisions, and has given to every faculty the command of a separate post, the learned theorists conceived, secondly, as the general mass of the brain lies immediately under the cranium or skull-bone, and is impacted into its cavity with the utmost exactness, that if any one or more of these fa-

culties, or, which is the same thing, if any one or more of these organs, or divisions of the brain, allotted to their control, should be peculiarly forward and active, whether from accident or natural propensity, they must necessarily become more developed, and give some external token of such development by a constant pressure against those particular portions of the cranium under which they are immediately seated; and which, by uninterrupted perseverance, and especially in infancy and adolescence, when the bones of the cranium are more easily moulded into a particular shape, become elevated and rendered protuberant. And having advanced thus far, they conceived, thirdly, that as every man has some faculty or other more energetic and manifest than the rest, he must necessarily also have some peculiar protuberance or protuberances, some characteristic bumps or embossments by which his head is distinguishable from all other heads, or, at least, from all others of a different temper, or attracted by different objects of pursuit; and that thus, when the different stations of the different faculties which belong to the brain are ascertained, it becomes easy, from the external bump, or protuberance, to ascertain their presence and predominance.

These premises being satisfactorily established, in the minds of our philosophical *scullers*, their next business was to determine the relative parts or organs of the brain to which the different faculties were to be consigned; and having settled this important point to their own thorough conviction, they immediately made a map of the outside of the head, divided it into corresponding regions, and adjudged themselves qualified

lised to decide upon the lurking character below with instantaneous ease and expedition. "In order to distinguish the development of the organs," says Dr. Spurzheim, "it is not always necessary to touch the head; in many cases the eye is sufficient. It is even more easy to distinguish the size of the organs situated in the forehead by sight than by touch. It is only necessary to touch the organs which are covered with hair." Now all this long-drawn hypothesis, even upon their own confession, rests upon no permanent basis whatever; for, first, the eye of the anatomist, it is admitted, cannot trace out this plurality of organization in the human subject; next, as little benefit, it is also admitted, has been derived from comparative anatomy. And, thirdly, with respect to the mere experience, or, in the language of the schools, *empirical practice*, which is the chief, if not the only source of information here relied upon, it is somewhat awkward that this kind of knowledge has led several of the adepts of the new school, and in more than a few instances, even the fathers of the school before us, to different and even opposite results; the one contending that a bump or protuberance in a peculiar part of the head imports a faculty of one-kind, and the other that it imports a faculty of another kind; the one asserting that a particular faculty lies imbedded in one part of the brain; the other that it is to be sought for in a different direction. It is hence unnecessary to pursue this cobweb hypothesis any farther: the reader may easily see why it has not been able to maintain itself for more than a few months in any place, and why it should be necessary for its professors to adopt a

migratory life, and be perpetually seeking a new and unbroken soil.

In comparative anatomy much attention has been of late paid to the organism of fishes. M. Araky has published in a quarto volume at Halle, a dissertation "*De piscium Cerebro et Medulla Spinali*." "On the Brain and Spinal Marrow of Fishes." This work contains the result of observations made chiefly at Naples: it unfolds various conformations and habits that have hitherto had little or no attention; and is particularly directed to the natural history of the genus *pleurocetes*, comprising the sole, turbot, brill, and other flat-fishes of the thoracic order. The work is accompanied with three plates, containing comparative views of the brain of twenty-five distinct genera. In like manner M. Brogmans has presented to the Institute of the Netherlands, a valuable series of "Observations on the Motive Powers of Fishes." He has especially succeeded in developing a course of progressive motion not hitherto noticed by any ichthyologist. We mean the force of the jet of water expelled from the gills in the act of expiration, in reality by the opening and closing of the gills at the pleasure of the animal. To prove the certainty of this power he ingeniously invented a simple apparatus which, formed upon a like principle, produces the same effect. The apparatus consists of two thin pieces of board, so disposed as to resemble the head of a fish, the gills of which are open: a spring is adapted to them with a power of closing them upon pressure of a peg which otherwise acts in an antagonist direction and keeps them from shutting: this peg being pressed upon the artificial gills are closed, the water is forcibly thrust

thrust out from within, and the mechanical fish advances by the comparative vacuum thus produced before it, or, in other words, by the rush of the tide produced behind. We have already observed that our own Philosophical Transactions for the current year are also richly embued with experiments on the general physiology, and especially the brain of fishes: from one or two articles on which subject we have introduced a few extracts in an anterior division of our volume.

"Anatomie und Naturgeschichte des Drachen," "Anatomy and Natural History of the Dragon: by F. Tiedemann." Nuremberg, thin quarto. The term dragon has been employed in various senses, both in natural history and in fiction. In the former it is now by most zoologists confined, to a small harmless reptile which from its possessing an expansive membrane extending from the head to the fore and hind feet, like that of some species of the macaque, and making an approach to that of the bat, is enabled to vault from tree to tree, and has hence been called *draco volans*. By the present author the term *dragon* is employed in a more extensive sense, and a sense too loose for scientific purposes, as including most of Linneus's order *serpentes*; the organization of which he describes with minuteness and accuracy: at the same time giving detailed proofs that the dragon of poetic and romantic writers, under whatever form described, as with wings, or numerous heads, is in every instance a creature of the imagination; or has been mendaciously exhibited, as a dry preparation in museums, by a dexterous union of members belonging to different animals.

"Under the title of "Jahrbuch der Staatsarzneikunde," "Annals of Forensic Medicine," M. Kopps, of Leipzig, continues a work of considerable merit and interest. It commenced about six years ago, and is divided into two principal parts, one serving as a depository for such essays as ought not to be lost to the world; the other giving an annual history of medicine as a science. Each of these possesses the four following subdivisions: Medical Organization, Medical Police, Veterinary Police, Forensic Regulation of Medicine.

"Materia Medica and Agriculturist's Nomenclature of Lower Hindustan." This is a work of almost inestimable value; and it is difficult to say whether it be most correctly placed in its present position, or in the second chapter of our Domestic Literature. It proceeds from the learned pen of Doctor Ainsley, of Madras, who has been many years in arranging it. It is equally designed for the use of natives and Europeans. Whatever sources of knowledge in therapeutics, or the *Materia Medica*, have been open to him, either in manuscript volumes, oral traditions, or the actual practice of the best informed Hindu, Vaidyas, Persian, or Mussulman physicians, he has eagerly availed himself of; has weighed their opinions impartially; and, in a variety of disputable cases, has examined and proved, or falsified them by his own experiments. To the botanical tourist the work cannot fail of being equally useful, as it is expressly intended to be to the Hindu agriculturist. It is divided into two general parts, and concludes with an appendix. Part I. in the three first sections contains a catalogue of the medical materials employed

employed or chiefly esteemed in the East, as well of the vegetable as of the mineral kingdom, given in the English and Tamul tongues. Section fourth, which is entitled the Artizan's Nomenclature, is exclusively devoted to the materials employed in the Hindu arts and manufactures, with the respective processes adopted in their respective preparation and use. Part II. is appropriated to dietetic substances, as corn, grains, fruits, roots, and other edible materials, employed from the sources of the Nerbudda to Cape Comerin. The appendix gives us the names of diseases in English and their synonyms in the chief dialects of India; a list of the most approved medical and physiological books in the Tamul, Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit languages, and a list of addenda and corrigenda. To which are further added three valuable indexes of reference in English, Tamul, and Latin.

"Handbuch für die Schafzucht," &c. "Manual shewing how to raise fine-wooled Sheep. By A. Thaer." 8vo. Berlin. This is a valuable essay; but M. Thaer is very little entitled to the merit it possesses. It is in fact a translation of a well-known and highly esteemed Latin work of M. Tessier; which, under an order to be translated by the Prussian government, has, in reality, been presented to the German public in two or three different versions. It cannot, indeed, be circulated over the Continent too largely.

"Les Liliacées: par P. J. Redonté," &c. "The Liliacea: by P. J. Redonté, Painter of Flowers, &c. to the Physical Class of the Institute, and the Museum of Natural History." This splendid work has

now reached the termination of its sixth volume, containing sixty fascicles; and continues to exhibit as much truth, delicacy, and magnificence as on its outset. The plants that have chiefly struck us in the execution of the painting, are *Iris amoens*, *I. Xiphium*, *I. Sambucina*, *I. Versicolor*, *I. Cartopetala*, *Sowerba juncéea*, *Smith*. *Peronia stricta*, named after the excellent Péron. *Gladiolus laccatus*, *Allium cernuum*, *Wildem*. *Epidendrum cochleatum*, *Plum*. *Amaryllis longifolia*, *Canna glauca*.

The study of the Chinese tongue, which, as we shall have to notice presently, has greatly occupied of late the attention of the French linguists, has induced M. Lasteyrie du Saillaut, to produce a work "On Chinese Agriculture, and Implements." In the progress of this he has evinced very great industry; and though he has not always had access to original books on the subject, he has compiled from the best writers on Chinese history, customs, and manners, as well as from other sources, a good digest of the rural and domestic economy of this singular and multitudinous people. The whole is illustrated by a variety of drawings, made in China, and by Chinese artists, representing numerous processes of the industry of the Chinese, and nearly, perhaps, all the agricultural instruments they employ. It will not much improve the enlightened husbandman of our own country; but as an object of curiosity is well worth attending to.

The subject of Animal Magnetism has not yet quitted the principalities of Germany, long as it has been exploded in every other part of the world. A work on this topic was lately published by the Baron

Baron de Strombeck, and we now perceive another published at Hanover, under the title of "Ueber der Magnetismus." "Observations on Animal Magnetism," by Dr. Streglitz. Both these are full of cures performed by this idle and absurd trick: and we lament to find that within the last two years Dr. Stroem has read a Latin Memoir on the same subject, in which he ascribes the cure of a spasmodic affection to the same fanciful power.

"Premiere Dissertation sur les Ethers," &c. "First Dissertation on Ethers: being a Thesis sustained before the Faculty of Sciences of the French University: by P. F. G. Boullay, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour," &c. The name of this essayist has been long known to chemists, and his experiments have frequently met with the approbation of the French Institute. His object in the present essay is to prove that the substances called ethers ought to be divided into two sections, as containing different properties, and produced in a somewhat different manner. His first section comprehends ethers of an absolute identity (*d'une identité absolue*) resulting from the action of a fixed acid on alkohol, and which does not admit any essential portion of such acid into their composition; as the sulphuric, phosphoric, and arsenic ethers, the only ones indeed of this description. In the second section he places those ethers which are formed by the use of the volatile acids, and which consist of them in connection with alkohol as consistent principles. These have common properties which distinguish them from the preceding; and many of them peculiar properties which distinguish

them from each other. Such are the nitric, muriatic, acetic, fluoric, and various other ethers.

"Astronomie Théoretique et Pratique," &c. "Theoretical and Practical Astronomy: by M. Delambre, Treasurer of the University of France, perpetual Secretary to the Institute," &c. 4to. 3 vols. The name of this accomplished philosopher will predispose every reader who is acquainted (and where is the man who is unacquainted with it?) to expect in the work before us a production of great merit. And assuredly they will not be disappointed. We have not space for detailing examples of the neatness, and perspicuity with which this recondite subject is treated; yet we have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be the most valuable labour upon the science of astronomy, we mean for students and general readers, that the world has hitherto been in possession of: and it is peculiarly worthy of praise for the great candour which is manifested in behalf of foreigners. The Chevalier appears, through the whole, to separate himself from his own country, and to regard astronomers of all nations as brothers in one common pursuit, and equally entitled to respect and attention. With a few variations, we should like to see this work naturalized in our own tongue: and we are glad to perceive that it has called forth an abridgment in France, under the title of "Abrégé d'Astronomie, en Leçons Elémentaires d'Astronomie Théorique et Pratique: par M. Delambre, Chevalier de l'Empire," &c. 8vo.

The subject of Comets, or rather the long laborious and interesting work of Dr. Herschell upon this topic, in a late volume of our Philosophical

sophical Transactions, has given rise to various publications in Germany. We may especially notice M. Vogel's, printed at Dresden, under the title of "Reflektionen über die Form," &c. "Reflections on the Form, Position, and different Degrees of Brightness, or of Obscurity of the Matter that surrounds Comets, with general Observations on the nature of those Bodies." And M. A. H. Gelpke's "Neue Ansicht über den Naturbau der Cometen," &c, "New Views of the

natural structure of Comets, and particularly that of 1811 ; with Observations on the form of their Orbits, and Reflections on the future destruction of the Earth by one of those Bodies." Dr. Herschell has mixt speculation enough with his long and elaborate series of facts and experiments : here we have unfortunately far fewer of the latter, with a superabundance of the former, and in some instances of a very fanciful nature,

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing a brief Glance at various Productions of France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Hungary, and Poland.

"VOYAGE dans le Nord de l'Europe," &c. "Travels in the North of Europe; consisting chiefly of Tours through Norway, and various excursions into Sweden in 1807: with a descriptive account of the Customs and Manners of the Natives, and of extraordinary Scenes in the different Regions. With an Appendix containing historical and physical Observations, &c. and Itineraries of the Country. By A. Lamotte; with Plates, and a Chart of Norway." 4to. This is a pleasant and interesting volume; not deep enough for the geologist, or minute enough for the topographer: but it abounds in gaiety and good humour, in descriptions of what is agreeable, what is fearfully sublime, and what is curious and singular. We ought rather, perhaps, to have ranked the volume in the department of Domestic Literature; since, though written in French, and by a Frenchman, it was printed and published in London; and contains the travels of two young Oxonians over the countries described, accompanied by M. Lamotte as their superintendent. In examining the Military Institution at Christiana they discovered a trained band of a new description: a regiment of chas-

seurs, numbering nearly a thousand men (*Skjeloben-Corpset*, a skating corps) trained to the use of skates or patiens; peculiarly dexterous, and almost irresistible in their attack. "It is said that a good skater can go, as soon as the snow is a little hardened, faster and for a longer time even on a level ground than the best horses trotting on the best road. But in descending a mountain, he darts with such a velocity that he would absolutely lose his breath if he did not endeavour to moderate his flight. The arms of the skating corps are a carbine held by a thong, which passes over the shoulder, a large hunting-knife, and a staff three ells and a half long, and an inch and a quarter in diameter, pointed with iron, and set in iron to some small distance upwards to the point. This last serves chiefly to check the rapidity of a descent: the skater then puts it between his feet and so uses it, or drags it by his side." The skates employed are a pair of boards each of the breadth of the hand, and hardly the thickness of the little finger; they are bound round the feet with straps; and the right skate has a facing of rein-deer or sea-dog skin, which enables him to advance with new impetus at his pleasure,

pleasure, since though perfectly slippery in one direction, it is rough and resisting in the other.

The resurrection of Holland to new vigour and independence among the political states of Europe has excited a considerable degree of attention to its past and actual condition, as well in France as in Germany. We have hence, among many other publications, that might be offered, to notice the following:

"*Afbeeldingen van de Kleedingen, Zeder, en Gewoonten in Holland*," &c. "Representations of the Dresses, Manners, and Customs of Holland at the beginning of the nineteenth Century," 4to. coloured plates.

"*Voyage dans l'intérieur de la Hollande*," &c. "Travels in the interior of Holland in the years 1807-1812, with many plates." 3 vols. 8vo.

"*Nouvelle Statistique d'Amsterdam*," "A New Statistical Account of Amsterdam: or, the Traveller's Guide to that City." 8vo. In none of these do we perceive any thing of very prominent interest; though each of them possesses a considerable portion of merit or utility.

"*Description Physique et Historique des Caffres*," &c. "Physical and Historical Description of the Caffres on the Southern Coast of Africa: by Louis Alberti, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour," 8vo. This work has obtained no inconsiderable degree of credit on the Continent, and though apparently mistaken on various points, the author is evidently a man of observation and comprehensive mind. M. Alberti accompanied M. Janneus, the Dutch Governor, on a visit to the Caffres, on and about the borders of the Dutch boundaries.

He fixed his abode among them for some months; and hence derived an opportunity of describing, as he has done in the volume before us, their country, figure, food, dress, education, and mode of life. They use the rite of circumcision; refuse swine's flesh, hares, geese, and ducks, with fishes of every kind; have an extensive doctrine of defilements; and are peculiarly fond of personal ornaments; all which evinces a corrupt or modified conformation to Jewish customs and habits. Yet the author tells us that they have not the slightest idea of a Deity, or of religious worship, no notion of a future state, whether by a separate immortality of the soul, or a resurrection of the body: they have no priesthood, nor fear of death: upon which last points we suspect our author has imposed upon himself; upon the subject of the fear of death more particularly, since this is an instinctive feeling, common to all animals, and wisely implanted in the frame to deter every species from self-destruction, which would soon put an end to the race, rather than a moral feeling, or sentiment obtained by education, or religious instruction. They calculate, we are told, by the month, which is their only mode of computing time. Now there can be little doubt that, as excellent graziers or shepherds, they have also a knowledge of years, or cycles of months: while the women, we are told, reckon their age by another device, that of the number of their children. Yet the men, we are further informed, have a system of decimal arithmetic, and count by their fingers; this system, however, does not exceed two or three series of tens. They train their cattle with as much assiduity and success as

an European trains his setting-dog: nor can any dog more accurately obey his master than a herd of cattle obeys the Caffre's whistle, by which they are ordered to the right, or to the left, to collect around him, to disperse, to halt, go forward, go single, or in a body.

"*Considérations sur Genève,*" &c. "*Considerations on Geneva in relation to England, and the Protestant States; to which is subjoined a Treatise on the Philosophy of History, delivered at Geneva: by J. C. L. S. de Sismonde.*" This work is elegantly written; is highly complimentary to the republic within whose limits it was composed; describes its importance to the general well-being of the Continent in colours somewhat too glaring, congratulates it on its assimilation to English habits, English customs, and English freedom of thought; and in return calls upon England to exert her powerful sway, in favour of its political independence. The point is nearly settled by the stupendous train of subsequent events.

It was not without reason that M. Talleyrand replied to the prompt application of Lord Castlereagh in favour of the immediate abolition of the Slave Trade on the part of the French government as soon as Louis XVIII. was re-seated on the throne, that the subject had been ably discussed since the first application of his Lordship, and that so general a feeling had been produced in behalf of the abolition in consequence of such discussion, that his royal master no longer felt any political difficulty in yielding to the wishes of his heart; and consequently that the Slave Trade is for ever abolished by the French government. The continuance of the Slave Trade was indeed espoused

by various writers, and even by one or two of the French clergy, especially by the Abbé Dillon, in his "*Mémoires l'Esclavage,*" who was one of the last that supported the cause in its expiring agonies, and has hereby "damned himself to everlasting fame." But the contrary has also been so warmly, and at the same time so argumentatively, and temperately, maintained by many of the best and wisest and most esteemed of the French philosophers and writers, that a sort of general conviction and triumph appears to have been obtained without much difficulty.

Among these it becomes us to notice, first, and we cannot find space to do more, a very excellent publication by the distinguished author of the last article, entitled "*de l'Intérêt de la France à l'égard de la traite des Nègres.*" "On the Interest of France in respect to the Trade in Negroes. By J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismonde."

"*De la Traite et de l'Esclavage des Noirs et des Blancs,*" &c. "On the Slave Trade and Slavery of Blacks and Whites. By a Friend to Men of all Colours."

"*Sur le Littérature des Nègres.*" "On the Literary Powers of Negroes."

"*Le Cri de la Nature,*" &c. "The Cry of Nature. By M. Justi Chanlatte." Printed at Cape Henry, 1810.

The first of these dwells chiefly on the impolicy of the Slave Trade in respect to pecuniary interest. The second, which is well known to be the work of the admirable M. Grégoire, formerly Bishop of Blois, on its inhumanity, its violation of the laws of religion, of nature, and of the Catholic Church. This Essay has been translated, and is well

well worthy of being so, into our own tongue. The third is an animated performance, and we are sorry the author's name is not known to us. The fourth, printed and published in the black empire of Hayti, is said to have been composed by a native. It is fairly estimated by M Grégoire to be written with the energy of Tacitus. It is a picture drawn to the life, and from the chief of the horrors of West Indian slavery, as it existed during the employment of the bloodhounds from Cuba.

To these we have to add the very timely translation of a summary of the proofs of the mischiefs of this detestable trade, some years ago laid before the British Parliament, as a foundation for their conduct. The translator is Dr. de Carro: the work is printed at Vienna, and entitled "*Abregé des Preuves données devant un Comité de la Chambre de Communes de la Grand Bretagne en 1790 et 1791, en faveur de l'Abolition de la traite de Negres.*"

"*Carroni in Dacia, Mia Osservazioni locali, nazionali,*" &c. "*Travels of the Abbaté Carroni in Dacia; with local and national Observations.* 8vo. Milan. The Abbaté derives the Wallachian tongue from the Latin, and the Bohemian from the Hindustanee, or rather the Sanscrit. Into the Bohemian he resolves the dialects of the wandering tribe of gipsies.

"*Xarai Gazda,*" &c. "*The Patriotic Economist.*" This is a new

literary miscellany in the Hungarian language, commencing with the year, and printed at Vienna. It is chiefly devoted to moral and domestic economy; and is superintended by M. Fr. Petke de Kis Szanto.

"*Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople,*" &c. "*Picturesque Travels to Constantinople and the adjoining Country; enlivened with Drawings: by M. Melling.*" The descriptions extend to the banks of the Bosphorus; and the timid and indolent character, and the monotonous habits of the natives are given apparently with much truth and accuracy.

"*L'Egypte sur les Pharaons,*" &c. "*Egypt under the Pharaohs; or, Researches into the Geography, Religion, Language, Writings, and History of Egypt before the invasion of Cambyses.* By M. Champollion, jun. of Grenoble." 8vo. Two volumes only of this learned work have yet issued from the Paris press. These were assigned to the geography of ancient Egypt. The writer is well versed in the Coptic dial ct; and has made free use of the Coptic manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris. We wait the completion of the work with some degree of impatience.

M. Felix Bentzowski has lately commenced at Warsaw a "*General History of the Literature of Poland.*" The first volume only has hitherto appeared, and it gives promise of being an interesting work. We shall return to it shortly.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing an Account of various Publications of France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Poland, Modern Greece, America, and China.

THE peace of the year before us, interrupted as it too soon was by a daring incursion of the common enemy of the world, and a short, though tremendously bloody campaign, or rather battle, gave renovation to the literary establishments of the continent, and once more opened their doors to a renewal of scientific pursuits.

The *National Society* of Poland has renewed its labours; and its archives comprize various important articles in history, natural philosophy, chemistry, architecture, arithmetic, and music. Under the last head we meet with an elegant collection of national airs, founded on the history of the country, and warm with patriotic enthusiasm. The mathematical class announce a very curious and apparently very valuable arithmetical machine, invented by M. Abraham Stern, of Lublin, which calculates, without assistance, any given problem in the four rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, as well in fractions as in whole numbers, far more rapidly than can be done on paper, and which requires no farther knowledge than that of the mere value of the figures. When prepared for operation it proceeds, as directed, with-

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out further interference, and announces the result by the sound of a bell. The committee, in concluding their report, observe, that whatever of this kind has been conceived by Pascal, Grillett, Scott, Polenus, and Leibnitz, is here realized with an admirable simplicity and ingenuity.

The Royal Academy of Sweden has published two additional volumes of its *Memoirs*, containing several articles of considerable value, and especially on the subject of mineralogy. Its museum is rearranging, and the extensive and curious herbary belonging to it, is put under the special charge of professor Thunberg, in order to its being allotted a more correct classification.

The National Institution of Holland has re-commenced its pursuits with a freer and more elastic spirit. We are particularly pleased at beholding the zeal of the class of polite arts, in endeavouring to amass for future selection fragments and documents of the old Dutch tongue, the common basis of modern Dutch and German, by circular letters addressed in every direction to men of letters and of literary curiosity. They have already succeeded to a considerable extent;

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and, among other pieces, have obtained a very interesting translation of the famous *Roman de la Rose*, together with numerous manuscript chronicles, and additional materials for a national history.

The French Institute, established by Buonaparte upon the ruins of the *Academie Royale*, and hitherto accustomed to trumpet his praise, has had a delicate game to play; yet it has conducted itself with considerable address. It is thus that M. Cuvier commences his "*Analyse des Travaux, &c.*" "*Analyses of the labours of the class of mathematical and physical sciences for the year 1814.*" "The memorable events of which this capital has been the theatre, far from disturbing scientific investigations, have afforded new proofs of the respect which the sciences inspire, and of the happy influence which they have acquired over every people, and men of every rank. *Innumerable armies, marched from the extremities of Europe, have visited our monuments, have inspected our collections, and have examined every object with curiosity*, whilst not the smallest mischief, or even imprudence, has been the result. The friends of science, enrolled in this grand crusade, partly undertaken to establish the liberty of thinking and writing, had scarcely disburdened themselves of their arms, when they hastened to become acquainted with our labours, to take a part in them, and to tell us what was going forward among themselves. The foreign sovereigns seemed to dispute among themselves who should give the most brilliant marks of the interest they take in the progress of knowledge, and who could best prove that their

cause was that of illumination and humanity. Our princes have highly testified their satisfaction with the prosperity and manner of life of our establishments; and the king has not only vouchsafed to them his august protection, but has already proved, by facts, with what noble liberality he proposes to augment their activity, and to extend their importance." In physics the discovery of iode by M. Courtois, appears to be the subject of most prominent attraction. "*Depuis lors (alluding to the preceding year) on s'est occupé de l'iode avec l'intérêt dont il est digné.*" Mr. Colin, M. Gauthier Claubry, M. Sage, and above all, M. Gay-Lussac, have devoted their attention to this newly discovered substance. In the class of history and literature, one of the best articles is from the pen of M. G. De la Rue, entitled, "*Recherches sur les ouvrages, &c.*" Researches on the works of the bards of Armorican Brittany, during the middle ages. Among the biographies or elogies, that of our countryman, Count Rumford, appears to occupy the largest space, and is written with sufficient spirit and panegyric. It is the production of the secretary.

"*Catolog und Nachrichten, &c.*"

"Catalogue and Notices of the Ancient Library of Manuscripts at Fulda." 8vo. Frankfort. This is a valuable attempt to estimate the extent of science and literature in the eighth century. The Fulda Library was one of the richest of the age. It was largely added to by Charlemagne, and augmented by St. Boniface with books, which we are here told were brought from England. Philo, Josephus, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen, were among

among the manuscripts; but upon the whole the collection was rather Latin than Greek.

"*Recherches Historiques et Littéraires, &c.*" "Literary and Historical Researches on the Celtic Tongue. By J. de Bast." The writer is well known as author of a collection of Roman and Greek antiquities, in quarto, and seems to have studied his task with sufficient attention. The work will do credit to the Netherlands, which is his native country.

"*Mithridates: oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde, &c.*" "Mithridates; or a General History of Languages, with the Lord's Prayer as a specimen, in nearly five hundred tongues and dialects. By Johann Christoph Adelung, Aulic Counsellor and Librarian at Dresden. Berlin. Vol. I. II. III. The two last continued from the papers of the author by Professor Vater. We lament the death of the learned projector of the work before us, who had acquired a just reputation for philological science, and commenced it with all the qualifications that were requisite to ensure success. It would be difficult, however, for his papers to have fallen into the hands of a more able substitute. The work opens with a learned inquiry into the origin of human speech, which is supposed to be founded on a progressive improvement of that natural or inarticulate language which the author supposes mankind to have possessed originally in common with almost all animals possessing lungs and a larynx, though of a somewhat superior kind. This we well remember to have been the doctrine of the Epicurians and Stoics, who successfully opposed it to the Platonic and Pythagorean conjecture, that articu-

late speech was the invention of one or of a few sages in the first ages of the world, who taught it to their fellows. Both are equally incapable of accounting for the effect; and we must be allowed to hold in direct opposition to the writers before us, "the idea that language was communicated to the first men by their Creator." The first habitation or paradise is here placed in the confines of Cashmere or Thibet, where we have no objection that it should remain till we can find a better place for it, as we acknowledge our utter ignorance upon this subject. The division of languages is into monosyllabic, and polysyllabic. The first includes the Chinese, Tangut or Thibetan, Birman, Môn or Peguan, Thay or Siamese, Khômen or Cambojan, Anan or Cochín-Chinese, and the Corean languages, the last being queried. The second division comprises all the rest, whether ancient or modern.

"*Fundgruben des Orients, bearbeitet durch eine gesellschaft, &c.*" "Mines of the East explored by a Society of Amateurs, under the auspices of M. Count Verceleslas Rzewuski." 8vo. 3 vols. Vienna, 1813, 1814. The mines here laid open to us are rich, and very judiciously worked. The articles consist of detached passages from the best writers in Persian, Arabic, Thibetan, Sanscrit, Turkish, and various other tongues or dialects, whether historians, philologists, moralists, physiologists, geographers, politicians, or poets. Many contradictory points are cleared up; much curious information communicated; and the poetry is often very beautifully rendered. We have been particularly pleased with the fragments translated by M. M. Hammer,

mer, Rozenzweig, Hussard, and Grangeret de la Grange, from the Shah-nameh, Joseph and Zuleika, the Masnâvi, and especially the beautiful Arabic poem of Saladin Khalil Ben-Ibek Saladi, the version of which is from the pen of M. de la Grange, and discovers him to be critically acquainted with the nicest delicacies of both the Persian and Arabic tongues.

"Dictionnaire Chinois, Francois et Latin, &c." "Dictionary of the Chinese tongue, French and Latin, published by order of his Majesty the Emperor and King, Napoleon the Great: by M. de Guignes, French resident at China, &c." Impérial folio. Paris. This valuable work has been in progress for a century, and from first to last under the auspices of the French government, whatever that government has consisted of. For it is just a century since Fourmont, with whom the design originated, received an order from the Court of Versailles for cutting the dies which have produced the characters now presented to us. At his death these dies or types, already duly arranged for printing, were transferred to M. M. de Guignes and Deshautesayes; but from some cause or other, want of sufficient knowledge of the subject or of sufficient funds for the purpose, the work, in their hands, made but little progress. From these lexicographers, it passed under the cognizance of M. Langles, but, so far as we can discover, with nearly as little success, though ostensibly encouraged by Napoleon the Great, before his assumption of this empty title. Hager, who some years ago flirted in our own country, with a vain parade of oriental literature, was next appointed to

superintend the concern, and sent for by the French ruler in haste. He was soon put by, however, on the score of incapacity, and the work was, at length, entrusted to the care of the son of one of its earliest superintendants, who is the present editor, and thus modestly speaks of himself in his preface: "It only remains for me to solicit the indulgence of my readers, and I flatter myself I shall obtain it, when they consider, that the Chinese dictionary, which should long ago have been published by M. M. Fourmont, and de Guignes, both of them distinguished through all Europe, as well for their erudition as by their respective works, is now brought out by one, who would not presume to pretend to the title of being learned, and whose only claim is that of the honour of having been selected by his Majesty, and of being connected with a distinguished office in the state, many of whose members are highly estimable for their talents and knowledge."

M. de Guignes, nevertheless, has executed his task with a degree of skill, activity, and erudition that is highly creditable to him: and has furnished us with, perhaps, the most useful Chinese dictionary to be found either in Asia or Europe, at the present moment, unless Dr. Marshman should have so far advanced with his translation of the Imperial Dictionary of China, as to produce an exception to this remark, as we have every reason to believe he will when he has completed his laborious undertaking. China itself, indeed, overflows with dictionaries of its own language, but there are few of them of any very great merit. The following are the chief of which we have
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either heard or have any personal knowledge. 1. The *Shyeh-wun*, compiled under the *Haw* dynasty, about the year 150 before Christ. 2. The *Yook-p'hyen*, under the *Lyang* dynasty, after Christ about the year 500. 3. The *Kwang-yoon*, under the *T'hang* family, about the year 620. 4. The *Tsah-yoon*, under the *Soon* dynasty, about the year 1120. 5. The *Yoon-khooi*, under the *Yuen* family, about 1290. 6. The *Tching-yoon* under the *Ming* dynasty, about the year 1420. To these we have to add. 7. The celebrated *Tching-tse-t'hang*; and 8. The Chinese Imperial Dictionary, compiled by command of the Emperor *Kang-khee* between the years 1710-20. This last is a work of great labour, and has a near resemblance to that of the academy *De la Crusca*. In order to accomplish it, the principal men in China for learning, to the amount of nearly a hundred, examined, in obedience to the imperial mandate, the above and various other dictionaries of the country; and making the *Tching-tsee-tong* their model for arranging the characters, added about six thousand not contained in that dictionary; distinguishing them under every element or key, by prefixing the character *tsung* "added." Besides these they collected from various works nearly 1700 characters more, which had never yet found a place in any dictionary; and lastly about 4000 in superaddition, part of which they describe as having no name, and the rest as having neither name nor meaning. These however were introduced in the form of an appendix, and constitute the two last of the thirty-four volumes of which this dictionary consists: and by these means the total number of

the characters amounts to forty-three-thousand, four-hundred and ninety-six. Now a work thus ponderous, and loaded partly in its body, and altogether towards its end, with obsolete terms, can never be a useful popular work even in China itself, and would be hardly worth the trouble of translating into a foreign tongue. And it was to this circumstance we alluded in stating that M. de Guignes' dictionary is perhaps the most really useful of any extant, either in Europe or Asia: for it contains about fourteen thousand characters, for the most part well selected and well explained, while the dictionary of the Jesuits contains not more than eight thousand; and the native vocabularies of an earlier date which we have just referred to, much fewer, or imperfectly and indistinctly explained. Should Dr. Marshman, however, persevere in the laborious task, which we believe he has long been employed upon, and give us a translation of the Imperial Dictionary of China, duly expurgated of obsolete and unknown characters, he will make a present to the world as much superior to the work before us, as the work before us is to every thing of the kind that has hitherto preceded it.

"Discours sur l' Origine, les Progres et l' Utilite, &c." "Discourse on the origin, progress, and advantage of cultivating the Chinese language in Europe. By M. Abel-Remusat." 8vo. Paris. The writer has been exalted to the chair of the Chinese professorship in the College of France by Louis XVIII., and the discourse before us constitutes his inaugural oration. It is a good comment upon the merits and defects of the Jesuit and Domini-

can Missionaries; pays deserved compliments to Golins and Silvestre de Sacy, and breathes sufficient incense to the gracious sovereign from whose partiality the author has obtained possession of his professorial chair. But upon the whole it merely skims the surface of the subject: and we do not think, from the subjoined program, that the proposed course of lectures is in any part of it likely to go much deeper.

"*Histoire littéraire d'Italie, &c.*" *Literary History of Italy.* By P. L. Ginguené; of the *Royal Institute of France, &c.* Paris, six vols, 8vo. This is an extensive work, but there is more matter pressed into it than usual in French publications. The author is fully at home upon his subject, and has furnished us with a literary compilation so replete with good sense, good taste, and good entertainment, that we could wish to meet him again in an English dress.

We have already noticed the public spirit which appears to pervade the National Society of Poland. The Society of Sciences at Warsaw is entitled to equal praise. It is engaged in a subscription for erecting a monument to the memory of Copernicus, which we trust will succeed to the extent it ought to do. It has also proposed a prize of fifty golden ducats for the best Essay on constructing public roads throughout the Polish kingdom: and another of a hundred ducats for the best tragedy on a subject of national history. In the mean time the general history of the country, undertaken by various members of the National Society, continues to advance. The reign of Sigismund III. has been completed by Niemcezewitz; and

the regency of Cassimir IV., by M. Krajowski. Closely connected with which, so far as relates to the national literature of Poland, is M. Felix Bentkowsky's "*Researches after the most ancient works, printed by J. Haller at Cracow.*" Many of these relate to the history of the country, and are of great merit; others are well calculated to show its scientific acquirements.

"*Elenco di alcune parole oggidì frequentamente, &c.*" "*Specimen of various words in frequent use at present, which are not found in the vocabularies of the Italian language.*" 8vo. Milan. This work has been patronized by the Florentine academy: and it would be well if a like plan were pursued in other countries, where an established Philological Society for national purposes exists: a sort of lexicographical mint, charged with the office of watching over the current terms of a language, capable of distinguishing between genuine and counterfeit coin, and armed with sufficient power to prohibit the latter from being uttered. How many absurd, affected, or silly terms would be banished from daily use in our own country, under the influence of such a court of control.

"*Saggio li Poesie,*" "*Attempts at Poetry.* By Sign. G. Geronimo." 8vo. Naples. These fugitive pieces are not without merit, and have even risen into esteem in the Neapolitan capital: an honour we suspect they would not so soon have acquired at Florence. They consist of short peices chiefly odes, most of which are Anacreontic. They serve also to usher into notice various poetic effusions of the abbate Giovanni Melli, whose productions we prefer to those of his friend.

A discussion

A discussion has for some time subsisted among antiquaries at Rome, respecting the actual depth and construction of the Coliseum: various plans have been offered in support of as many opinions, but the question is still *sub lite*.

"*Richerche sopra una pietra, &c.*" "Researches on one of the precious stones, on the pontifical vest of Aaron," folio, Milan. The precious stones that ornamented the dress of the Jewish high priest, have formed a subject of inquiry in many ages. In a remote period Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, quoted by St. Austin, is said to have written upon them. The author before us confines his attention to the twelfth gem alone: this author is M. Hager, well known some years since in our own country; he wanders, as usual, about the subject with much parade of irrelative learning, and at length leaves us as uncertain as ever, whether it were a jasper, an onyx or a beryl.

Greece, so dear to the memory from an early initiation into classical literature, and a most interesting part of which is now become linked to the British empire, by the annexation of the Ionian isles, we truly rejoice to observe, is at length about to revive from the sloth and ignorance it has evinced for so many centuries. Public schools and colleges are now established in

several islands, and one or two in the bosom of the Peloponnesus. We may particularly mention one at Athens, under the superintendence of the learned Rhasis; one at Chio, which has been considerably endowed with books presented to its administrators by numerous liberal and enlightened men of letters at Vienna, Geneva and Paris, chiefly indeed through the powerful intercession of the justly celebrated Coray; one of considerable extent and merit at Yassi in Moldavia, and a regular and growing college at the town of Meliai, near Mount Pelion, superintended by the excellent and indefatigable archimandrite, Anthimos Gazi, the learned editor of a Greek Scientific Journal, entitled, *Ερμης ὁ λόγιος*, "The Literary Mercury," which is acquiring an extensive circulation.

The chief works which have reached us from the Philadelphian or other American presses, are "Travels through Canada, &c. in 1806-1807, with anecdotes of some of the leading characters in the United States: By John Lambert." 2 vols. 8vo. Dr. Meare's "Picture of Philadelphia," giving an account of its origin, increase and improvements. The same author's "Geological account of the United States;" and three first volumes of "Memoirs of the Philadelphian Society for promoting Agriculture, &c."

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